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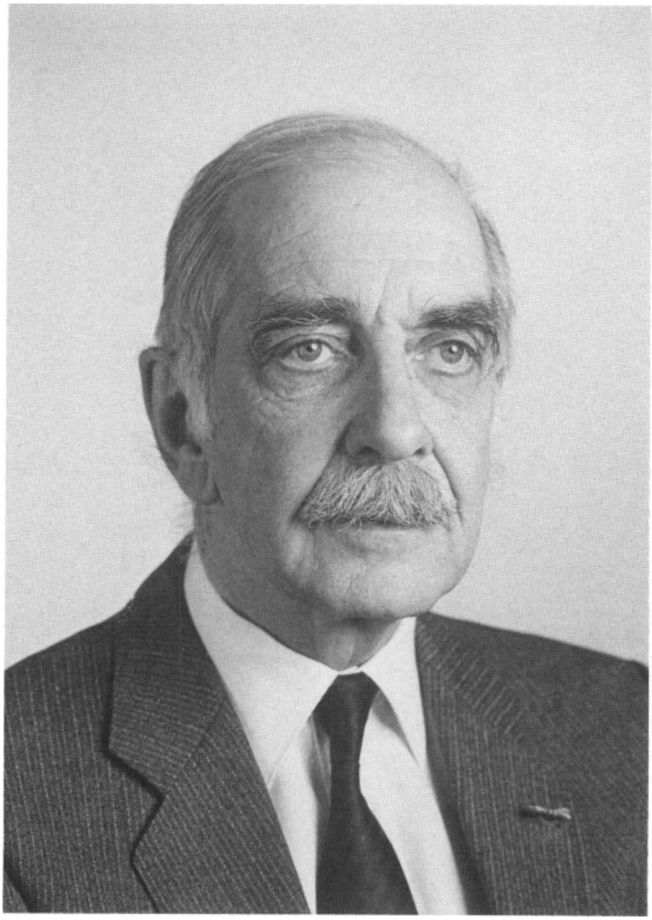

J.C. Heesterman

RITUAL, STATE AND HISTORY IN SOUTH ASIA

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF J.C. HEESTERMAN

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

On the first of December 1990 Dr. J.C. Heesterman, professor in the languages and cultural history of South Asia, reached the age of 65 and became an emeritus professor of Leiden University. Although this did not at all entail his withdrawal from academic pursuits, it did, as a *rite de passage*, provide a solid reason for launching this congratulary volume. After all, Heesterman held his chair for more than a quarter of a century, and, to use a sweeping understatement, his tenure did not go by unnoticed.

In his inaugural lecture (1964), which set the tone for his subsequent work, Heesterman adressed a fundamental problem which confronted and still confronts students of Indian civilisation. The baffling multiformity of culture which South Asia shows on the surface is matched by an equally impressive unity of thought which seems to underlie it. Yet this assumed unity and continuity of Indian civilisation proves just as difficult to fathom as its obvious multiplicity. The sanskritic "great tradition" is not only far from univocal in itself, but also seems scarcely concerned about its inconsistencies or about the recurrent discrepancies between text and reality, precept and practice.

A co-ordinating body of authorities never existed, Heesterman observes, and one can almost hear a sigh of relief in that remark. Indeed, for the next quarter of a century Heesterman would fruitfully pursue the incongruities which, in his inaugural lecture, he fondly refers to as the "play of contradictions" and which later came to be called "the inner conflict of tradition" (1973).

While fascinated by the display of regularity in the scriptures, and more especially by the systematic nature of Vedic ritual, Heesterman constantly aimed at demonstrating that, in the end, the rules do not correspond, not with each other and least of all with living reality. In his view the heart of the matter, the core of Indian tradition - if not of culture in general - is made up of contradictions ; and he examined these to the last detail without ever trying to undo them.

Already in his inaugural adress, Heesterman tracked down his chosen theme to the beginnings of Indian culture, and pursued it up to the present age, showing a characteristic disregard for the boundaries thrown up by various disciplines and chronologies. He turns to social anthropology in order to clarify the striking gap existing between Sanskrit law texts and unruly practice, exposing, as part of the same argument, the origins which are nonetheless common to both. Likewise he refers to modern history, and in particular to the figure of Mahatma Gandhi, in order to elucidate the crucial and persistent notion of renunciation in Indian culture.

The key to it all, Heesterman argues, must be sought in the breakthrough that set the Vedic *śrauta* rites apart from the world of conflict and interdependence. In the long run this turnabout led to the individualization of ritual and to a distinctive *discours*, that of brahmanical thought. It is is fair to note that, inspite of the steady flow of evidence presented by Heesterman for more than thirty years, not everybody appears to be convinced. This congratulatory volume includes a number of authors who do not quite support his views or, to put it in ritual terms, the volume constitutes an arena rather than a sanctuary. Heesterman, of course, will be glad to join the battle waged in his honour.

Yet the title of this book should not only be read as reflecting the chief interests of its protagonist. Ritual occupies a central place in Heesterman's thought; to be sure, but then it does so in Indian civilisation itself. The enormous corpus of ritual texts which constitutes its legacy by far surpasses anything comparable in other civilisations of antiquity. What is more, it has proven to be a living legacy, transforming itself but continuing to determine the texture of society in South Asia. Consequently, it is by all means worthwhile to examine the relationship between ritual and state, and to follow its course throughout history.

Here too, in covering a long span of history from different perspectives, Heesterman's work stands out. It thereby seems to reflect the very indivisibility of the subject-matter, that is, Indian civilisation and, in a comparative sense, the *condition humaine*. The scope of Heesterman's work not only inspired a variety of scholars and students, but also invoked a diversity of comments, from the most general to the most technical ones.

Predictably then, the contributions to this liber amicorum extend over the whole range of Indian civilisation. The contents are arranged into two sections. In the first part those articles are brought together which bear upon the earlier stages of Indian history or upon the reconstruction of a certain epoch. The contents of this section, which, in historical terms, span the period from the Indus civilisation up to medieval times, include several fine pieces of textual analysis. Examples of the latter, however, are not lacking in the second part either. That section contains contributions on the more recent history of South Asia alongside articles that examine ancient features which have persisted till the present day.

In an introductory note to his dissertation, Heesterman (1957) called attention to the recording of Vedic ritual by J.A.B. van Buitenen, and expressed the hope that the initiative would meet with a wide response - a hope which soon was to become fulfilled. The present volume contains three articles which deal with contemporary performances of Vedic ritual. Partly because Heesterman encouraged his students to take up subjects he had not yet explored himself, the overall Vedic component of this volume is balanced by contributions on other types of ritual, other dimensions of state and history, other aspects of literature and other perspectives of South Asian culture as a whole.

The totality of the articles received was beyond all expectations. Contributions to the book kept arriving up to the moment it went to press. The *Festschrift* grew to about three times its foreseen format and almost succumbed to its own success. The burden of the feast came down on Mrs. Loes van Westrienen, who managed to bring the imminent chaos under control. It is thanks to her that, against all odds, order prevailed and the book took shape. The slightly outdated software of the Kern Institute could not yet bring forth all signs and diacritical marks. Thanks are due to Mr. Arthur Kamst, whose drawing, dotting and underlining bridged the gap in technology.

The shortcomings still remaining are all the editors' responsibility. We trust that, in spite of its imperfections, the book proves to be readible and interesting enough to constitute a worthy tribute to J.C. Heesterman. Finally, we hope that Heesterman himself, being *vanaprastha* now, may postpone taking up the *sannyāsa* which so prominently figures throughout his oeuvre. In presenting this volume to him, the editors and all contributors wish Jan Heesterman a fruitful pursuance of his manifold interests.

A.W. van den Hoek
D.H.A. Kolff
M.S. Oort

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS BY J.C. HEESTERMAN

Compiled by
M.S. Oort

ABBREVIATIONS

BTLV = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
IIJ = Indo-Iranian Journal
WZKSO = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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PART I.

Ritual and State

from the Earliest History

MEMORIALS, TEMPLES, GODS, AND KINGS
An Attempt to Unravel the Symbolic Texture of Vākāṭaka Kingship

H. Bakker

A recently found inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā, daughter of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, who was married to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, throws new light on a moot question regarding the genealogy of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. In his *Early History of the Deccan* Ajay Mitra Shastri informs us that "a grant of Prabhāvatī Guptā engraved on a set of five plates is reported to have been found together with the ring and the seal a few years ago at Miregaon in the Sākolī Tahsil of the Bhandara District."[1]

Up to now two charters of Prabhāvatī Guptā were known, her so-called Poona Plates, issued from Nandivardhana during the period of her regency over her minor son, and the Riddhapur Plates, issued from the *Rāmagirisvāmipādamūla* in the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasena II. In the seal attached to the Poona Plates Prabhāvatī describes herself as the "Mother of the *yuvarāja*, the ornament of the Vākāṭakas, who has attained royal fortune by inheritance" (CII v, 9). The name of this crown prince we learn from the inscription itself: Divākarasena. In the Riddhapur Plates, on the other hand, of which the seal is missing, the dowager queen describes herself as the mother of the illustrious Mahārājas Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena (CII v, 36). Divākarasena had evidently disappeared from the scene and, since no inscription of Dāmodarasena has so far come to light, it was generally thought until recently, that Dāmodarasena might have been just another name of Pravarasena, so that we were actually concerned with one king only.

The Miregaon charter, however, which dates from the next year (i.e., the 20th regnal year of Pravarasena), though said to be 'similar in all respects' to the Riddhapur Plates, fortunately has preserved its seal, on which we read the following: "This is the enemy-chastising command of the illustrious Prabhāvatī Guptā, who is the mother of two powerful Vākāṭaka kings."[2] These two kings are named in the inscription itself as Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena, of whom the latter was in power at the time his mother issued the charter.

The material discussed so far allows us to draw the following conclusions: 1. Rudrasena and Prabhāvatī had at least three sons, of whom the eldest, the *yuvarāja* Divākarasena, in all likelihood died before he had come of age. 2. The names of the Vākāṭaka princes, which all end in *sena*, were evidently not adopted at the time of their coronation.[3] 3. The *dvandva* compound *dāmodarasenapravarasena* should be interpreted as mentioning two brothers, of whom Dāmodarasena was the eldest (mentioned first in the compound despite his name being the longest). 4. The reign of Dāmodarasena must have been short, in view of the very long reign of his younger brother and the absence of inscriptions, or, for one reason or another, he was never allowed or able to exercise actual power.

The reign of Rudrasena II is characterized by a turn about in the religious affiliation of the dynasty. Whereas Rudrasena I in (later) inscriptions is described as a devotee of Svāmi Mahābhairava and Pṛthivīsena I as 'intensely devoted to Maheśvara', Rudrasena II is said to have 'acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of Bhagavat Cakrapāṇi,' i.e., Viṣṇu (CII v, 12). Moreover, in an as yet unpublished inscription of Rudrasena found at Mandhal, a very important Vākāṭaka site, this king records his support to the Sātvata branch of the Bhāgavatas at the command of Mondasvāmin, who is described as Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu (Shastri 1987, 47). This change in religious affiliation is generally thought to have been instigated by Rudrasena's wife, who, like her father Candragupta, professed to be an *atyantabhagavadbhaktā* and who issued her charters from the Feet of the Lord, or the Lord of Rāmagiri (CII v, 7, 35). This Vaiṣṇava predominance lasted more than one generation, as is apparent from Pravarasena' support of the temple of the Footprints of Mahāpuruṣa (CII v, 60) - despite the fact that he himself declares to be a devotee of Maheśvara (CII v, 19) - as well as from his grandson, Pṛthivīsena II's profession to be an *paramabhāgavata* (CII v, 81). Two inscriptions of the latter king have come to light in Mandhal, one of which was issued from a temple (*sthāna*) at Rāmagiri (Shastri 1977-78, 162), but of his father, Narendrasena, no documents have been found.

As appears from the dynastic names - Rudrasena II named after his grandfather, Pṛthivīsena II after his great-great-grandfather, and Pravarasena II after his great-great-great-grandfather - the names of these kings were largely handed down within the family with the sole exception of Pravarasena's two brothers and son: Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Narendrasena. Consequently, no certain conclusions with regard to religious affiliation can be drawn from them, although Rudrasena I may point to an original Śaiva milieu and Dāmodarasena to a Vaiṣṇava one.

Let us nevertheless, for reasons that will become clear later, read these names as could have been done in a Vaiṣṇava context, and try to asociate them with different forms of Viṣṇu, that is, let us try to solve a kind of cryptogram.

It is natural that Pṛthivīsena could be associated with the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu. The boar's connection with the earth is well-known. In *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* 7.1.5.1 it is said of Prajāpati, Viṣṇu's predecessor in this respect:

> This was in the beginnings the waters, the ocean. In it Prajāpati, becoming the wind, moved. He saw her, and becoming a boar (*varāha*), he seized her. Her, becoming Viśvakarman, he wiped. She extended, she became the earth (Pṛthivī) and hence the earth is called 'the extended one' (*pṛthivitvam*). (tr. Keith).

Rudrasena is more difficult at first sight. Gonda in his *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism* notes that: "It is, to begin with, interesting to notice that in the *Ṛgveda* Rudra and Viṣṇu, excepting two cases one of which is insignificant, maintained no direct relations with each other."[4] However, a little further Gonda remarks that: "Viṣṇu's Man-lion aspect - the main exception to the general proponderance of kindly, human traits of this god - corresponds to Śiva's shape of terror" (o.c. 122). Of all the Vaiṣṇava myths it is especially the one of Narasiṃha that has frequently been translated into a Śaiva version.[5] And, similarly, Eschmann's research in the tribal background of the Jagannātha deities led her to conclude that:

> Narasiṃha is the *ugra* aspect of Viṣṇu par excellence and therewith also that aspect of Viṣṇu with the highest affinity to Śiva. [...] It has been shown, that the worship of Narasiṃha can be integrated into Śaivism, [... and] it can therefore be assumed that the worship of Narasiṃha not only continued, but perhaps even was emphasized under Śaiva predominance, because it was acceptable to both Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas.[6]

A name as Rudra-Narasiṃha would express such an ambivalence.

Divākarasena refers of course, in Vaiṣṇava semantics, to the solar aspect of Viṣṇu. Of all forms of this god Trivikrama best represents this side of his nature. As Gonda remarked in his *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*:

> The general idea underlying the three strides of the god is in all probability [...] the diurnal course of the sun through the tripartite cosmos in his ascent from the horizon through the atmosphere to the zenith, which might, at least occasionally, have been considered a sort of heaven.

And he goes on to specify this view to the effect that the "three steps refer to the diffusion of light by the sun, rather than the luminary proper [...],"[7] a characteristic that could well be denoted by the word *divākara*, 'maker of light.'

The connection of Dāmodara with the Vaiṣṇava pantheon is evident, since the name refers to Kṛṣṇa who was tied up to a mortar by his angry mother in order to check his appetite for butter. The early play of Bhāsa, *Bālacarita*, which relates this episode, consequently refers to the two brothers Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as Dāmodara and Saṃkarṣana.

Finally, we are left with Pravarasena, whose name does not yield an easy clue, neither to the Śaiva nor to the Vaiṣṇava pantheon. However, in view of Pravarasena's predominance over his brother Dāmodarasena, and the latter's association with Kṛṣṇa, the word *pravara* could, artificially it is true, be taken to refer to the 'principal' or 'elder' of the two, i,.e., to Balarāma, despite Pravarasena's actually being, in all likelihood, the younger brother.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, I am not arguing that these connotations were all intended when these princes received their names, but only, that in a special ritualistic Vaiṣṇava context, this eponymous signification could have appeared meaningful in retrospect.

We now return to the ritual centre of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, Rāmagiri or modern Ramtek Hill, 6 km north of the royal residence Nandivardhana. The main sanctuary on top of the hill was, no doubt, a Vaiṣṇava one, and there are good reasons to believe that it was a temple enshrining Viṣṇu's or Rāma's footprints, situated on the spot that is occupied today by the 13th-century Rāma temple.[8]

On a less prominent site of the hill, about 350 m east of the main temple complex, is a group of five temples that date from the 5th century. I have described these temples elsewhere.[9] On the basis of archaeological and stylistic arguments I proposed the following chronological development, which, I am happy to say, has gained approval of a leading art-historian, Prof. Joanna Williams (University of California) in a personal communication.

The oldest construction is probably the pavillion enshrining a stout theriomorphic image of Varāha. It should be dated in the 1st quarter of the 5th century. Not far from this Varāha Mandir are two very similar Narasiṃha temples enshrining virtually identical images of the Man-lion. These temples are traditionally known as the Rudra-Narasiṃha and the Kevala-Narasiṃha Mandirs and are separated from each other by a distance of about 100 m. The older of the two appears to be the Rudra-Narasiṃha temple, wich may date from about the same time as the Varāha shrine or somewhat later. On account of its more polished workmanship and stylistic refinement the so-called Kevala-Narasiṃha temple can be said to have been built after the Rudra-Narasiṃha temple and, consequently, should be dated in the 2nd quarter or about the middle of the 5th century.

The remaining two temples are one dedicated to Trivikrama, preserving the Trivikrama image, despite most of the *maṇḍapa* being in ruins, and the so-called Bhogarāma temple. They are both later than the Kevala-Narasiṃha temple, yet it is hard to tell which is the younger of the two, owing to the fact that the Bhogarāma temple no longer contains the original idols. Both temples should be dated in the 2nd half of the 5th century.

The Bhogarāma temple has the pecularity that it consists of two parallel *garbhagṛhas*. In a forthcoming article I have argued on archaeological and literary grounds that the two brothers Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa, alias Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, are the best candidates amongst the Vaiṣṇava deities for having been installed originally in the two cellas. The name of the temple, which is attested in a 13th-century inscription (Bakker 1989*b*, 487), may refer to the, at the time more important of these two, Balarāma, to whose serpent coil or hood the word *bhoga* originally may have referred (Bakker forthc. *a*).

The archaeological heritage of the Rāmagiri hill thus allows us to distinguish, by and large, three stages of building activity and to picture an evolution of historical constructions as given in the appendix.

We now come to the central question as to the accomodation of these sanctuaries to their religious and cultural environment, that is to say, the question regarding their 'Sitz im Leben.' In all articles dealing with these temples so far, including my own, it has simply be assumed that these sanctuaries were just built there. Yet, their rather peripheral location, grouped in a cluster (with one exception), demands an explanation. In this regard the recently discovered Vākāṭaka inscription in the Kevala-Narasiṃha temple may be of great value.

This inscription, which has been severely damaged, has been briefly discussed by Ajay Mitra Shastri (1987) and, very unsatisfactorily, published by A.P. Jamkhedkar in the same year. We are presently preparing an edition of it on the basis of detailed photographs which are studied with the aid of stereoscopic techniques. The interpretation that we intend to propose is that the text was made by the children, and in all probability, especially by the daughter of Prabhāvatī on the occasion of the consecration of the temple in which it is found. The name of this royal daughter (*manujendraputrī*) has become illegible. The inscription also speaks of the brother (*bhrātṛ*) of this princess, who, according to our interpretation, must be Pravarasena II. The mother obviously is dead and the inscription purports to bestow the merit ensuing from the construction of the temple on her in the hereafter. The crucial verses could be translated as:

> A temple [...], considering [...] transitory, she [i.e., the princess]
> free of sins, for the sake of a mass of merit for her mother alone,
> [...] stone, [...], resembling [...], for a long time [...].[10]

The name of the mother may be inferred from the name of the deity to which the temple is said to have been dedicated:

> [...] the Lord of the Earth and Master of Prabhāvatī; for the sake of everlasting merit she [i.e., the princess] has made [...].[11]

We know from an inscription of Prabhāvatī herself that she used to refer to god as the 'Lord of Rāmagiri' (*rāmagirisvāmin*) (CII v, 35). The naming of an image or deity, in this case Viṣṇu/Narasiṃha, after a (deceased) person was quite common in ancient India,[12] a practice which might be also exemplified by the temple of Pravareśvara.[13]

We therefore come to the conclusion that the so-called Kevala-Narasiṃha temple was a 'memorial' shrine, constructed after the demise of the great dowager queen, keeping in mind that a 'memorial' in the Indian context should be conceived of as a building which is constructed primarily with the aim of transferring merit to the deceased. This would imply that the temple was built after AD 440 - her last inscription dates from the 20th regnal year of her son (Shastri 1987, 51) - but not much after, since the queen must by then have been very old indeed. The epigraphical testimony thus agrees with the archaeological dating.

If, so we may ask, one of the Narasiṃha temples turns out to be a sort of memorial building, could the other temple not be likewise? We may recall that that temple is traditionally known as Rudra-Narasiṃha. Could the affix 'Rudra ' somehow preserve an ancient tradition? It must be observed that there is nothing in the two Narasiṃha temples that makes one into a Rudra- and the other into a Kevala-Narasiṃha sanctuary, since both images are virtually identical. But provided the name Rudra-Narasiṃha, the other temple may, for ease of distinction, have come to be designated Kevala-Narasiṃha, according to the other, peaceful, aspect of the god.[14]

If we assume that the Rudra-Narasiṃha is a shrine, erected after the demise of king Rudrasena II, a pertinent question may be answered: why two more or less identical Narasiṃha temples next to each other? The Rudra-Narasiṃha temple was erected by the devout spouse of Rudrasena, who outlived her husband for at least 35 years and for whom Narasiṃha was the most appropriate form of god to be associated with the deceased king.[15] He really was the 'Lord (*svāmin*) of Prabhāvatī,' and after her own death a similar monument was erected in her memory too. Side by side they must have called to the minds of their contemporaries the conjugal unity that once was the mortal couple Rudrasena and Prabhāvatī Guptā.

The idea of enlarging the sacred complex on top of the hill to include temples of the most popular forms of Viṣṇu of those days, temples that were at the same time monuments which bore testimony to the greatness of the kings of the Vākāṭaka lineage, may first have occurred to Rudrasena and his wife after the former had succeeded his father Pṛthivīsena to the throne of Nandivardhana. As we have argued in the beginning, the linkage of Pṛthivīsena with Varāha is an obvious one within a Vaiṣṇava context and, consequently, the shrine of Varāha might well have been designed at the turn of the 4th century, not only to worship this god, but also to transfer merit and to pay homage to a king whose name designated him as 'Ruler of the Earth (*pṛthivī*).'

The third generation of Vākāṭaka princes coincides with the third stage of building activity described above. Divākarasena, the crown prince, died young, before he could ascend the throne. The Royal Family may have decided to build the Trivikrama temple for the sake of his merit. This temple is situated somewhat apart from the other temples which all lie whithin a cluster, a special position that may signify the exceptional case of a 'memorial' for one who never really was Mahārāja. According to the above-quoted inscriptions the two remaining brothers, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena, both bore the title of Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas.[16] However, considering the lack of Dāmodarasena inscriptions, their rule became somehow intertwined. To commemorate this dual rule no temple may have seemed more suitable than one dedicated to the Sātvata brothers, Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa, i.e., Kṛṣṇa/Dāmodara and Balarāma. In addition to the ancient Vaiṣṇava triad of Trivikrama, Varāha and Narasiṃha,[17] the Bhāgavata mode of worship centering around the Vṛṣṇi or Sātvata deities was popular in the Vākāṭaka realm, as is clear from the abovementioned Rudrasena II inscription in which he pledges support to two monasteries of the Sātvata school.[18] The name of the temple, Bhogarāma, referred to the more important (*pravara*) of the two, Balarāma, whose sideway connection with the Rudra-Śiva cult,[19] although a Vaiṣṇava deity, may have played a part in the choice of the relatives of Pravarasena, devotee of Maheśvara. These associations, the popularity of the dual deities Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the particular historical circumstances of the somehow combined rule of two royal princes, and the Vākāṭaka tradition of building temples for the sake of merit for the deceased members of their lineage, these factors taken together explain the origin of such an unique monument as the Bhogarāma temple.[20]

We may summarize the results of our investigation by connecting the two parts of our scheme, the pedigree and the archaeological chart, as is done in the appendix.

Elsewhere I have argued that the images installed in these Vākāṭaka sanctuaries should be seen, apart from obviously symbolizing the divine, as a kind of metaphor, representing the qualities of the kings by ritual analogy (Bakker forth.*b*). Thus the image of Narasiṃha is not particularly ethereal or heavenly, not hieratic, but expresses powerful supremacy, which is accentuated by its relaxed friendly, even sweet playfulness. The theory expounded here is meant to support this interpretation and should not be conceived as implying divinity of the kings involved. That does not alter the fact, that these monuments were also designed to produce the effect desired, viz., to communicate the prestige and sovereignty of the Royal Family that had built them.

By the assimilation of popular cults like that of the boar and the man-lion, a dual aim was served, viz., to unite the subjects of the realm into a community of worship, and, secondly, to confirm the Royal Family's sacrosanct, leading role in this community (cp. Stein 1983, 89 f.). In this way the symbolic texture of Vākāṭaka kingship was given shape in the heyday of its rule.

postscript

After this article had been completed, further study of the inscription in the Kevala-Narasiṃha temple shed new light on the crucial passage quoted in note 10. We now propose the following reading:

> *prāsādaṃ dayi(t)(ā)(dh)ātur vicintya tam aśāśvatam/*
> *mātur eva samuddi(śya pu)ṇyaugham aghavarjjitā//30//*
> *śil(a)* ⏓⏓ *lasaṅ(k)āśaṃ (ci)rā(ya)* ⏑⏑–⏑⏓/
> ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓⏑ – ⏑⏓//31//
>
> Reflecting that that temple for her beloved (begetter) is transitory, she free of sins, for the sake of a mass of merit for her mother alone, [...] stone [...], resembling [...], for a long time [...]. (30-31)

The conjecture *dayitādhātur* ('of/for her beloved begetter') is based on the fact that the syllables 4 and 5 of 30a reading *dayi* practically only allow the word *dayita* ('beloved'), which one would expect to be used exclusively for close relatives, and this is in accordance with syllable 8 °*tur*, which may be a genitive of a nomen agentis or noun of relationship probably different from *mātṛ* found in 30c. The root *dhā* with preposition *ā* in the sense of 'to impregnate', 'to make' is attested, e.g., in *Bhāgavatapurāna* 9.24.52: *vasudevaḥ sutān aṣṭāv ādadhe sahadevayā//*. The more usual *pitur* is excluded by the long '*ā*'s we read in syllables 6 and 7 and would also yield a metrically incorrect verse in view of the short fourth syllable. Another metrically possible conjecture *dayitabhrātur* is rejected because 30b seems more appropriate if we assume that the temple was built already some time ago, *mātur eva* (30c) suggests 'father', rather than 'brother' and, last but not least, °*bhrātur* is palaeographically almost impossible in view of the absence of the subscript '*ra*' that should have been visible in the undamaged part of the stone below the syllable. If this conjecture is accepted it would mean that we are here dealing with a temple of/for the beloved father of the princess (i.e., Rudrasena), of which the transitoriness is realized. In other words, *prāsādam* (30c) refers not to the Kevala- but to the Rudra-Narasiṃha Mandir, of which it has been argued above that it was built for the sake of Rudrasena's merit, an argument that is now substantiated, it would seem, by the inscription in the adjacent temple itself. It is plausible that the main clause in verse 31 contains a reference to the stone (*śilā*) temple that is the findspot of the inscription, built by the princess, daughter of Rudrasena and Prabhāvatī, in emulation of the adjacent Rudra-Narasiṃha temple, exclusively (*eva*) for the sake of her mother's merit. Hence the appropriate designation of its image as Prabhāvatisvāmin (verse 21a). The word *cirāya* (31b) may indicate that the princess, aware of the dilapidation of the old Rudra-Narasiṃha temple, wished this new temple for her mother to be (more?) durable.

NOTES

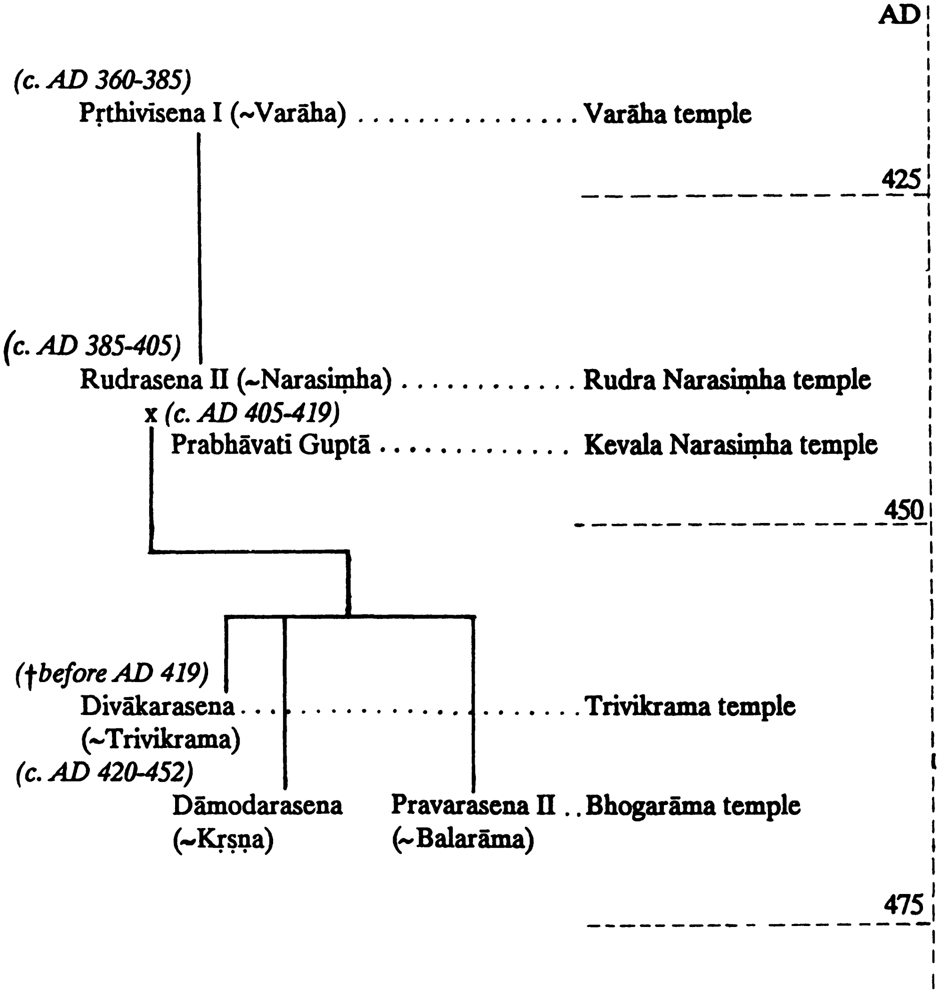
1. Shastri 1987, 51.
2. Shastri 1987, 51: *vikkrāntayor jananyās tu vākāṭakanarendrayoḥ śrīprabhāvatiguptāyāḥ śāsanaṃ ripuśāsanam.*
3. Cp. Shastri 1987, 52.
4. Gonda 1970, 87.
5. See Gonda 1970, 105 ff.
6. Eschmann 1978, 104, 112.
7. Gonda 1954, 60. This interpretation is in accordance with the prevailing view (seee Kuiper 1983, 41 n. 1). Kuiper 1983, 43 argues that "one can hardly evade the conclusion that in the *Ṛgveda* Viṣṇu has no particular connections with the sunb. It is possible that the sun, when in the zenith, was associated with Viṣṇu just as the rising sun was a manifestation of Mitra and the setting one of Varuṇa." This does not, however, affect our argument, since we are here concerned with the traditional (classical) associations of this deity.
8. See Bakker 1991.
9. Bakker 1989*a*; cp. Jamkhedkar 1988.
10. *prāsādaṃ dayi - - tur vicintya tam asāśvatam/ mātur eva samuddi(śya) (pu)ṇyaugham aghavarjjitā//30// śil(ā) ⏓ ⏓ lasaṅ-(k)āśam (ci)rā(ya)* ⏑⏑–⏑⏓/⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏓⏑–⏑⏓// 31//
11. *prabhāvatisvāminaṃ ca lokanā(tha)m adhā* ⏑ ⏓ */ puṇyam akṣayam uddiśya mā* ⏓⏓⏓ *(a)k(ā)raya(t) //21//.*
12. Cp. Shastri 1986-87; Shastri 1987, 52.
13. CII v, xli, 19.
14. Rao I I, 149 f. Cp. Eschmann 1978, 106. That the name 'Rudra-Narasiṃha' could be a reminiscence of king Rudrasena was first suggested to me by Dr Chandrashekhar Gupta (Nagpur).

15. Compare, for instance, Prabhāvatī's brother, the emperor Kumāragupta, who liked to compare himself with Narasiṃha on the coin with the legend: "The Lion-king who resembles Narasiṃha is always victorious" (Altekar 1957, 189).
16. CII v, 36: *vākāṭakānām mahārājaśrīdāmodarasenapravarasena* .
17. Cp. Harle 1974, 11 f.; Williams 1982, 90 f.; Berkson 1978; Gail 1977, 127 ff., 166; Bakker 1990, 78 f.
18. Shastri 1987, 74: *sātvatacaraṇādhivāsadvayasya.*
19. See Jaiswal 1967, 53 ff.
20. That the Bhogarāma temple could have been some sort of memorial shrine was first suggested to me by Dr. A.P. Jamkhedkar (Bombay).

APPENDIX

Chronological chart
of the Vākāṭaka temples
on Rāmagiri
(Ramtek Hill)

Vākāṭaka genealogy
(Nandivardhana branch)


AD
(c. AD 360-385)
Pṛthivīsena I (~Varāha) . . . . Varāha temple
425
(c. AD 385-405)
Rudrasena II (~Narasiṃha) . . . . Rudra Narasiṃha temple
x (c. AD 405-419)
Prabhāvatī Guptā . . . . Kevala Narasiṃha temple
450
(†before AD 419)
Divākarasena . . . . Trivikrama temple
(~Trivikrama)
(c. AD 420-452)
Dāmodarasena
(~Kṛṣṇa)
Pravarasena II . . Bhogarāma temple
(~Balarāma)
475

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PRĀṆA. ASPECTS OF THEORY AND EVIDENCE FOR PRACTICE IN LATE-BRĀHMAṆICAL AND EARLY-UPANIṢADIC THOUGHT

H.W.A. Blezer

Introduction

Namo gurave. This paper was initiated during an inspiring year-long session in quest for the essence of sacrifice headed by Prof. Heesterman in the role of sthapati. Sharing his theories with us, he granted us a bird's eye view of the development of the concept of ātman in relation to the śrautāgni (cultic fire), as witnessed by the Vedic textual tradition. He moreover extended this thematic excursion to the borderlines of the Śruti, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads, in order to link up with later and possibly contemporaneous schools of Indian thought.

Comfortably seated on the shoulders of our sthapati many points of discussion came within view; I am grateful to be offered the opportunity to continue part of our discussion by means of a contribution to this felicitation-volume in honour of Prof. Heesterman.

The context of the discussion

I should like to introduce the argument of this paper by making some general critical remarks on Heesterman's theories and approach pertaining to ātman and śrautāgni. Due to the "actuality" of our discussion, reference is often made to work of Heesterman that is still in the process of being published, especially a comprehensive study of the Vedic firecult. Consequently I will not (re)state his views more than necessary for the line of my argument and leave an exhaustive presentation of his theories to the moment of publication of this work.

From the point of view of the ritual texts themselves, the connection between the individualized and ultimately interiorized śrautāgni - as an external or internal soul - and the ātman seems well-founded and evident. Likewise, the identification of the śrautāgnis with the prāṇas in the concept of an inner agnyādheya (establishment of the cultic fires) - in the process of which an ātman, immortality, is obtained- and the consequent linking of the Vedic firecult to an internal sacrifice (casu quo oblation to the prāṇas) or even a purely mental sacrifice[1]. I would prefer to extend this link, though, to a cultivation of prāṇa and internal heat (tejas) or ascetic heat (tapas), suggestive of a (spiritual) discipline centering around breath[2]. The point where I do not dare to follow his line of argument is where he maintains that the development of the idea of ātman (in the broadest sense, i.e. the birth of the individual) is the *single* consequence of the manipulation of and the speculation surrounding the śrautāgni.

The first objection to this thesis is a methodological one, I dare not assume that the corpus of ritual texts, which is about the only informant regarding this period in Indian culture, imparts all there is to be known about Vedic society and culture. I do not exclude the possibility that it is too specialistic for this purpose. However comprehensive and central an institution ritual and sacrifice may have been in Vedic society, because this corpus of texts was transmitted in a ritualistic tradition, it still represents a more or less specialistic casu quo ritualistic view of this society. The point of this critique is: I consider it methodologically incorrect to substantiate the central position of ritual and ritualistic speculation as these are known to us from ritual texts by means of these selfsame ritual texts. In this way a theory would be created that intrinsically is not liable to falsification.

In recent communications, as a supplement to the Vedic Śruti, the Iranian and Greek contexts as well as anthropological and archeological evidence concerning the individualization of man in primitive society and the pivotal position of fire in the process of civilization were introduced into the discussion. Eagerly looking forward to the fullblown size of these arguments I shall confine myself here to a few words regarding the nexus fire-culture. According to Heesterman fire, being the only element that primitive man can make, is because of the revolutionary scope of its practical/technical merits in the course of civilization the most fit carrier for human speculation regarding his own identity as a human (spiritual) being and with regard to the scope and development of his human potential (as something made or won out of, as an added value to, nature - whatever that may be if it does not include this human adventure). Even if that is so, it still does not mean that because of this fit fire actually was *the* sole and universal basis for human self-reflection, nor that it was the only vehicle possible or even most probable for self-awareness and self-definition or the consequent self-reflection and self-knowledge. The observation that the ātman, like the śrautāgni, is a human artifact, that immortality is kṛtaka, the ultimate piece of art resulting from the human endeavour to attain mastery over or freedom from the "natural" or "given" state of affairs, is it really stating more than a matter of factly: take up your human burden, is it that specifically tied up to a kṛtakaḥ śrautāgni?

This brings me to a second, more substantial objection. However evident and relevant the connection ātman and śrautāgni may be, I cannot accept that the ingress to an experience of self or ātman is exclusively possible through an intermediate concept like fire. The experience of self as a centre of action, feeling, volition, etc. does not stand in need of an intermediary. The term ātman as such, in contrast to e.g. brahman, does not refer to a ritual context or origin, but rather to a physical/psychical/spiritual reality. Illuminating in this respect is the use of ātman as a reflexive pronoun. Etymology suggests a connection to breathing[3] rather than to ritual or fire, but this etymological approach is irrelevant for the period of concern to us and will not be pursued here any further. To try to reduce the speculations centering around ātman to manipulation of and speculations surrounding the śrautāgni is, to put it mildly, circumstantial if not artificial. It certainly does not make the most of the inherent injunction towards economy in argumentation. More likely the term ātman was secondarily connected with the speculations concerning the cultic fire in order to express the absolutely individual and extrasocial character of the sole sacrificer's śrautāgni. That is to say, ritualistic speculation resorted to a contemporaneously developing or maybe even more or less current notion of ātman - apparently clear and well-defined enough to convey the message - in order to express the changing views and interpretations of ritual. This speculation reflects the breakthrough in self-consciousness, rather than the notion of ātman being the sole consequence of that ritualistic śrautāgni-speculation. Some internal evidence for this point of view lies in the course of development that ritual took according to Heesterman[4]. The ultimate transcendence of the concrete śrauta-ritual does, in its denial of the ritual itself, certainly not corroborate the hypothesis that this movement towards transcendence in saṃnyāsa is a ritual invention, or, to state it more accurately, is the logical consequence of a strictly internal development of the śrauta-ritual itself. I see it rather as a reflection of a major change in consciousness (major, even if confined to an elite) that was apparently so convincing and comprehensive, that it ultimately rendered śrauta-ritual superfluous (n.b. ideologically, though by no means in practice). The dawning notion of an ātman as a stepping stone to transcendence is doubtlessly visible within the arena of ritualistic discussion, but it is part and parcel of a more comprehensive and irrevocable development in Indian thought, rather than only the outcome of the deliberations of some firepriests, who, examining the matter of transcendence more closely, decided to denounce their own ritual.

The aim of this paper

Starting from this general criticism a more substantiated and specific refutation of Heesterman's thesis regarding the exclusive relation between śrautāgni and ātman will be attempted here by pursuing another line of speculation surrounding ātman and immortality, i.e. speculations focussing on prāṇa. Though connected with ritual, prāṇa is not like the śrautāgni completely tied up to ritualistic thought. Physically recitation and chant and possibly the kindling of fire too involve prāṇa and metaphysically prāṇa appears in the speculations surrounding the metres, sāmans, and the like. Moreover, considering the relation between depth and rythm of breathing and consciousness, as witnessed in the phenomena of sleep, ecstasy, and mind-control through breathing-exercise (as it is known from various meditative practices like for instance in the later Yoga-disciplines), breathing offers a very probable means to a (mystical) experience of self. A universal means, for the experience of an interdependance of breathing and physical exertion, certain psychic states like excitement and anger, or the transition from waking to sleeping consciousness and vice versa is open to everyone. Likewise, the opportunity to manipulate breath consciously in breathing-technique/exercise/control, whatever the end of this discipline may be.

By presenting some physical and metaphysical aspects of prāṇa-theory as well as evidence for prāṇa-practice, a different perspective on the concepts of ātman and immortality will be laid open and a first move towards a refutation of the śrautāgnivādins' *exclusive* claim on these concepts will be made. These aspects of theory are intimately connected with the descriptions of and speculations surrounding waking consciousness, dream sleep, and deep dreamless sleep, to dying and death i.e. to life and death, and ultimately to the closely related ātman-brahman mysticism and, lastly, also to ritual recitation and chant.

This, my main argument, will not be presented from the point of view of the later Upaniṣads and the Yoga-school[5], though reference to the Yoga-tradition will be inevitable, nor will it be treated in the light of possible aboriginal pre- and extra-vedic shamanic techniques[6] or of techniques of ecstasy (possibly related to or originating from shamanic tradition - whether it be Indo-aryan or aboriginal) as witnessed in the Saṃhitās[7].

There is a remarkable increase in prāṇa-speculation and reference to practice noticable in the early Upaniṣads, in sharp contrast to the conspicuous reserve of the preceding Brāhmaṇical textual tradition on this point. As suggested by Heesterman, this inspires an investigation into a hypothetical resumption of ancient possibly shamanic techniques of ecstasy in Yogic practice, casu quo prāṇāyāma, after having been tabood in the Brāhmaṇical period and maybe already earlier. The increase of interest in prāṇa witnesses the beginning of this possible revival, but also announces its transformation into the first foundations of the Yoga-system. This transformation bears the mark or character of this crucial period of breakthrough in Indian thought, i.e. the dawning of and the first explicit speculations regarding individual consciousness and the consequent possibility of release, as witnessed by the ātman-brahman speculations and mysticism. These ancient techniques of breath-control would thus come to serve a systematic exploration of (individual) consciousness and ultimately the end of emancipation of the individual rather than ecstatic vision or shamanic practice as such. The character and wording of the passages suggestive of a prāṇa-practice seem to confirm this e.g. when using the early Vedic connotations of terms like ātman as body or brahman as the Veda-word, rather in dissonance with the common usage in the Upaniṣads.

Substantiation of the foregoing hypothetical sketch of development would exceed the scope of this paper. The present study will concentrate on the presentation of material relevant to prāṇa-theory and to the substantiation of a prāṇa-practice in this turn in Indian thought, closely linking it up to ātman-brahman speculation. Thus the decreasing predominance of śrautāgni-speculation and the gradual encroachment of a more internal point of departure, scil. prāṇa or the interiorized śrautāgni as some would have it, in the approach to ātman and brahman will be shown for these texts. Neither the theories of interiorization of sacrifice, nor a presentation of the development of breathing-technique throughout the Vedic period will be attempted here, for both require a more specific and extensive study of the (other) periods concerned, they will be referred to only for the sake of orientation.

This investigation will confine itself to the period of confluence of late-brāhmaṇical and early-upaniṣadic thought, which is most indicative of the above-mentioned turn in Indian thought. The textual material consists of the last chapters of the Mādhyandinīya Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (X-XIV) and the following Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad in Kāṇva-recension and the Sāmavedic Chāndogyopaniṣad[8]. Only rarely will I make use of Śaṅkara's commentary[9], because he strongly tends to interpret the Upaniṣads in the light of his own theories to the extent that he seems to be (ab)using them as an authorative framework for his own speculations. After a short clarification of the uses of the term prāṇa in these texts, the function of prāṇa in the transition from life to death and from waking to sleeping consciousness will be examined and subsequently its[10] relation to immortality, lastly, some often enigmatic passages suggestive of a practice relating to prāṇa will be discussed.

Uses of the term prāṇa

There are four more or less distinct uses of the term prāṇa discernible in the texts investigated:

1 prāṇāḥ (plural), the five movements of breath[11]: prāṇa (exhalation or forward breathing; possibly inhalation), apāna (inhalation or downward breathing; possibly exhalation or off-breathing), vyāna (through-breathing), udāna (upward breathing), and samāna (pervasive or central breathing);

2 prāṇāḥ (plural), located in the head, by approximation the indriyas of the later Upaniṣads, the sensory functions (in the head): prāṇa (breath in the nose, smell), vāc (speech, in the mouth), cakṣus (sight of the eye), śrotra (audition of the ear), and manas (the mental faculty or mind);

3 prāṇaḥ (singular), located in the mouth: the central vital breath, identified with prāṇa in the nose under item two;

4 prāṇaḥ (singular), a general designation for vital power or energy.

Ad 1 Especially in the Ś.Br., the number of breath-movements varies considerably in accordance to the numerical configuration of the specific ritualistic detail that is being commented upon, but in no case does there seem to be any evidence for an actually deviating system. The classification into five is the root-paradigm[12], which shows variations upward (without additional breaths) and downward (by omission, from samāna towards prāṇa), a frequently occurring example of the last category being the trio prāṇāpānodāna. Each of the breath-movements is connected to one of the prāṇas in the head ("indriyas"), with exception of the udāna, which is not associated with prāṇa but with the macrocosmical element (devatā) vāyu, resulting in the series: prāṇa-cakṣus, apāna-vāc, vyāna-śrotra, samāna-manas, and udāna-vāyu[13]. Properly speaking, all the breath-movements can be subsumed under the heading of prāṇa in the connotation of central vital breath or breath in the mouth[14].

Ad 2 Five prāṇas in the head (śīrṣanprāṇas) are mentioned[15]. They are almost identical to the later indriyas and are said to be connected to the (vital) essence (rasa) of the seven puruṣas/ṛṣis/prāṇas thought to be concentrated in the head[16]. The first prāṇa is by itself called prāṇa and represents the breath in the nose or smell[17] often identified with prāṇa as breath in the mouth (or central vital breath), which will be treated next. In the Ś.Br. the number of the prāṇas in the head is also met with in the most divergent (ritualistic) numerical variations, again without any evidence for a substantially different classification. In the Bṛ.Ā.U., though, these prāṇas are often extended with the functions of taste (together with speech located in the mouth), touch, and vijñāna (perception or possibly understanding, close to the mental faculty manas)[18], but also more remote categories like semen[19] are added.

Ad 3 Prāṇa also represents the phenomenon breath in its most general meaning of vital breath or breathing. As will be shown later, it is generally considered to be the central faculty among the prāṇas ("indriyas"). Sometimes it is explicitly specified as the central vital breath: madhye[20]/madhyataḥ[21]/madhyamaḥ[22] prāṇaḥ or breath in the mouth (mukhyaḥ prāṇaḥ)[23], often plainly but confusingly prāṇa[24]. Because all these descriptions refer to breath as the basis of all the vital functions or even as the immortal element in man[25] it will be referred to as the central[26] vital breath.

Ad 4 Finally prāṇa is also used in a more abstract meaning signifying vital power or energy[27]. In this sense it is used synonimously with vīrya[28].

Generally speaking all the above-mentioned distinctions of prāṇa seem to be no more than different connotations suggested by the context. Prāṇa as such has no parallel equally comprehensive in meaning in the English language. For the sake of clarity they will be translated by different more limited descriptions that are able to convey these specific connotations. It has to be stated explicitly that this is a problem of translation and not a confusion regarding prāṇa in these texts.

Prāṇa, death and sleep

This paragraph will offer a short survey of the functions of prāṇa in the process of dying and in the state of death for the ignoramus or the state of release for the brahman. The most important passages are Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.35-4.25, Ch.U.VIII.6.4-6, and Ch.U.VIII.12.1-6. Each of them is preceded by a description of the transition from waking to sleeping consciousness, i.e to dreamstate and deep dreamless sleep, scil. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.7-34, Ch.U.VIII.6.1-3, and Ch.U.VIII.10.1,11.1 successively. Both descriptions parallel each other to a high degree, the same parameters are met with in analoguous processes. The role of prāṇa is markedly more prominent, though, in the descriptions of the transition to sleep etc.. The most detailed account, Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.35-4.25, will be taken as a starting point for this survey.

(...) At the time of death, when he breathes his last, all the prāṇas ("indriyas") *surround this ātman*, or, *when now, this ātman, being debilitated, is about to become insensible, then these prāṇas surround him. Taking these elements* (or particles) *of tejas (gathered together) to himself, he then descends along with* (these) *to the very heart* and the puruṣa in the eye turns away[29]. We also find: *so, when he is wasted away, emaciated by age or disease (...), this puruṣa, having freed himself from these bodily parts, returns again to the origin, the very prāṇa* (central vital breath)[30] or briefly: *manas unites with prāṇa, prāṇa unites with tejas*[31]. *When, now, this purua in the eye turns away, then he does not perceive forms anymore.* Because he becomes one (with himself), sensory perception, dependent on subject and object, ceases[32], likewise, the perception of the inner vaiśvānara-fire[33]. Or, again briefly, *tejas unites with the supreme godhead*[34]. At this point the paths of an ignorant person and a released brahman separate.

Then, *the tip of the heart* (of the ignorant person) *starts to radiate with light, with this glow, this ātman ascends through the eye, the head or another part of the body. Prāṇa* (central vital breath) *follows the ascending ātman, all the prāṇas* ("indriyas") *follow prāṇa going out (after). He is endowed with vijñāna, having vijñāna he descends together with* (this), *his knowledge and karman attach themselves to him, likewise his memory*[35] (knowledge of the past)[36]. According to another passage[37], this is the point where sensory perception ceases.

In a deviating description Yājñavalkya denies that the prāṇas leave the body (of the ignorant person[38]), which consequently lies there swollen and inflated[39]. Elsewhere, however, in the Ś.Br., the swelling goes with the prāṇas leaving the body[40]. Whereas the wording and context of the description in Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.2 suggest taking the "descend together with" here as a descending into a new womb[41], other passages describe a dissolution of the prāṇas ("indriyas") into the corresponding immortal devatās[42]. That seems to be what Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga had in mind when questioning Yājñavalkya about the fate of a dead man. At this occasion Yājñavalkya denies the theory of dissolution of the prāṇas and confides the secret of the (new) karman-doctrine to him[43]. However, in an earlier chapter Yājñavalkya teaches the theory of dissolution (probably of the same prāṇas) into the elements to his beloved Maitreyī in order to make the point that the sensory functions, designated by him as saṃjñā, do not continue in death[44].

The fate of the brahman is presented in a very concise manner: *his prāṇas do not go out of the body, being only brahman he* (the brahman) *enters into brahman*[45]. This is elaborated in the imagery of *a narrow, subtle, ancient path extending itself, that fell to my share, was found by myself, along this path the unwavering knowers of brahman go upward from here to the heavenly world, released.* On this path various colours are perceived: white, blue, gold-yellow, green, and blood-red[46]. These colours reappear in the description of the heart[47], the place in the inner space of which the ātman rests[48]. The puruṣa is also associated with the heart and is even explicitly said to rest in its inner space[49] or, as the Ś.Br. has it, *the puruṣa in the right eye has his feet firmly fixed in the heart*[50]. The prāṇas, too, are thought to be established in the heart[51], in this context they probably refer to the "indriyas" as well as to the breath-movements, both of which are designated as the five gates of the heart[52]. In a more speculative and imaginative way: *now, this which is this abode - a tiny lotus flower - in this city of Brahmā*[53]*, small is the space therein, one should search for that which is in there, that indeed one should desire to know.* The whole universe is altogether contained in this space, which is subsequently equated to the ātman[54] or to brahman[55]. *Now, these which are the channels of the heart, they are present as subtleties of golden, white, blue, yellow, or red, the sun is golden, it is white, it is blue, it is yellow, and it is red. Like a long main road, which goes to both villages this one as well as that, exactly like this, these rays of the sun go to both worlds this one as well as that, they proceed from that sun slipping into these channels and extend from these channels slipping into yonder sun*[56]. *Now, when he leaves this body, then he ascends upward along these same rays or he, indeed, disappears (upward*[57]*)* (with) *"Oṃ". When he gives up the ghost, then he goes to the sun, which, indeed, is truly an entrance, gate, to the* (heavenly) *world for those who know, a barrier for the ignorant. Regarding this, there is the following verse: "One hundred and one are the channels of the heart, from amongst these one issues forth towards the head. Going upward along this one, one reaches immortality, others are going out in all directions, are going out in all directions"*[58]. *That which is that reality, that is yonder one, the sun; this which is the puruṣa in afore-mentioned disk, and this which is the puruṣa here in the right eye, these two are both established upon each other, the first one is based on this one here by* (its) *rays, this one here rests on yonder one by* (his) *prāṇas* ("indriyas"?). *So, when he is about to leave* (the body), *he sees this disk very clearly, these rays do not reach back to him anymore*[59]. *Now, this shape of a puruṣa in the left eye, this is Virāj,*

the wife of this one here (the puruṣa in the right eye). *This which is the space inside the heart, this is their place of celebration. Now, this which is the lump of blood inside the heart, this is their food. Moreover, this which is the reticular-like structure inside the heart, this is their covering and this which is the channel that runs upward from the heart, this is the path they are wont to go together. Like a hair split a thousandfold, thus these, its channels - called veins, are situated inside the heart, along these, indeed, that which comes flowing in* (i.e. food), *comes flowing in. Therefore this ātman definitely has, as it were, a more subtle food than this body*[60].
The connection of the subtle channels inside the heart and the prāṇas to food, is related with the concept of agnivaiśvānara. *This vaiśvānara fire - which is this* (fire) *inside man by which this food that he eats is being cooked* (digested), *the noise thereof is that which he hears, when he has covered up his ears, now, when he is about to leave* (the body) *he does not hear this noise* (anymore)[61]. *Now, that which is the light that shines above yonder heaven (...), that is this very light here that is inside this man. When one, by touch, perceives this heat in this body here, this is the sight* (notion?) *thereof; when one hears, after having closed ones ears, something like a crackling or say roaring, like of a burning fire, this is the sound-perception thereof (...)*[62]. In this context of digestion agnivaiśvānara is probably connected to prāṇa[63] in its function of digestion and distribution of nourishment in the body. Three of the meanings of prāṇa might be involved here: firstly the breath-movements probably responsible for the coarse matter[64], secondly the "indriyas" probably responsible for the more subtle essence of the food[65], and lastly the breath in the mouth representing the place where the food is taken in[66]. Prāṇa is said to find its origin in food[67], though generally, it is associated with water (especially the most subtle part)[68]. On the other hand, agnivaiśvānara is, like the space inside the heart, identified with the immortal essence in man casu quo the puruṣa[69].

The parallel to the description of the process of dying, the account of the transition from waking to sleeping consciousness[70], highlights the puruṣa instead of the ātman in the leading part, i.e when referring to the immortal essence. The ātman, taking these elements (or particles) of tejas (gathered together) to himself and descending along with these to the very heart, we find here as: *(...) this which is the puruṣa consisting of vijñāna, having taken that vijñāna with the vijñāna of these prāṇas, rests in this which is the space inside the heart (...)*[71]. *Not asleep* (himself), *having overpowered the body by sleep, he observes the sleeping* (prāṇas). *Having taken the brightness* (essence, śukra), *he returns again to* (his) *station, the golden puruṣa, the lone bird*[72]. *(...) Now, when he falls asleep, he sleeps after having taken off the elements* (or particles) *of this whole world, having de- and reconstructed them himself by his own radiance, by his own light, here this puruṣa is his own light*[73]. When the puruṣa overpowers or seizes the prāṇas ("indriyas"), sensory perception ceases and sleep is induced[74]. In most descriptions, however, it is stated in "one breath": when the puruṣa falls asleep, the prāṇas enter prāṇa (the central vital breath)[75].

The death of the ignorant person finds its parallel in dream-state. Here, the question of being beyond the body or not is even less unanimously answered than in the case of death: *Not dead,* (yet) *roaming outside the nest*[76]*, protecting the nest below with prāṇa* (the central vital breath), *immortal, he now roves at will, the golden puruṣa, the lone bird*[77]. But also: *Now, when he roams about in dream, these* (prāṇas?) *are his worlds, (...), having seized his prāṇas he wanders about at will in his own body*[78]. The ongoing discussion is still visible when the injunction: *they say: "One should not wake him up abruptly", truly difficult is the cure for him to whom this* (puruṣa) *does not return,* is countered by: *but now, they also say: "To him, this* (dream-state) *is identical to the place of waking" for, indeed, those* (things) *that he sees waking, are the ones* (he sees) *when asleep, thus, the puruṣa is his own light here*[79] *(...)*[80].

The state of unity with brahman has its parallel in deep dreamless sleep[81]. The interesting idea of the heart and its coloured channels is resumed here. *Now indeed, these, his channels - called veins, are (present) as subtle as a hair split a thousandfold, full of white, blue, golden, green, and red*[82]. *Now, when he is fast asleep, when he does not know of anything anymore, the seventy-two thousand channels - called veins, that start from the heart towards the pericardium, having crawled towards* (it) *through these, he rests in the pericardium; then, like a prince royal, a supreme sovereign, or a great brāhmaṇa would rest after having reached the utter oblivion of bliss, exactly like this he rests in there*[83]. This blissful quality of the oblivion of deep sleep is put in explicit anology to sexual union[84].

Having presented the more physically oriented aspects of prāṇa-theory some obscure points in this survey still require clarification.

Firstly, there is the question whether at the point of death the prāṇas of the ignorant person leave the body or not. The situation for the related transition from waking to sleeping consciousness is seemingly even more confused: either the puruṣa goes out of the body, while prāṇa (and the prāṇas, probably implied in the simile of the nest as well) remain within the sleeping body, or nothing goes out of the body at all[85]. These divergences in description, however, are less dramatic and relevant than appears at first sight. There is plenty of evidence for an awareness of the relativity of the categories of space and time with regard to death and sleep. This notion is implied in the statements that when dreaming, *the puruṣa is his own light*[86], is creator of his own world[87], and *is not pursued by whatever he sees then, for this puruṣa is independent*[88]. This is stated with accordantly more emphasis for the dreamless state of sleep: *from this ātman all prāṇas* ("indriyas"?), *all worlds, all gods, and all beings emanate*[89] and with regard to the death of the brahman, *he is the creator of all things, for he is the maker of everything, his is the world, he himself is the very world*[90], *whatever object he is yearning for, the desire that he cherishes arises from his willful intention*[91]. Those passages, on the other hand, that speculate more explicitly about the transcendent character of the state of release, witness an absolute implosion rather than a relativity of the categories of space[92] and time[93] in brahman. Knowing the ātman is being brahman, knowledge that transcends duality[94], is synonymous with release, the transcendence of duality. In this sense, the image of going out of the body is a spatial metaphor for the experience that with the transition from waking to sleeping, or from life to death, the body and its functions are out of reach, out of control. A necessarily limited metaphor for the transcendence of space and time, for "leaving behind" the body and the material world, *the forms of death*[95]. Accordingly, the observation that when falling asleep only the puruṣa leaves the body, dozing off was apparently and obviously considered to be less disruptive then dying.

Secondly, there is a similar point for the description of release. Frequently mention is made of a central channel extending from the heart upward to the head along which the ātman leaves the body bound for immortality, for the sun, or of a narrow path leading upward to the world of heaven. Grappling with the intrinsic difficulty in describing an implosion of all dualistic categories a second representation is resorted to in addition to the above-mentioned spatial metaphor: the resumption of the ancient concept of a devayāna, the path upward to a devaloka, touching the sun, the immortal one that shines yonder. Both the figure of leaving the body for immortality, projected on yon heaven, as well as the (metaphysically somewhat more solidly - casu quo frugally - though by no means consistently constructed) image of the puruṣa in deep sleep entering into his own heart, in (tender) embrace or union with his ātman (read: imploding in himself), apparently could serve to express the collaps of micro- and macrocosmos in the experience of transcendence.

Lastly a few words regarding the usage of the terms saṃjñā and vijñāna in some passages ascribed to Yājñavalkya. Talking about death he states, *(...) when passed away, there is no saṃjñā (...), for, where there is something like duality,* the prāṇas ("indriyas") can operate, but *when, in truth, everything became the very ātman for him,* lacking the crucial division into subject and object, how can the senses function[96]? To this rethorical question he adds, *that by which one percieves all this, who could perceive that one, who could perceive the perceiver?*[97] This perceiver (vijñātṛ) is elsewhere explicitly characterized as imperishable and imperceptible[98]. Previously the ātman of the ignoramus was, when leaving the body at the point of decease (n.b after cessation of the sensory perception), designated as *endowed with vijñāna, having vijñāna he descends together with* (this). Exactly this is the vijñāna that this puruṣa consisting of vijñāna takes with the vijñāna of the prāṇas. The puruṣa, the immortal element in man, is defined here as the essence of vijñāna in the prāṇas that survives death, and is beyond sensory perception. Likewise the ātman, *for truly, this which is the great unborn ātman, which is this one consisting of the vijñāna in the prāṇas and which rests in this which is the inner space in the heart (...)*[99]. Without, for reasons of brevity, going into the intricacies of terminology surrounding this question, we summarize in conclusion: the sensory function of the prāṇas designated as saṃjñā is mortal, the imperishable and imperceptible essence of perception in the prāṇas denoted as vijñāna constitutes the immortal nature of man, the puruṣa or ātman[100]. Therefore Yājñavalkya characterizes *the eternal and limitless supreme being as only consisting of vijñāna*[101].

Prāṇa and immortality

In this paragraph the relation between prāṇa and ātman, puruṣa, and immortality will be examined more closely. From the preceding survey, the status of ātman and puruṣa as the immortal element in man may be sufficiently clear. Though there is an unmistakable preference for the term puruṣa in descriptions with regard to sleep and for ātman in the matter of death and dying, their import is almost interchangeable in these contexts. The close resemblence in connotations of these terms may further be gathered from the occasionally surprising similarity in their accumulated attributes and qualifications[102].

The central position of prāṇa among the prāṇas is extensively evidenced in the previous presentation, it might be overlooked however, that prāṇa (the central vital breath, or breath in the mouth) is, in fact, not different from the first of the prāṇas, i.e. prāṇa (breath in the nose). The well-known contest of the prāṇas arbitrated by brahman[103] is very enlightening in both respects. The competition is introduced by its conclusion, *(...) prāṇa* (the central vital breath but also breath in the nose!), *indeed, is the most excellent, the best (...)*[104]. Prāṇa proves to be the only indispensible prāṇa ("indriya") and derives its superiority from the vitality of its function[105]. In one of the sacrificial encounters of the devas and the asuras, the devas resolve to outdo the asuras in sacrifice by means of the udgītha (chanting of the Sāmaveda). Selecting an udgātṛ (the priest chanting it), only prāṇa (the central vital breath, breath in the mouth) - and not the prāṇas (the "indriyas" including prāṇa, breath in the nose) - proves to be invulnerable when the asuras try to pierce it with evil. *Now, in truth, this devatā* (prāṇa), *having warded of evil, death, for these devatās* (gods as well as prāṇas) *brought it there where the end of these heavenly regions is, there she deposited their evil (...).* Thus, in truth, this devatā, having warded off evil, death, for these devatās, now carried them beyond death. In this way, indeed, she carried each devatā beyond death; when they escaped death, then they became the corresponding macrocosmic devatās: thus these macrocosmic elements have transcended death. *(...) Indeed,* *whatever food is eaten, is eaten exactly through him*[106] (prāṇa, the mouth), *here he dependends upon. (...) They* (the devatās, prāṇas) *sit down around him on all sides, therefore, by this, the food that he eats through him, these are satisfied*[107]. Here prāṇa and the first of the prāṇas are treated separately. Nevertheless, their factual identity is not excluded by this differentiation: *by that which he eats and that which he drinks by means of him* (prāṇa, the mouth), *he protects the other*(!) *prāṇas; at the end, not finding this, they go out, at the end, one just opens the mouth*[108].

Now, this which is the central (madhye) *prāṇa* (here too, most probably, reckoned to be one of the prāṇas), *exactly he is Indra* (the first of the gods), *he kindled* (ainddha) *the prāṇas* ("indriyas") *with his power* (indriyeṇa) *from their midst* (madhyataḥ); *because he kindled, therefore he is a kindler* (indhaḥ), *in truth, indha, indeed, they occultly call Indra, for the gods love the occult (...)*[109].

In a Bṛ.Ā.U.-passage, in tenor and content strongly reminiscent of the foregoing often quizzical Brāhmaṇa-style of speculation, there is another account of a contest among the prāṇas preceded by some remarkable statements about prāṇa. The Father "*made three* (kinds of food) *for himself* (for the ātman)", *mind, speech and prāṇa* (the central vital breath, breath in the mouth), *these he made for himself. "Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, samāna and ana" all that is nothing but prāṇa, in truth this ātman consists thereof, it consists of speech, consists of mind, and consists of prāṇa*[110]. More obscure are the following rows of identifications for these three prāṇas, e.g for prāṇa: *(...) prāṇa is yonder world*[111]*; whatever is unknown, that is a form of prāṇa, for prāṇa is unknown, having become that, prāṇa supports him*[112]*; now, of this prāṇa water is the body, yonder moon the form of light, for, exactly as extensive as prāṇa is, so vast are the waters, so wide is the moon; thus, all these indeed, are the same, all are endless (...)*[113]. *The divine prāṇa enters him from the waters as well as from the moon, now, this which is the divine prāṇa, either moving or not moving, it does not waver nor perish (...)*[114]. Thus, the other-worldly, the mysterious, the element water, and the moon are associated with prāṇa, but it is at the same time characterized as divine, unshakable and imperishable. The prāṇas are also designated as divine and immortal[115]; there is no clue as to whether this refers to the imperishable and imperceptible vijñāna-essence or that the saṃjñā-function is considered to be immortal here. However, considering the Brāhmaṇical character of this passage the statement might predate this Upaniṣadic distinction and belong to a more ancient layer of speculation[116].

Introducing the observance of prāṇa, which will be treated in the next paragraph, this brāhmaṇa continues with the rivalry among the prāṇas (prāṇa, again, explicitly considered to be one of them): *Now, in the following, an investigation into the observance, in truth, Prajāpati created the sensory functions* (karmāṇi), *being created they vied with* *each other (...). Death, in the form of exhaustion, seized them, took possession of them, having occupied them, death restrained them (...); but, precisely this which is the central prāṇa, he did not take hold of. They decided to acknowledge: "Verily, this one that either moving or not moving does not waver nor perish, is the best amongst us, well then, let us all become a form of him alone". Thus all of them became a form of this very one, therefore they are named after him: "prāṇa"*[117].

Concluding this chapter we find: *This (all) is threefold, nāma, rūpa, and karman* (name, form, and - ritual - work) *(...). Now this, being threefold, is this one ātman, the ātman, being one, is this triad, thus this immortal is veiled by reality. In truth, prāṇa is the immortal, name and form are reality, by these two this prāṇa is veiled*[118]. Prāṇa is, one might say, the one but last reality[119]. The body is mortal, *but this incorporeal immortal prāṇa is identical with brahman*[120], *with tejas*[121]. *But, the incorporeal*[122] *prāṇa as well as this which is the space here inside the ātman, this is the immortal, this is the going, this is over there. Now, of this incorporeal, of this immortal, of this going, of this that is over there, this which is the puruṣa*[123] *in the right eye, is the essence, for he is the essence of that which is over there. (...) And the appellation is "the reality of reality", in truth, the prāṇas are the reality, he is the reality of these*[124] (n.b. once more the description shifts from prāṇa to the prāṇas). A similar statement for the ātman and the prāṇas: *Now, like a spider would ascend a thread* (spin a web, excrete a thread?), *like little sparks scatter around from a fire, exactly like this all prāṇas, all worlds, all gods, and all beings emanate from this ātman. The upaniṣad* (mystical esoteric meaning) *thereof is "the reality of reality", in truth, the prāṇas are the reality, he is the reality of these*[125]. That is to say, the prāṇas constitute the (vijñānamaya) ātman or puruṣa by their immortal vijñāna-essence or reality.

Here, prāṇa (the central vital breath or breath in the mouth) and the prāṇas ("indriyas") evidently come close to (or more precisely constitute) the ātman and puruṣa as the immortal element in man. Prāṇa even transcends the adhyātmam-level in being identified with brahman[126]. This predominant position of prāṇa and the prāṇas in these speculations contrasts sharply with the conspicuous marginality of the śrautāgni-element, which can only be traced in more remote concepts like tejas, the light metaphor, agnivaiśvānara, and the like.

Evidence for prāṇa-practice

In this last paragraph the material suggestive for the idea of a cultivation of prāṇa will be examined. We can distinguish here a cultivation of prāṇa, in the general sense of vital power or energy, in the concrete situations of life and a more artificial practice of cultivating prāṇa, in the sense of central vital breath and the breath-movements or breathing in general, in brief: breathing-excercises, probably connected to recitation and chant in ritual.

An instance of the first kind of practice seems to be implied in Yājñavalkya's exposition to Janaka of Videha regarding a statement the Vaideha heard from Udaṅka Śaulbāyana, to wit: *"Verily, prāṇa is brahman."*. *In truth, oh great ruler, for the sake of prāṇa* (vital power or energy) *one officiates at a sacrifice that should not be sacrificed and accepts from whom one should not accept. In which*(ever) *direction one goes, oh great ruler, truly for the sake of prāṇa, there will be fear of death. In truth, oh great ruler, prāṇa is the highest brahman. He who knowing thus observes this, prāṇa will not abandon him, all beings flock around him, like a god, he joins the gods*[127]. Cultivation of prāṇa implies cultivating the realm of fear, the āraṇya, beyond the safe borders of civilization, grāma. Often requiring the courage to transgress, to challenge, the established rule, here the vidhi of sacrifice[128], and to face the risk of death on quests in foreign parts. We will leave aside here Śaṅkara's interpretation of Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.36, taking "(...) punaḥ pratinyāyaṃ pratiyonyādravati prāṇāyaiva" to imply reincarnation for the enfoldment of his vital force[129]. This third brāhmaṇa predominantly treats of the transition from waking state to dream-state and from thence onward to the deep dreamless state of sleep and vice versa. The above-mentioned phrase often recurs in these descriptions, only differing in the destination indicated (by means of the dative case)[130]. Consequently, in the description of dying, the dative prāṇāya most probably has to be construed alike: *to(wards) prāṇa,* alluding to the image of the prāṇas entering prāṇa when falling asleep.

A most remarkable passage exemplifying the second kind of prāṇa-practice was introduced in the preceding paragraph when discussing the superiority of praṇa among the prāṇas. Prāṇa is not affected by death in the form of exhaustion, either moving or not moving it does not waver nor perish. *Now, like the central prāṇa among these prāṇas, likewise the wind among these devatās, for the other devatās go down, the wind does not, for the devatā that does not set, is that which is the wind*[131]. *Now, regarding this, there is the following verse: "From where the sun as well rises as sets, in truth, as is well-known, it rises from prāṇa and sets in prāṇa, that the gods instituted as dharma". Verily, that which they observed of yore, precisely that too they practice today. Therefore one should practice exactly this one observation: let him just breath out as well as breath in, "In order that evil, death, may not overpower me". And if he would observe and intend to maintain* (this), *by just that, he gains union with this devatā and shares in her world*[132]. This verse strongly suggests a practice of tranquilization and concentration by following the natural flow of breath[133]. In the last brāhmaṇa of this chapter the all is said to be threefold, nāma, rūpa, and karman. A relation with recitation is established by means of the uktha (a kind of recitation in ritual), with chant by means of the sāman (a kind of ritual chant), and with immortality by means of brahman (probably strongly associated with the Veda-word here). Vāc, then, is said to be the uktha, sāman and brahman of nāma, cakṣus of rūpa, and ātman of karman[134].

Equally suggestive is an enigmatic passage confirming the physical and pneumatic orientation of this spiritual discipline, indicative of later yoga-techniques for mind-control through control of breath and body (posture). *Verily, he indeed, who knows the calf together with the stable, repository, post, and rope, restrains the seven hostile cousins. In truth, this calf is this which is the central prāṇa* (probably connoting vital power or energy), *to him alone belong this stable and this repository; prāṇa* (probably connoting breathing in general) *is the pole; food the rope*[135]. According to Śaṅkara's commentary, the stable represents the body and the repository the head[136], which is alluded to in the metrical part of this brāhmaṇa. The calf, the pole and the rope are defined in the quotation itself. The seven hostile cousins reappear in the metrical part and the following explanation, (...) *"seven ṛṣis sit on its* (i.e. the head's) *rim", the ṛṣis are the prāṇas, it means the prāṇas; "the eighth, vāc, being joined to brahman", vāc, number eight, is joined to brahman*[137]. The seven prāṇas are finally specified as the ears, eyes, nostrils, and (the organ of?) vāc (mouth, tongue?)[138]. Thus knowing the central prāṇa, the body, and the head (with its seven hostile cousins, the śīrṣanprāṇas), knowing that this central prāṇa is fettered to prāṇa (breathing) by means of food, one is able to restrain the seven hostile cousins (the prāṇas or "indriyas"), i.e. to control the senses[139]. Without going into the details of this metaphor any further, we may conclude that evidently the link between breathing- (and other physical) excercise and control of the senses is being discussed here.

Both the technical aspects of breath-control as well as the mystical experiences alluded to, are more richly substantiated in the Sāmavedic Chāndogyopaniṣad. There ritual recitation and chant is presented in the character of a spiritual discipline centering around breath, especially the recitation of the syllable oṃ (or other stobhas) clearly indicates a technique of monotone overstimulation. The mystical identifications surrounding ātman and brahman, are here found in connection with metres, sāmans, and the like.

There are numerous places where chant is associated with prāṇa (central vital breath or breath in the mouth). Usually prāṇa is connected with sāman[140] and vāc with ṛc (verse from the Ṛgveda)[141]. The udgītha (chanting of the Sāmaveda) is equated with the prāṇas ("indriyas")[142] and prāṇa, the immortal element free from good and evil[143]. But also with the vyāna, moreover revealing a technical aspect of chanting and breathing-technique in general: *now, verily, one should consider the vyāna as the udgītha, in truth, when one breathes out that is the prāṇa, when one breathes in that is the apāna, now that which is the junction of the prāṇa and the apāna that is the vyāna. That which is the vyāna that is vāc, therefore vāc is uttered without breathing out and without breathing in. That which is vāc that is the ṛc, therefore* *the ṛc is pronounced without breathing out and without breathing in. That which is the ṛc that is the sāman, therefore he chants the sāman without breathing out and without breathing in. That which is the sāman that is the udgītha, therefore one chants the udgītha without breathing out and without breathing in. Those which are the other activities than this requiring strength, like the churning of a fire, the running of a race, and the bending of a strong bow, those one accomplishes without breathing out and without breathing in; because of this one should consider the vyāna as the udgītha*[144].

Besides these practical/technical equations we also find mystical identifications. *Now, in truth, one should consider the sāman as corresponding to the ātman, beyond death and sevenfold (...)*[145]. *Now, this which is the puruṣa seen inside the eye, he is identical to the ṛc, to that sāman, that uktha, that yajus, and that brahman and that which is the form of yonder one* (in the sun), *precisely that is his form, both geṣṇas* (udgīthas) *that belong to yonder one are his*[146] *geṣṇas, that which is the name* (of yonder one) *is his name. Now, (and) these which are the worlds below this one, he is in possession of these as well as the desires* (i.e. the objects of desire) *of men, hence, these here, who sing accompanied by the vīṇā* (the Indian lute), *laud him, therefore they gain wealth. But he, who thus knowing this chants the sāman, lauds both. Now, by precisely that one, he then obtains those which are the worlds beyond yonder one as well as the desires* (ditto) *of the gods and, by precisely this one, at the same time these which are the worlds below this one as well as the desires* (ditto) *of men*[147]. *In truth, the gāyatrī is this all, whatever came into being.* Furthermore it is identified with vāc, the earth, and lastly with the human body and the heart inside man, in both of which the prāṇas are said to be established[148] and the inner space of which is equated to brahman. The equation to the all (or brahman) is the essence and summit of the many rows of identifications occurring in the Chāndogyopaniṣad[149].

The syllable oṃ is regarded as something like the essence of the udgītha[150]. *Exactly that one that shines yonder, one should consider as the udgītha. In truth, rising he chants the udgītha for the creatures, rising he repells darkness and terror, verily, he who knows thus becomes a repeller of darkness and terror. And exactly the same are this one*[151] *as well as that one, this one is hot, that one is hot, this one is called "svara"* (sound), *that one is called "pratyāsvara"* (resplendend). *Now, in truth, therefore one should consider this one and yonder one as the udgītha*[152]. The syllable oṃ itself is considered to be immortal and without fear[153] and the sun is said to proceed resounding with oṃ, like the udgītha and the praṇava[154]. Furthermore, oṃ, being hatched by Prajāpati from the three worlds through the threefold knowledge and the three syllables "bhūr bhuvaḥ svar", is equated to all this, the "all"[155]. Apart from the syllable oṃ we also come across stobhas like hāu, hāī, atha, iha, ī, ū, e, ohoyi, hiṃ, hum, etc., thirteen in total, identified with the most diverse objects[156].

This kind of mysticism is even more explicit in connection with prāṇa. *In truth, prāṇa is this "all", whatever came into being*[157]. It is the (one but) last in a series of categories of increasing importance. The first is nāma, inferior to vāc, in turn subordinated to successively manas, saṃkalpa (volition), citta (willful thought), dhyāna (meditation, reflection), vijñāna (understanding, perception?), bala (power), anna (food), āpas (water), tejas (heat), ākāśa (empty space), smara (memory), āśa (hope), and ,"lastly", prāṇa[158]. *In truth, like spokes are fixed into a nave, thus the all is fixed into this prāṇa. Prāṇa moves with prāṇa* (breathing), *prāṇa supplies prāṇa* (vital power or energy), *prāṇa sacrifices* (itself) *to prāṇa* (vital power or energy)[159], *verily prāṇa is the father, prāṇa is the mother, prāṇa is the brother, prāṇa is the sister, prāṇa is the teacher, prāṇa is the brāhmaṇa.* Prāṇa is said to be the crucial factor of their lives, *exactly because prāṇa is all these*[160]. This "last" category prāṇa is then by means of a number of spiritual guidelines to the experience of oneness, to immortality[161], connected to a very remarkable and clear ātman-teaching. There the ātman appears to be the source of all afore-mentioned categories, including prāṇa[162]. In this line of speculation we also find identifications of prāṇa with brahman[163].

Another strain of more ritualistic speculation concerning the prāṇas is found in the practice of offering food as an oblation in/to the prāṇas (breath-movements and "indriyas"), i.e. in/to the vaiśvānara[164], and in the concept of prāṇāgnihotra[165]. The (agni)vaiśvānara-speculations are closely related to the identification of the prāṇas (breath-movements) with the śrautāgnis, that is to say, to the interiorization of the śrautāgni (and sacrifice), and thus to the immortal essence of man[166]. The subject of prāṇāgnihotra and the interiorization of sacrifice will not be dwelled upon here, but the relation of food, water, and tejas to manas, prāṇa, and vāc, will be pursued a little bit further. We already discussed the relation between prāṇa and food[167]. In the sixth chapter of the Ch.U., however, manas is defined as the most subtle element of food, while prāṇa is the most subtle element of water, and vāc of tejas[168]. Manas depends on prāṇa, prāṇa on tejas (n.b. not on vāc), and tejas on the highest devatā[169]. Likewise, the corresponding food, water and, tejas are based on each other, tejas in turn is rooted in the existent (sat)[170]. As usual the description of sleep is very revealing with regard to the interdependence of manas and prāṇa, *now, like a bird, tied up by a rope, having fluttered in all directions, not finding another foothold, accommodates itself exactly to the rope, precisely thus, in truth, does manas, having fluttered in all directions, not finding another foothold, accommodate itself exactly to prāṇa; for manas, my boy, is bound by prāṇa*[171].

Lastly, I should like to present a very remarkable passage voicing doubt regarding the efficacy of prāṇa in the quest for immortality. *(...) Prāṇa is immortality, for he*[172] *has the nature of fire, verily, they say: " prāṇa is fire, prāṇa is immortality". In truth, hunger ceases by food, thirst by drink, evil by goodness, and death by immortality and, indeed, from him who knows thus, all these disappear, he conquers recurrent death, and attains a full lifetime. Therefore he should consider it to be this very "immortality" yonder and "life" here below. But some consider it to be "prāṇa", saying: "prāṇa is fire, prāṇa is immortality", let him not understand it thus, verily, that which is prāṇa is uncertain, for already in a yajus it is alluded to: "This I will resolve, as it were, from the middle of life". Therefore, let him consider it to be this very "immortality" yonder and "life" here below, thus he attains a full lifetime*[173]. This Ś.Br.-passage implies a discussion between a more down to earth approach to spirituality, i.e. attaining immortality by mastering all the concrete real-life problems, and a more or less artificial practice relying on prāṇa. In contrast to the Bṛ.Ā.U. and the Ch.U., the relation between fire and immortality is apparently considered to be self-evident here; the supposedly immortal character of prāṇa is indicated by associating it with fire.

Summary and conclusion

Reviewing prāṇa-theory and practice in late-brāhmaṇical and early-upaniṣadic thought, we meet with an, except for an occasional divergance in means of expression and freedom in metaphysical metaphor, in a large measure consistent system. In the Bṛ.Ā.U. and the Ch.U., prāṇa stands at the very heart of speculative thought; it is the closest associate of the immortal element in man, ātman and puruṣa, occasionally even representing it. In the more ritualistically oriented speculative thought of the last chapters of the Ś.Br., the śrautāgni is still found at the centre of the notions of ātman and immortality. In these texts, however, the cultic fire occupies a very modest position and seems, like most of the ritualistic "hot items", to have lost its relevance to Upaniṣadic speculation. This speculation becomes increasingly more direct in expression, avoiding ritualistic and mythic terminology in favour of a new - or borrowed and redefined - more abstract idiom better geared to direct abstract metaphysics considering micro-, macrocosmos, and release and more immediate in expressing its essence, the ātman-brahman mysticism. Prāṇa apparently gained a prominent place in this "new" terminology, it could serve well in expressing the new ideas and concepts arising at this important period of transition in Indian thought. And all well considered, it need not cause too much wonder that in a period witnessing the birth of the individual and introspection in speculation one resorted to a concept like prāṇa in order to communicate the new discoveries and ideas pertaining to self, cosmos, and the exploration of (individual) consciousness, rather than to an external (though interiorizable) concept like the śrautāgni. For prāṇa is intimately and indissolubly interwoven with individual physiology, psychology, and soteriology (as far as the designation individual holds in that context).

The more physically oriented aspects of this theory, present prāṇa as the central vital function among the prāṇas ("indriyas"), each of which is associated with one of the breath-movements (except for the udāna). Prāṇa (in the broadest sense) is said to be founded on food and drink and is probably connected with its digestion and consequent distribution through the body; this digestion being conceived of as a transformation of the elements of food, water, and tejas into the respective physical and psychical phenomena of life. Manas, prāṇa and tejas constitute the most subtle level of transformation. This conception is most probably related to śrautāgni-speculations as evidenced by the internal agni-vaśvānara, which "cooks" the food, and in the concept of prāṇāgnihotra, where in the act of (ritual) eating food is sacrificed in the prāṇas, i.e. the internalized and therefore eternalized śrautāgnis. In this context, tejas is connected to prāṇa via the heat of digestion (of the agnivaiśvānara); tejas and prāṇa moreover share the same connotation of vīrya, vital power or energy.

These physical aspects centre around the heart, the basis of all the prāṇas, the focal point of one-hundred and one channels (or seventy-two thousand channels running from the heart to the pericardium), which are called hitās (therewith suggesting physical veins or arteries), as subtle as a hair split a thousandfold. A central channel rises from the heart upward towards the head. Through this channel the essence of life (and death), the immortal element in man, leaves (transcends) life (and death). These descriptions strongly suggest not to take this heart and these hitās (and naḍī) as referring merely or even predominantly to the physical heart, veins, and arteries, but to interprete them - though they were probably thought to be connected with these organs - as vessels of vital energy or essence in man.

Along lines of transformation and assimilation by prāṇa, we can discern a close relation between the elements of food, water, and tejas on the one hand, and more or less subtle flows of vital energy in body and mind on the other. These include a nebulous vitality and physical strength, but also the perishable saṃjñā-functions of the prāṇas as well as their imperishable and imperceptible vijñāna-essence, the immortal element in man. Though useful for the sake of translation and clarification the qualifications physical, psychical, and metaphysical do not touch the heart of these speculations. They fail to convey their pragmatic and practical basis. In and through this very duality, the forms of death, prāṇa is cultivated, the ātman is discovered, known, awakened or attained to, or, as the Ś.Br. often puts it, "made" as an immortal body[174]. It is in the process of incorporating all the forms of death, all this into oneself, into an ātman[175], in attaining mastery over this and that, as the only possible freedom from duality[176], that its transcendence is achieved; the brahman consuming or consumed in brahman enters into brahman. This relativity of dualistic categories and the practicality of approach, scil. the pivotal position of release, should be kept in mind here.

The more metaphysically oriented aspects clearly reveal this. Because the central question is immortality, the speculations often hinge on release at the point of death (though release while alive is mentioned[177]). Dying and death for the ignoramus and release for the brahman, were apparently conceived of as changes in "consciousness[178]" featuring prāṇa in a central position and closely resembling the transition from waking consciousness to dream-state and dreamless state of sleep. In the descriptions of dying, prāṇa appears to be closely associated with the immortal element in man, the ātman (the puruṣa in the case of falling asleep). Actually, the ātman (the puruṣa) is defined as the immortal vijñāna in the prāṇas. At the moment of death (sleep) the ātman gathers the elements (or particles) of tejas of the prāṇas (the puruṣa consisting of vijñāna takes the vijñāna with the vijñāna of the prāṇas) and descends to the heart (the puruṣa, who is said to rest in the inner space of the heart, turns away or returns again in the opposite direction to his origin, prāṇa). Then the ātman, followed by prāṇa, in turn followed by the prāṇas, leaves the body, possibly by means of the central channel that runs from the heart upward towards the head (then the prāṇas enter prāṇa and sleep is induced). Along this "path" (or channel) upward, the released brahman experiences different colour-sensations (while in deep sleep the puruṣa, having crawled into the channels of the heart, perceives diverse colours). These colours indicate an awareness of different distinguishable qualities in the amorphous vital power or energy, while absorbed in or united with oneself in deep sleep or in brahman. This probably represents the field that is to be cultivated in a practice of prāṇa.

Evidently prāṇa was considered to be susceptible to cultivation. Either in "real-life"-experience, the essence of which - the elements or particles of tejas that constitute (the experience of) the phenomenal world - is transformed into an ātman and constitutes the immortal element (which is in that sense explicitly kṛtaka). Or in a more esoteric practice of breath- and mind-control, in awareness of the crucial position of prāṇa in the transformation of consciousness. That is to say, in transforming, "cooking", vital power or energy into more refined and crystallized mental processes and ultimately into the most subtle state of consciousness, the imperishable and imperceptible perception of the ātman or puruṣa, or, to put it differently, prāṇa in its immortal aspect. Thus prāṇa transcends its own perishable form in cultivation, transformation, and release of its immortal essence. Though to some this might seem more like "cooking up" wild fancies: *(...) let him not understand it thus, verily, that which is prāṇa, is uncertain*

(...).Therefore let him consider it to be this very "immortality" yonder and "life" here below, thus he attains a full lifetime.

Having substantiated my challenge of the śrautāgnivādins' exclusive claim on the concept of ātman, by presenting prāṇa as another and more important access to ātman, brahman, and immortality for this inceptional period of ātman-speculation, I now hope to open the discussion[179]. *Prāṇa ha etāni sarvāni bhavati sa vā eṣa evaṃ paśyann evaṃ manvāna evam vijānanin ativādī bhavati taṃ ced brūyur ativādy asi ity ativādy asmi brūyān na apahnuvīta*[180].

NOTES

1. V. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa II.2.2 esp. vss.14-20; see also J.C. Heesterman, Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer, p.39 and Vedic Sacrifice and Transcendence, pp.93f., both in The Inner Conflict of Tradition, Chicago 1985; and H.W. Bodewitz, Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I.1-65, Leiden 1973, pp.220ff..
2. Cf. M. Eliade, Yoga, Immortality and Freedom, Bollingen Series LVI 1969, pp.111ff., and Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, London 1964, pp.412ff.; and H.W. Bodewitz, o.c., pp.319ff., esp. p.329, commenting on Heesterman.
3. E.g. the German "atmen", v. M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, Heidelberg 1956.
4. Cf. supra p. 20, n.1.
5. V. M. Eliade, Yoga, pp.55ff..
6. V. M. Eliade, Shamanism, pp.412ff.; this distinction is made for reasons of orientation and is to my knowledge purely hypothetical, it is not my intention to discuss a probability of this conjecture here.
7. V. J.W. Hauer, Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis im alten Indien, Berlin 1922, pp.9-17.
8. In the following abbreviated to Ś.Br., Bṛ.Ā.U., and Ch.U. succesively; Aitareya Āraṇyaka will be represented by Ait.Ā.
9. V. Swāmī Mādhavānanda, The Bṛhadārañyaka Upaniṣad with the Commentary of Śaṅkarācārya, Advaita Āśrama 1950.
10. In the discussion prāṇa will, for reasons of fluency, be referred to in the neutre gender (as for the English breath) and not in the customary Sanskrit (male) gender, in the translation proper, however, the original Sanskrit will be followed (male if represented as prāṇa, female if referred to as devatā).
11. The interpretations of these breath-movements often disagree, especially for prāṇa and apāna. Prāṇa, the first breath, is nominally identical with the first "indriya", breath in the nose,

associated with the olfactory faculty and therewith suggesting inhalation, but it is also a namesake of the mukhyaḥ prāṇaḥ associated with chant and hence implying exhalation; apāna is identified with vāc, therewith indicating exhalation or off-breathing. For a more detailed discussion, the reader is referred to P. Deussen, The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, Edinburgh 1906, pp.264,274f. and esp. pp.276-280; A.H. Ewing, The Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath, in Journal of the American Oriental Society XXII.2.1901, pp.249-308; W. Caland, Zur Exegese und Kritik der Rituellen Sūtras, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft LV, pp.261-265 and LVI, pp.556-558; G.W. Brown, Prāṇa and Apāna, in Journal of the American Oriental Society XXXIX, pp.104-112; and also A.W. Keith, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Poona 1959, p.217 n.4 for a brief survey.

12. V. amongst many others Ś.Br.X.1.4.2-6, Ś.Br.XI.8.3.6, and Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.3.
13. V. Ch.U.III.13.1-5 and Ch.U.V.19.1-23.2; cf. H. Oldenberg, Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte, Göttingen 1919, p.84 esp. n.3.
14. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.3.
15. Ś.Br.IX.2.2.5.
16. Ś.Br.VI.1.1.4.
17. Ch.U.I.2.2.
18. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.2.
19. Bṛ.Ā.U.III.7.23.
20. Ś.Br.VI.1.1.2.
21. Ś.Br.XI.7.2.5.
22. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.21.
23. Ch.U.I.2.9.
24. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.2.
25. V. Prāṇa and immortality, infra p. 21.
26. N.B. not to be confused with samāna, the pervasive or central breathing.
27. Ś.Br.XII.7.2.5.
28. Vīrya in Ś.Br.XII.7.1.1, Ś.Br.XII.7.3.9,10, and Ś.Br.XII.8.1.1 is substituted by prāṇa in Ś.Br.XII.8.3.1; cf. Ś.Br.X.6.5.6.
29. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.38-4.1.
30. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.36.
31. Ch.U.VI.8.6 and Ch.U.VI.15.1-2.
32. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.1-2, cf. Ch.U.VIII.6.4.
33. Bṛ.Ā.U.V.9.1.
34. V. supra n. 31.
35. Cf. Y.K. Wadhwani, Yājñavalkya on the Departing Consciousness (of an Ordinary Man), in Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute, 35.(1-2).1975, pp.171-182 esp. pp.174-176. She holds this pūrvaprajñā to be "preperception" or "precognition" with regard to the future embodiment of the soul, acquainting it, before its departure from the present body, with its new destination and leading it towards the same. A rather daring interpretation which

she fails to substantiate with more than an equally daring interpretation of the following verse, to my opinion Śaṅkara's interpretation is more to the point here.

36. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.2.
37. Ch.U.VIII.6.4.
38. Regarding the following exposition of the karman-doctrine to Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Yājñavalkya must be referring here to the fate of the ignorant person. Unlike Y.K. Wadhwani in Daftari on Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.9, in Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute 35.(3-4).1976, pp.145-151 esp. p.150, I do not think the link with the foregoing *apa punarmṛtyuṃ jayati* (Bṛ.Ā.U.III.2.10) to be a convincing argument implying the state of release. More likely this phrase was inserted in order to give an "etymologizing" explanation for the primordial position of water (āpas) with regard to fire, death, which is consumed by the devatā water. Moreover the Mādhyandīnya-versions I checked (e.g. the Weber-edition) do not have the addition Y.K. Wadhwani refers to as a further substantiation of her interpretation of *ayaṃ puruṣaḥ* as someone who has conquered recurrent death and hence (anachronism?) is released.
39. Bṛ.Ā.U.III.2.11, cf. Ś.Br.XI.8.3.5.
40. In relation to Prajāpati: Ś.Br.X.6.5.6 and Ś.Br.XIII.4.4.6.
41. Avakram- is, in Buddhist literature, used as a term for descending into a womb (Caraka 4.3, Lalit. 14.13), v. Böthlingk and R. Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (7 vol.), Petrograd 1852-75.
42. Ś.Br.X.3.3.7-8, "evaṃvid" here refers to Ś.Br.X.3.3.5-8; the last saṃdhi is resolved into ilayati, and not īlayati; cf. infra p. 31 and p. 34, esp. n. 131, and Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.11-16.
43. Bṛ.Ā.U.III.2.13.
44. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.4.12, cf. infra pp. 30f.
45. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.6.
46. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.8-9.
47. Cf. P. Deussen, o.c., pp.286-290.
48. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.22, Ch.U.III.14.2-4 (cf. Ś.Br.X.6.3.2), and Ch.U.VIII.3.3.
49. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.1.17, Ś.Br.X.6.3.2, and Bṛ.Ā.U.V.6.1; cf. Ch.U.III.14.2-4 for a similar formulation with ātman.
50. Ś.Br.X.5.2.13.
51. Ch.U.III.12.4.
52. Ch.U.III.13.1-6.
53. I.e. the body, in the Māṇḍūkyopanisad used for the heart, v. Sir Monier Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Delhi 1986.
54. Ch.U.VIII.1.1-6.
55. Ch.U.III.12.7-9.
56. Ch.U.VIII.6.1-2.
57. Could *hodvā* be a wrong reading for *hordhvaṃ*?
58. Ch.U.VIII.6.5-6.

59. Bṛ.Ā.U.V.5.2, cf. Ait.Bṛ.III.2.4.
60. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.2.3.
61. Bṛ.Ā.U.V.9.1.
62. Ch.U.III.13.7(-8).
63. Ś.Br.X.3.3.5-6, cf. Ś.Br.X.6.1.11 for an identification with the puruṣa.
64. V. supra p. 24, n. 11, see also Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.17-18 and Ch.U.I.2.9 for prāṇa in the connotation of breath in the mouth, cf. Ch.U.VI.5-6.
65. V. supra p. 25, n. 16.
66. Ch.U.I.2.9 and Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.17.
67. Ch.U.I.8.4, Ch.U.VII.4.2,9.1,10.1, Ś.Br.X.4.1.18, and Ś.Br.XII.9.2.12.
68. Ch.U.VI.5.2,6.3,7.1.
69. Ś.Br.X.6.1.11, cf. Ch.U.V.18.
70. Cf. P. Deussen, o.c., pp.296-312.
71. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.1.17.
72. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.11, metrical.
73. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.9 (cf.10).
74. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.1.17.
75. Ś.Br.X.3.3.6 and Ch.U.IV.3.3, cf. Ś.Br.X.5.2.14-15 and Ch.U.VI.8.1.
76. Here the nest or body ("nest" of the soul) probably implies the prāṇas ("indriyas"). This interpretation receives some support from Ch.U.I.2.9, stating that, in waking-state!, prāṇa (here breath in the mouth or central vital breath) protects the prāṇas ("indriyas").
77. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.12, metrical.
78. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.1.18.
79. Cf. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.9-10.
80. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.14, cf. Ś.Br.X.5.2.12 for deep sleep.
81. V. supra p. 28, n. 70.
82. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.20.
83. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.1.19, cf. Ch.U.VIII.6.3.
84. V. the delightful description in Ś.Br.X.5.2.8,11-12., elucidating the character of afore-mentioned (p. 28) place of celebration (saṃstāva), see also Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.20-21, the wording strongly almost confusingly suggesting a context of release.
85. Cf. P. Deussen on this, o.c., p.303.
86. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.9, cf.14.
87. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.9,10,13.
88. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.15,16.
89. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.1.20.
90. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.13.
91. Ch.U.VIII.2.10.
92. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.17,20.
93. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.15-16.
94. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.19-20.
95. Bṛ.Ā.U.VI.3.7.

96. The implicit explanation offered, is the same as for the cessation of the sensory functions in the process of dying. Cf. P. Thieme, Upanischaden, Stuttgard 1966, pp.75-77, neglecting the aspect of the impossibility of perception beyond subject and object, obviously referred to in Bṛ.Ā.U.II.4.14, in favour of the aspect of a loss of individual consciousness in the transcendence of duality.
97. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.4.14.. N.b. the prāṇas are extended with vijñāna here, in Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.23-32 and Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.2 moreover increased with taste and touch. The final position of vijñāna in all these enumerations and its separate mention in Bṛ.Ā.U.II.4.14 with reference to the immortal vijñāna-essence suggest to accord vijñāna a special, more general and fundamental, position among the listed faculties, epitomizing them all under the universal denominator of perception. See also Bṛ.Ā.U.III.7.23 and Bṛ.Ā.U.III.8.11 where the list, though incomplete, still has vijñāna at the end.
98. Bṛ.Ā.U.III.7.23, almost identical: Bṛ.Ā.U.III.8.11, see also Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.23-32.
99. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.22, cf. infra p. 31, n. 102.
100. Y.K. Wadhwani comes to a similar conclusion in New Light on Bṛ.Ā.U.II.4.12 = IV.5.13, in Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute 34, 1974 (1975), pp.211-216.
101. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.4.12.
102. E.g. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.22 and Bṛ.Ā.U.V.6.1, see also supra p. 27, n. 48, 49.
103. Cf. Ch.U.V.1.6-12, a less elaborate version featuring Prajāpati in the role of brahman; cf. P. Deussen, o.c., p.104, he holds this to be the most original version.
104. Bṛ.Ā.U.VI.1.1, cf. Ch.U.V.1.1.
105. Bṛ.Ā.U.VI.1.7-14, esp. 13, cf. Ch.U.V.1.7-15.
106. Cf. p. 24, n. 10.
107. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3, cf. Ch.U.I.2; cf. P. Deussen, o.c., pp. 105f., he considers the former to be the more original version.
108. Ch.U.I.2.9.
109. Ś.Br.VI.1.1.2.
110. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.3.
111. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.4.
112. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.10.
113. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.13.
114. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.20.
115. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.17.
116. Cf. Ś.Br.X.1.3.4.
117. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.21.
118. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.6.1-3.
119. Cf. Ch.U.VII.26.1.
120. Cf. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.1.3.
121. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.7.
122. Here amūrta instead of aśarīra.

123. Cf. Ś.Br.X.5.2.14.
124. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.3.5-6.
125. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.1.20.
126. See also the fluidity of the adhyātmam and adhidevatam levels for prāṇa and vāyu in Ch.U.IV.3 and infra p. 26, esp. n. 42.
127. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.1.3.
128. Sacrifice itself probably originally, i.e. in a preclassical context, was challenge and transgress writ out decently, v. J.C. Heesterman, Vedic Sacrifice and Transcendence, in The Inner Conflict of Tradition, Chicago 1985, pp.81ff. esp. 84-89, and in, a more specific context, Other Folk's Fire, in Agni, the Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, F. Staal (ed.) Berkeley, vol. I, part III, pp.76ff..
129. V. Swāmi Mādhavānanda, o.c., p.696.
130. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.3.15,16,17,34, cf. vss.18-19.
131. This is stated even more clearly in Ś.Br.X.3.3.6-8, (...) *now, prāṇa indeed is agni, in truth, when the puruṣa sleeps,* then all the prāṇas enter prāṇa, *when he wakes up, they are born again out of the same prāṇa, thus with regard to the ātman. Now regarding the devatās, now,* that which are these prāṇas, these are identical to the corresponding devatās. *In truth, when fire goes out, it is blown up along with the wind, therefore they say: "It is blown out", for it is blown up along with the wind, when the sun sets, then it enters into the wind,* (likewise) *the moon* (enters) *into the wind, and the quarters are established in the wind, they are born again out of the same wind. When one who knows thus passes away from this world, he enters the devatās with the prāṇas, then, having become composed of these, whichever of these devatās he aspires to, having become that, he is at rest;* cf. Ch.U.IV.3.1-4 and Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.11-16 (v. infra p. 31, 32).
    For other passages alluding to the central position of the wind, v. Bṛ.Ā.U.III.7.2 and Ch.U.IV.3.5-8. See also E. Frauwallner, Geschichte der indischen Philosophie, 1.Band, Salzburg 1953, pp.55-60, treating of the doctrine of breath, esp. p.59; P. Deussen, o.c., pp.105-111, discussing prāṇa-vāyu as the true first principle of the universe, close to ātman brahman, and eventually superseded by it; and H. Bakker, De Leer van de Wind, Kampen 1989, esp. pp.13-17.
132. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.5.22-23.
133. Cf. P. Deussen, o.c., pp.(124,)385 interpreting regulation of breath along the line of development he postulates for agnihotra and prāṇāgnihotra: "Here and in other passages (v. p.124) the regulated breath takes the place of the sacrifice, and seems thenceforward to have been adopted into yoga as a symbolic act.".
134. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.6.1-3, cf supra p. 33.
135. Bṛ.Ā.U.II..2.1.
136. V. Swāmi Mādhavānanda, o.c., pp.320-327.

137. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.2.3.
138. Bṛ.Ā.U.II.2.4, cf. Ś.Br.VI.1.1.4.
139. Cf. Ch.U.VIII.15.1, *(...) having concentrated all the indriyas in himself* (the ātman) *(...)*; this is the only reference to indriyas instead of prāṇas in this meaning.
140. E.g. Ch.U.I.1.5,7.1,8.4, Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.22 and Ch.U.I.11.4-5; cf. Bṛ.Ā.U.V.13 where uktha, yajus (Yajurvedic mantra muttered in a peculiar manner), sāman and kṣatra (dominion) are identified with prāṇa.
141. E.g. Ch.U.I.1.5 and Ch.U.I.7.1, though also with sāman: Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.22.
142. Cf. Ch.U.II.7.1 and Ch.U.II.11.
143. Ch.U.I.2, cf. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3, Ch.U.I.5.3, and Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.23.
144. Ch.U.I.3.3-5, cf. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.25.
145. Ch.U.II.10.1.
146. Demonstrative pronoun "tau" read in tatpuruṣa.
147. Ch.U.I.7.5-8.
148. Ch.U.III.12.
149. E.g. Ch.U.I.3.6-7, Ch.U.I.6,7,13, Ch.U.II.2-22, and Bṛ.Ā.U.V.14; in the Ś.Br. these identifications are more ritualistic (e.g. Ś.Br.X.3.1) and numerical (e.g. Ś.Br.XIII.6.2.3-8) in character.
150. Ch.U.I.1, Ch.U.I.2.14, Ch.U.I.4.1, and Ch.U.I.5.1,3.
151. Sc. mukhyaḥ prāṇaḥ, here leaning against agni and vāc.
152. Ch.U.I.3.1-2, cf. Ch.U.I.5.1.
153. Ch.U.I.4.4
154. Ch.U.I.5.1.
155. Ch.U.II.23.4.
156. Ch.Ū.I.13.1-5.
157. Ch.U.III.15.4, cf. Bṛ.Ā.U.I.3.22; cf the above characterization of the gāyatrī, supra p. 36.
158. Ch.U.VII.1-15.
159. This obscure passage is hard to interprete, tentative translation/interpretatio
160. Ch.U.VII.15.
161. Ch.U.VII.16-24.
162. Ch.U.VII.25-26.
163. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.1.3 and Ch.U.IV.10.5.
164. Ch.U.V-19-24, cf. vss.11-18 and esp. vs.18 for the context; cf R.D. Ranade, A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy, An Encyclopaedic History of Indian Philosophy vol.2, Poona 1926, pp.7f..
165. Cf. P. Deussen, o.c., pp.123-125; R.D. Ranade, o.c. pp.114f.; and of course H.W. Bodewitz, o.c., pp.211ff.
166. Cf. supra p. 28, esp. n.1 , and supra pp. 28f., 35.
167. V. supra pp.f. and supra p..
168. Ch.U.VI.5 and Ch.U.VI.6, cf. Ch.U.VI.7.1 and Ch.U.VII.9.1.
169. Ch.U.VI.8.6 and Ch.U.6.15.1-2.
170. Ch.U.VI.8.3-4.
171. Ch.U.VI.8.2.

172. V. p. 24, n. 10.
173. Ś.Br.X.2.6.18-19.
174. Ś.Br.X.2.4.1-6, Ś.Br.X.4.2.21-22,26-31, and Ś.Br.X.4.3.9; Ś.Br.XI.1.8.6, Ś.Br.XII.8.3.31, and Ś.Br.XI.2.6.13; Bṛ.Ā.U.I.4.10 and Ś.Br.XII.5.2.13,8; with regard to the year and time: Ś.Br.XII.1.2.3, Ś .Br.XII.2.2.23, Ś.Br.X.1.3.1-7, and Ś.Br.X.1.4.1.
175. Cf. Ś.Br.XII.3.4.11, the two-sided character of this incorporation anticipates the ātman-brahman mysticism.
176. Cf. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.6: (...) *atha akāmayamāno yo 'kāmo niṣkāma āptakāma ātmakāmo (...) brahma eva san brahma apyeti (...), now, he that does not desire, who is without desire, free from desire, whose desire is fulfilled, who has the ātman for desire (...), being only brahman he enters into brahman.*
177. Bṛ.Ā.U.IV.4.7: (...) *atra brahma samaśnuta iti* and vs.14: *ihaiva santo 'tha vidmas tad vayaṃ* (...).
178. Consciousness is by no means an unambiguous term; moreover, can one refer to a consciousness beyond death and, if so, what is being referred to then? According to Yājñavalkya the saṃjñā-function of the prāṇas is lost at death, while the imperceptible and imperishable perception, the immortal vijñāna-essence of the prāṇas is, not affected by death (cf. supra p. 30f.).
179. Opening inasmuch as this specific period and prāṇa-centered theory and practice are concerned; in broader perspective the discussion is an ongoing one, e.g E. Frauwallner, o.c., pp.42ff. on the origins of Upaniṣadic speculation and P. Horsch, Die Vedische Gātha- und Śloka-Literatur, Bern 1966, esp. part III, chapters 4 and 5.
180. Ch.U.VII.15.4: *In truth, all these are just prāṇa, verily, he who is seeing thus, thinking thus, and understanding thus becomes superior in debate, if they would say to him: "You are superior in debate", let him answer: "I am superior in debate", let him not deny* (conceal) (it).

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KING PRĀṆA

H.W. Bodewitz

Vedic prose texts (Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads) use classifications and homologies in order to structuralize and systematize cosmic and microcosmic diversity. Mostly the classificatory system is tripartite: cosmos, man and ritual. One might expect that this system would also have included the state and its constituents, since the Brahmins who developed it had to take into account the interests of the kings: their patrons at the sacrifice, their audience in the debates and the rulers who were advised by the Brahmins as Purohitas. It is surprising that man as an organism is frequently homologized with the order of the cosmos, whereas the structure and hierarchy of the state hardly received attention in this connection. Only the global division of society into three (or four) classes plays a prominent role and these classes are frequently equated with cosmic and ritualistic entities. Just as ritual may support and manipulate the desired, cosmic order, elements of ritual are sometimes explained as supporting the established, social and political order. Here mostly the relation between the undivided classes is at stake: the opposition between Kṣatriyas and Brahmins on the one hand and Vaiśyas on the other, as well as the subtle distribution of power between the two highest classes.

In the actual practice of the state, however, the situation is less clearly structured. A people is not simply ruled by the Kṣatriyas, but by a king who has to deal with his fellow-Kṣatriyas and who (as a petty king) has to acknowledge the authority of more important rulers. In the theoretical classifications of the Vedic texts the undivided Varṇa system seems to be decisive and here the Brahmin authors often upgrade their own class. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (JB.) 1, 341 forms an exception. Here the king is set apart from the Kṣatriya class: "The Sāmans of the Agniṣṭoma are kings, the Sāmans of the ceremonies are princes, the Chandasya Sāmans are the people. (...) When royalty lives in agreement with the people and the princes, there is success. This (i.e. the proposed ritual arrangement) is like kingship which is in agreement with people and princes".

In the microcosmic (Adhyātma) element of the tripartite classifications the vital powers (called *prāṇas*) constitute the most important items. Here we find in some late Vedic texts an equation of the most powerful vital power, the Prāṇa, with the most powerful ruler in the state, the king. The topic of the rivalry between the vital powers (in the form of a mythic allegory) reflects the strife for power in the state (and between rulers of different peoples). Such a topic lies outside the usual sphere of the cosmic, microcosmic and ritual equations, since it refers to the disorder of practice rather than to ideal order (represented by cosmos, ritual and the society of three classes). Prāṇa is not just identified with the king. Mostly he has to win kingship in a myth or allegory and his superiority forms the model for man who obtains the same position by knowing the implications of the story or by performing a magic ritual corresponding to the myth.

Before obtaining his superior position in the allegory Prāṇa first had to become accepted as superior in the history of ideas. Prāṇa's central position was not obvious in the oldest literature. Moreover Prāṇa also needed a cosmic counterpart who acted as the cosmic ruler. Therefore, before dealing with the Upaniṣadic topic of the victorious king Prāṇa we first have to review the older Vedic literature concerning the position of Prāṇa and its cosmic counterpart.

The term *prāṇa* occurs only five times in the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā (ṚV.) (four times in the probably late books I and X, once in book III), which, however, may be due to the particular character of this text. In later texts its frequency increases. Mostly the central importance of Prāṇa is missing in the old texts.

In the well-known Puruṣa hymn (ṚV. 10, 90) we find the earliest set of classifications and identifications. The five vital powers in man are associated with cosmic entities (i.a. Prāṇa with the wind), but there seems to be no superiority of one of these vital powers. In ṚV. 10, 16, 3 man is described as dissolving into his cosmic counterparts: the Ātman (here already the self of man ?) goes to the wind. Combining the two hymns one might assume that Prāṇa was regarded as the Ātman. The term *prāṇa*, however, is not used in 10, 16, 3. In the riddle hymn ṚV. 1, 164 the translator Geldner sees some references to Prāṇa[1], but again the term *prāṇa* is missing.

The Atharvavedasaṃhitā (AV.) often mentions *prāṇa*, but its centtral position only plays a role in AV. 11, 4 (a hymn dedicated to Prāṇa). Here Prāṇa already acts as a cosmic power (and is equated with the wind). As such Prāṇa is also called a ruler: "Honour to Prāṇa in whose power is this universe, who has become the lord (*īśvara*) of all, in whom all has been established" (11, 4, 1); "Prāṇa is the lord (*īśvara*) of all which breathes and does not breathe" (11, 4, 10). Its cosmic aspect Vāyu is called the king (*rājan*) of this whole world (ṚV. 10, 168, 2). According to AV. 11, 4, 19 all the creatures (or: all his subjects) offer their tribute (*bali*) to Prāṇa, which implies that Prāṇa is a king. Compare ṚV. 5, 1, 10 (all the peoples bring their *bali* to Agni; ṚV. 7, 6, 5 (Agni makes all the clans tribute-payers: *balihṛtaḥ*); ṚV. 10, 173, 6 (Indra makes the clans tributepayers and strengthens the position of kings). This kingship of Prāṇa is cosmic rather than microcosmic and Prāṇa does not receive the *balis* from the other vital powers (as in the Upaniṣads).

The kingship of Vāyu does not mean that Vāyu is the king of the other gods. Other deities are more frequently designated as kings in the

ṚV. and the AV. Such a universal kingship is not based on a fixed hierarchy. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other god is described as the universal king.[2] This implies that there cannot be an established equation of the internal ruler inside man with a particular king of the gods in the Vedic pantheon, since this pantheon was not a reflection of the hierarchy of kingship on earth where petty kings were subservient to more powerful, sovereign kings.

The parallel kingship of Vāyu (incidentally mentioned in the oldest texts) and of Prāṇa (explicitly referred to in later Vedic texts) was rather based on early, philosophical doctrines about wind and breath as the representatives of cosmic and microcosmic life. Here Vāyu does not act in a mythic pantheon. The equation of king Prāṇa and his logical counterpart Vāyu became problematic in later texts, since Vāyu could hardly represent the highest cosmic ruler. Sometimes Vāyu was fused with, or replaced by, the sun or Indra.[3] On the other hand Prāṇa as precursor or representative of the Ātman concept had to lose its connection with mouth, nose or the whole body and became localized in the heart in the Upaniṣads.[4] Its purely vitalistic aspect decreased and was mixed with consciousness.[5] In the Prāṇa-hymn AV. 11, 4 Prāṇa is equated with (i.a.) the sun (11, 4, 12) and described as the sun (11, 4, 21-22). In AV. 13, 3 (a hymn to the sun) the sun assumes aspects of Prāṇa: "Who clothes himself in existences" (13, 3, 1); "(...) from whom all existences breathe" (13, 3, 3); "Who gratifies heaven and earth with breath" (13, 3, 4).

The early Vedic prose literature does not contain much information on the leadership of Prāṇa and Vāyu. Of course the equation of breath and wind is current and sometimes the one or the other is exalted, but the topic of the kingship of Prāṇa (= Vāyu) and of the competition with other, rivaling powers still had to be (further) developed.

The cosmic superiority of Vāyu is treated by Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (AB.) 8, 28. Fire, sun, moon and other cosmic entities temporarily disappear. Actually they pass into each other as manifestations of Brahman and in this cycle of transitions Brahman represents continuity. The position of Vāyu is different. The wind is equated with Brahman (8, 28, 2). Moreover Vāyu forms one of the turning-points in the cycle of transitions: lightning-rain-moon-sun-fire-wind-fire-sun-moon-rain-lightning. The transitions are described as 'dying', but Vāyu does not 'die into' fire; fire is produced by wind. The basic theory in this rather illogical cycle[6] is that wind (= Brahman) forms the permanent element. In a secondary, magic application Vāyu/Brahman is a victorious king around whom other kings die in a circle (the *brahmaṇaḥ parimara*).

The remarkably missing, microcosmic correspondence is found in the parallel passage Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad (KauṣU.) 2, 12-13 (11-12), where the light of Brahman moves from the one cosmic power to the other and its permanence is secured by wind and Prāṇa. The aspect of kingship, however, is missing.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB.) 10, 3, 3 deals with the same permanence of Prāṇa and wind into which the other microcosmic and cosmic powers temporarily enter. These powers are denoted as fires which become blown out and enter the wind. On the microcosmic level the image of sleep is used. During sleep the vital powers enter Prāṇa. There is no reference to kingship. In ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 4 the vital powers enter Prāṇa during sleep (*svapna*). In an 'etymology' this is explained by the fact that the *svāḥ* (the own men of a king) come to (*apiyanti*) him (Prāṇa, the leader or king).

This permanence of Prāṇa and wind forms the theme of one version of the rivalry between the vital powers as described by Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad (BĀU.) 1, 5, 21-23. The vital powers, created by Prajāpati, are defeated by Death who makes them tired with the exception of Prāṇa (breath). The other vital powers acknowledge Prāṇa's superiority and thence are called Prāṇas. Similarly wind is never defeated by Death. Those who know this implication of the myth become victorious in their own family and their rivals die. There is a reference to superiority, not to kingship.

The model of this myth in which Death plays a role, is found in earlier texts, where, however, evil forms the weapon of Death. Only Prāṇa is beyond good and evil and cannot be subdued by Prajāpati's enemy.

In Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (JUB.) 2, 1 the five vital powers (among which *apāna* functions as smell) are used as Udgātṛs by the gods in their contest with Death, with Evil. They are struck by evil and therefore man may think, speak, see, hear and smell evil. Only Prāṇa could not be spoilt with evil and thus Death and Evil are defeated by Prāṇa. In the next section the vital powers are associated with the corresponding cosmic powers among whom the wind is missing. Prāṇa corresponds to Prajāpati[7] (JUB. 2, 2).

The same topic is treated in JUB. 2, 10-11, where Prajāpati (helped by the gods) is involved in a contest with Death whose weapon is evil. The same five vital powers act as Udgātṛs, only *apāna* is substituted by *prāṇa* (apparently the breath in the nose, i.e. smell). These powers are affected with evil and only Prāṇa, called the *mukhya prāṇa* (i.e. the breath in the mouth), is able to defeat Evil and Death. This Prāṇa admits the corresponding cosmic powers into the body. Here *prāṇa* (breath in the nose, smell) corresponds to Vāyu. In the body these five vital powers and the corresponding cosmic powers form a divine *pariṣad*, *sabhā* and *saṃsad*[8], three terms vaguely belonging to the sphere of the administration of the state. The Prāṇa (*mukhya prāṇa*) has no corresponding cosmic power. In the allegory of the state he obviously represents the king who is assisted by the *pariṣad*, *sabhā* or *saṃsad* of the other vital powers.

In other Jaiminīya versions of the myth Death is replaced by the Asuras and Prajāpati by the Devas. In JUB. 1, 60 the five vital powers are engaged in an Udgītha (i.e. they are Udgātṛs) and are spoilt by the Asuras with evil and consequently man thinks good and evil, speaks truth and untruth, sees nice and horrible things, hears what is pleasant and unpleasant, smells fragrant and unfragrant odours (with the *apāna*). Prāṇa defeats the Asuras. He is superior to the other vital powers, but the contest is between Devas and Asuras, good and evil, rather than between the vital powers as such and no reference to Prāṇa's kingship is found.

JUB. 2, 3 again treats the same subject. The unassailable Prāṇa is exalted in the next section (2, 4) where he is called powerful (*vaśin*), because he gets the whole universe into control. He who knows thus becomes powerful and gets his own men (*svān*)[9] into control, i.e. becomes a powerful king (2, 4, 1-2).

This Sāmavedic theme of the superiority of Prāṇa (full of references to Udgātṛs and Udgītha) has also been adopted (and adapted) by the Sāmavedic Chāndogya Upaniṣad (ChU.) as well as by the Yajurvedic Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

ChU. 1, 2 seems to combine JUB. 1, 60 and 2, 10-11. The *prāṇa* in the nose here is explicitly called *nāsikya prāṇa* and Prāṇa, the glorious vital power, is called the *mukhya prāṇa* (the breath in the mouth). Kingship is not mentioned.

The version of BĀU. 1, 3 agrees with ChU. 1, 2, but in some aspects even more with JUB. (e.g. BĀU. 1, 3, 12-18 = JUB. 2, 11, 2-11). The relation between the two Upaniṣads is uncertain. BĀU. 1, 3, 8 contains a reference to kingship. He who knows the superiority of breath, to him people come, he becomes the supporter of his people, their chief, foremost leader, an eater of food, overlord (*adhipati*). The people represent the other vital powers and Prāṇa (who as lifebreath supports the other vital powers) is their king.

Only in this addition of BĀU. the indispensability of Prāṇa (lifebreath) plays a role. The central theme of the versions discussed above is the unassailable position of Prāṇa who is not affected by good or evil. This position is based on the fact that Prāṇa is not one of the senses. It is true that speech (*vāc*) likewise does not belong to the senses, but originally *vāc* did not denote speech in this series of five *prāṇas*. In Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (JB.) 1, 269 one distinguishes or knows (*vijānāti*) the positive and negative objects of the senses with these *prāṇas*, among which *prāṇa* is smell and *vāc* taste. Prāṇa not being one of the senses cannot be disturbed by the Asuras, Death or Evil in these versions of the topic of Prāṇa's superiority. This aspect of Prāṇa makes it a precursor of the concept of Brahman/Ātman.[10] The kingship of Prāṇa plays a moderate role and the myth has not a corresponding magic rite, but he who knows its implication becomes a powerful ruler or king (JUB. 2, 3; BĀU. 1, 3, 18).

The kingship of Prāṇa is perhaps treated in JUB. 4, 24, where five deities offer the corresponding vital powers as their tribute (*bali*) to *Śrī*, translated with 'fortune' by Oertel. In my view this *śrī* denotes royalty or kingship. This *śrī* mounts the Brahman-throne (4, 24, 10). The whole passage it not quite clear, since the feminine *sā* (i.e. *śrī*) alternates with the masculine *sa* (i.e. Prāṇa, occurring in 4, 23). According to JUB. 4, 23, 10 he who knows the unified Prāṇa becomes the foremost among his own people (*śreṣṭhas svānām bhavati*), i.e. he becomes the king. The masculine *sa* enters *puruṣa* in JUB. 4, 24, 1 and thereupon this *puruṣa* becomes broad (*uru*). This broadness should explain the word *uras* (breast, chest). Evidently Prāṇa (breath) is this *sa* and the *prāṇa* offered by Vāyu as a *bali* to *śrī* represents the sense smell, the breath in the nose. I think we may equate *śrī* with Prāṇa and Brahman.[11] The king on the Brahman-throne receives *balis* from five deities. The five vital powers (or senses) form this *bali*, but they are themselves also called the paths which are dug out and convey *balis* (*balivāhana*), i.e. the openings of the sense-organs dug out in the *puruṣa*.

The Brahman-throne mounted by Prāṇa may be compared with a combination of the Vicakṣaṇa throne and the Amitaujas couch (*paryaṅka*) mounted by Brahmā in KauṣU. 1, 5. Here ultimately the deceased (or his soul, the *prāṇa*, according to JB. 1, 18) also mounts this throne and identifies himself with Brahman or god Brahmā. The throne obviously symbolizes kingship. King Soma likewise has a throne (*āsandī*). KauṣU. 1, 5 describes the supreme lord Brahmā as a king. The soul of the deceased (the *prāṇa* according to the parallel JB. 1, 18) does not only identify himself with king Brahmā, but also enters into, or is absorbed by, the neutre Brahman in a more philosophical layer of the Upaniṣad (KauṣU. 1, 4).

The absorption of Prāṇa by his cosmic counterpart is also found in JUB. 3, 1-2 (without implications of *mokṣa*). This passage resembles AB. 8, 28, KauṣU. 2, 12-13, ŚB. 10, 3, 3 and BĀU. 1, 5, 21-23, where likewise Vāyu and Prāṇa (temporarily) absorb the other powers. The difference is the absorption of Prāṇa by Vāyu. First the wind and Prāṇa are described as complete deities who seize the half-deities, the other cosmic and microcosmic powers. The cosmic lights set into the wind and the microcosmic powers enter Prāṇa during sleep (JUB. 3, 1). In two mystic verses in JUB. 3, 2 one *deva* (god?; ruler?) swallows four excellencies (*mahātmanaḥ*) and the *ātman* of gods and mortals is said to eat the eater without being eaten himself. The swallowing *deva* evidently is Prāṇa as well as Vāyu. The eater who eats an eater (Prāṇa) can only be Vāyu. The cosmic Prāṇa eats the living beings when they die.[12] The fact that the microcosmic Prāṇa is called an eater may refer to the swallowing of the *mahātmanāḥ* by the *deva*, but it may also hint at the rulership of Prāṇa, since the eater denotes the ruler in the terminology of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. The *śrī*, the royal lustre (?), of the cosmic eater is the sun and this eater is identified with the Uktha (JUB. 3, 3, 1-2). The Prāṇa is the *ātman* of this Uktha (3, 3, 3). Thus the relation between Vāyu and Prāṇa is like that of Brahman and Ātman. JUB. 3, 1-2 has a parallel in ChU. 4, 3.[13]

The kingship of Prāṇa may be assumed in KauṣU. 2, 1-2, where the other vital powers act as personal servants rather than as defeated rivals. They are the messenger, guard, announcer and handmaid of Prāṇa who is identified with Brahman. He who knows thus obtains a messenger, guard etc., i.e. he becomes a king.

The vital powers are not only Prāṇa's servants. In a second allegory they (as well as the corresponding cosmic powers) give *balis* (tributes) to Prāṇa (and Brahman). The secret application (*upaniṣad*) is that one should not ask for a *bali*, since the *bali* in the allegory was given to Prāṇa/Brahman without being asked for. In a simile the situation of a beggar who does not openly beg is sketched. The real application, however, is that someone (i.e. a king) should not ask for *balis* (tributes) (from the former rivals, the new vassals?), since they will be automatically given if one is powerful enough (like Prāṇa).

In most of the passages discussed above the superiority of Prāṇa is an established fact or becomes established in a contest with the enemy or enemies of Prajāpati and the gods. The aspect of rivalry between the vital powers is sometimes presented as a contest of these powers in which Prāṇa has to prove his superiority. Prāṇa proves his indispensability for the body. The other vital powers cannot live without him and therefore acknowledge his position, give tokens of their submission and are called *prāṇāḥ*.

This topic is treated in several versions. Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka (ŚāṅkhĀ.) 9, ChU. 5, 1-2 and BĀU. 6, 1 and 6, 3 form clearly related passages[14] in which the theme of the contest is treated in connection with a magic rite which aims at obtaining superiority or kingship. This relation with a magic application is missing in an apparently older version of Aitareya Āraṇyaka (AĀ.) 2, 4, in the related passage KauṣU. 2, 14, in KauṣU. 3, 2-3 (where even the story of the contest is missing) and in the late Praśna Upaniṣad (PrU.), 2.

The rivalry of the vital powers is a topic which reflects and shows the rivalry of the four Vedas which are eager to participate in the treatment and transmission of the theme. The Atharvaveda claims its own position by implicitly referring to its Prāṇa-hymn (AV. 11, 4) in PrU. 2. The Yajurvedic BĀU. has no explicit references to the own Veda, but by adding a Vaṃśa list of teachers who transmitted the theme starting with Uddālaka Aruṇi (famous in the Yajurvedic ŚB.) and Yājñavalkya (explicitly called Vājasaneya) it tries to claim the topic for the Vājasaneya Yajurvedins (BĀU. 6, 3, 7 ff.). The Ṛgvedic texts AĀ. 2, 4 and KauṣU. 3, 2-3 identify the superior Prāṇa with the Ṛgvedic Uktha. As a result the leaving of the body by the vital powers is not essential in the contest. These powers have to enter the body and the entrance of Prāṇa makes the body rise (*utthā*). Therefore Prāṇa is identified with the Uktha. KauṣU. 2, 14 follows this version of the contest, but strangely enough omits the connection between *utthā* and Uktha. The Sāmavedins, who extensively used Sāmavedic items in their treatment of the superiority of Prāṇa in the JUB. (discussed above), have no references to their own Veda in ChU. 5, 1-2. In the parallel passage ŚāṇkhĀ. 9 the Ṛgvedic aspect is entirely missing.

The version of AĀ. 2, 1, 4 is regarded as more original than the others by Keith.[15] However, its arrangement of the contest looks quite secondary. The vital powers say: "Come, let us leave this body, then that one of us at whose departure the body falls, will be the Uktha". The body falls at the moment when Prāṇa leaves it. Nevertheless Prāṇa does not win supremacy on account of this. A second test is introduced in which the vital powers re-enter the body, which only after the entrance of Prāṇa becomes resurrected (*utthā*). Therefore Prāṇa is the Uktha. The secondary adaptation is obvious and rather clumsy. On the other hand borrowing from ChU. 5, 1-2 is quite uncertain. Probably the theme of vital powers leaving the body in a contest for supremacy was older than both texts. Borrowing from ChU. 5, 1-2 rather was made by the Ṛgvedins in ŚāṅkhĀ. 9. The Aitareya version of the contest of the vital powers does not contain any reference to Prāṇa's kingship or to kingship at all.

In the more extensive versions of the topic the superior[16] Prāna claims something from his defeated rivals.[17] In BĀU. 6, 1, 13 Prāṇa asks for a *bali*, a word often misinterpreted by translators as 'offering'. Evidently here as elsewhere in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads *bali* denotes a tribute. This tribute given by the defeated vital powers consists of their own particular powers (e.g. speech says: *yad vā ahaṃ vasiṣṭhāsmi tvam tad vasiṣṭho 'si*). This *bali* is the tribute given by defeated rivals (new vassals) rather than by the own people. The same tokens of surrendering are given in the ChU., but they are not explicitly called *balis*. ŚāṅkhĀ. omits this detail.

In all the three related passages Prāṇa asks for food and clothing. These questions look strange, since they are asked by someone who has subdued his rivals. The solution of the problem is to interpret Prāṇa as a victorious, powerful man who claims overlordship, kingship. His food is the people, his clothing is the royal garment.

As a king this Prāṇa is an *attṛ*, an 'eater', i.e. someone who as a ruler takes profit from the subjects who represent his *annam* or *annādyam*.[18] The terminology of kingship is quite obvious. The defeated other vital powers cannot be his 'food', since they are themselves 'eaters'. They become his vassals.

The food of Prāṇa is the food of the cosmic Prāṇa. All life in the universe is 'eaten' or absorbed by this cosmic Prāṇa (= Vāyu, = Brahman). When they die, all living beings enter into this cosmic principle of life. Therefore the answer of the other vital powers to Prāṇa's question: "What will be my food" is: "Everything here on earth up to the smallest or dirtiest animals".[19] Especially the terminology of

BĀU. reminds one of expressions in which the total penetration of Brahman is described.[20]

In the two Upaniṣads this food is secondarily interpreted in a literal sense and secondary conclusions about food (*anna*) and Prāṇa (*ana*) are added. According to the theories of the Vedic prose texts life (*prāṇa*) is based on food, is a transformation of food and life is even identified with food.[21] This may explain the secondary applications of the topic in the two Upaniṣads.

For the royal garment I may refer to AV. 19, 24 which evidently deals with the consecration of a king in spite of a different interpretation by the commentary. See AV. 19, 24, 1 "With what [garment] the gods caused to wrap god Savitṛ, with that, O Brahmaṇaspati, do you wrap this man for royalty"; 19, 24, 6 "(...) thou hast become protector of thine allies". On the royal garment see also Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, The Hague 1951, p. 91-93.

The garment asked for by Prāṇa is said to be water (*āpas*). By way of explanation the three parallel texts mention the custom of sipping water before and after the meal which in this way is 'clothed' by water; i.e. Prāṇa (*ana*) and food (*anna*) are identified. For the real explanation we have to look at other texts in which an entity is clothed with water.

In AV. 10, 2, 7 the riddle-question "He moves to and fro inside the creatures/worlds clothed in water. Who knows that" seems to refer to Prāṇa or to the sun. In the more or less parallel riddle-verse ṚV. 1, 164, 31[22] (= 10, 177, 3) according to some scholars Prāṇa, according to others the sun forms the subject. The waters in which the subject is clothed (AV. 10,. 2, 7 explicitly uses the term *āpas*) are the veins according to Geldner who observes that on the cosmic level the wind is clothed in the rains. Scholars who interpret ṚV. 1, 164, 31 as referring to the sun assume that cosmic waters are meant or that here the sun is clothed in its rays. According to W.D. O'Flaherty, *The Rig Veda*, Harmondsworth 1981, p. 75 the waters in which the sun is clothed should be connected with the Vedic theory of the rain cycle: the sun draws up the water by evaporation and returns the fluid by raining. See also ṚV. 1, 164, 47, where the rays of the sun are clothed in water (*apó vásānāḥ*). However, the verbform *āvarīvarti* denotes a to and fro movement of the subject (the sun?; the Prāṇa?) itself. Cf. JB. 1, 5 where two oceans (night and day) *āvarīvartete*. In the symbolism of the Agnihotra there is a permanent offering into each other of sun and fire, day and night, in- and exhalation. This means that in the Vedic verse Prāṇa as well as the sun might be meant. The cosmic Prāṇa is sometimes the sun instead of the wind; sometimes wind and sun become mixed (e.g. in AV. 11, 4).

In the Upaniṣad probably the cosmic Prāṇa (Vāyu?) is clothed in waters. This cosmic life is transferred from heaven to earth by way of the rain. The microcosmic Prāṇa is associated with the element water and with blood in ChU. 6, 5, 2.

The passage on the contest of the vital powers is followed by a magic rite (the Mantha ceremony) which contains obvious references to the preceding context[23] and should be regarded as the practical application of the myth or doctrine of the superiority of the Prāṇa. The aim of this ceremony is the obtainment of *mahat*, i.e. greatness or power. The same superiority as gained by Prāṇa should be won by the performer. In accordance with my interpretation of Prāṇa's role we find here some concrete references to kingship: "He indeed is the king, the ruler, the highest lord. May he make me the king, the ruler, the highest lord" (BĀU. 6, 3, 5); "He (i.e. Prāṇa) is the best and the most powerful, the king and the overlord. May he lead me to the best position, to power, to kingship, to overlordship" (ChU. 5, 2, 6).

After the magic rite the performer sleeps during one night in which according to ŚāṅkhĀ. 9 and ChU. 5, 2, 8 he may see a woman in his dream, which would form an indication that his magic rite will be successful. ChU. 5, 2, 9 even adds a verse which states that if someone sees a woman in his sleep after the performance of a rite for the fulfilment of a particular wish, this wish will become fulfilled. The vision of a woman is sometimes explicitly connected with kingship.[24] It is obvious that (in spite of some philosophical adaptations in the Upaniṣads)[25] the Mantha ceremony primarily aims at earthly kingship and that Prāṇa forms the example to be followed.

In the two passages of the KauṣU. kingship does not play a role. In PrU. 2, 4 the relation between the vital powers and Prāṇa is described as that between bees and the king bee (*madhukararājan*, actually the queen bee). In PrU. 2, 11 Prāṇa is the eater (*attṛ*) and the living beings the givers of food (*ādyasya dātāraḥ*). The creatures (the subjects of king Prāṇa) offer a tribute (*bali*) to Prāṇa (PrU. 2, 7).

In KauṣU. 4, 20 the other vital powers enter Prāṇa during sleep. They depend on this Prāṇa (called *prajñātman*) like the own (noble) men (*svāḥ*) on their *śreṣṭhin*. Just as a *śreṣṭhin* uses the services[26] of the own men, Prāṇa uses the other *prāṇāḥ*. By knowing this Indra attained *śraiṣṭhya, svārājya* and *ādhipatya* among the gods. He who likewise knows thus obtains the same position among all beings.

In the parallel passage BĀU. 2, 1, 18 the *vijñānamaya puruṣa* (the soul, Prāṇa?) in the dream is described as a great king (*mahārājan*) who moves around, taking with him his senses (*prāṇāḥ*) (i.e. his people: *janapadāḥ*). In distinction to the Kauṣītaki parallel this *vijñānamaya puruṣa* is not called Prāṇa (in KauṣU: *prāṇa prajñātman*). Moreover the soul is not only compared with a great king, but also with a great Brahmin, an addition which hardly makes sense in the context.

In the dreamless sleep this soul rests in the heart as a great king or as a great Brahmin (BĀU. 2, 1, 19). However, according to BĀU. 4, 3, 12 the soul leaves the body with the Prāṇa during the dreams and moves outside the body, but in deep sleep he has no (evil) dreams and thinks himself to be a god or a king (BĀU. 4, 3, 20). It is evident that this kingship belongs to a soul which is different from Prāṇa. On the other hand BĀU. 4, 3, 37 describes this self of man as leaving the body at death as a king who leaves a just visited village. All the *prāṇās* gather around him as policemen, magistrates, chariot drivers and leaders of a village gather around a king who takes leave of a village. I.e. the vital powers are the servants of a king.

This king may be compared with king Prāṇa in PrU. 3, 4 who as an overlord (*saṃrāj*) commands his overseers, saying "Superintend such and such a village" and controls the other *prāṇāḥ*.

This soul is called the ruler (*vaśin*) of the whole world residing in a city of nine gates and freely moving outside this city in Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (ŚvetU.) 3, 18. The city of the soul has eleven gates according to Kaṭha Upaniṣad (KaṭhU.) 2, 2, 1. In both passages the sense-organs are the gates. The ruler is not explicitly denoted as king Prāṇa.

This metaphor of kingship, which in older texts was reserved for Prāṇa, became associated with the soul or *ātman* in general in later texts. The terminology remains the same. See MaiU. 7, 7 where the *ātman* is called the supreme lord (*parameśvara*), the sovereign of creatures (*bhūtādhipati*), the protector of creatures (*bhūtapāla*). He is localized in the fire, the sun and the heart. In the tripartite identifications of the Brāhmaṇas the *adhyātma* element is the Prāṇa. Here, in this late part of the MaiU., he is called (i.a.) Prajāpati and Prāṇa. Of him all this is his food (*anna*). Thus the central ruler of the body, the microcosmic counterpart of the cosmic central power, remained a king, described with the general characteristics of an earthly ruler.

Surveying this description of king Prāṇa in the later Vedic literature we may try to draw some conclusions. It is evident that the state and its rulers did not form one of the constituents of the regular sets of identifications. Only the kingship of Prāṇa plays a role and the other vital powers do not fit into a fixed classification of identifications. On the other hand this kingship of Prāṇa, the internal ruler of man, was not just a metaphor. Its occurrence is rather frequent.

Prāṇa has more than microcosmic implications. His superiority over the other vital powers is often mixed up with his cosmic kingship. Sometimes the rivals, the other *prāṇāḥ*, pay tribute to him, are his vassals or even servants; sometimes all the living beings are his people, his 'food'. He is a microcosmic as well as a cosmic ruler. Sometimes breath or the soul is the one who is consumed by the cosmic counterpart. The developing ideas about the soul and about the relation between Ātman and Brahman are essential. This means that the kingship of Prāṇa is not just an ordinary, literary metaphor. The kingship of Prāṇa became the kingship of Brahman and of the highest deity, a god who in many religions received the paraphernalia of kingship.

The terminology of the political situation in which power was denoted as eating may have helped the metaphor. Prāṇa was an eater of food (*anna*) in early Indian history of ideas (since life is based on food) and as such could easily be called a ruler. However, this does not explain his relation with the other vital powers. Here the model of the state (or the tribe) with its continuous competition between powerful men who claimed the first position among the own people as well as over rivals of other petty states was very influential.

The Brahmins, the authors of the Vedic texts, had some reasons to present their ideas in the terms of statemanship. Their patrons were the kings, not only with regard to sacrifices and intellectual debates. The Brahmins also used to act as the Purohitas of the kings. This may be the reason why some of the theories and myths about the supremacy of Prāṇa were connected with practical advice for "someone who knows thus" (the *evaṃvid*) or even with magic applications.

Prāṇa sometimes was identified with Indra, the champion of the gods and of the Kṣatriyas. However, as the highest power Prāṇa was the counterpart of Brahman, a term denoting the highest cosmic and philosophic principle as well as the class of the Brahmins. In their classifications these Brahmins logically had to equate Prāṇa with the wind (Vāyu), i.e. with the cosmic power residing between heaven (Āditya) and earth (Agni). In the classificatory system the metres Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagati correspond to this triad. However, Prāṇa became associated with the Gāyatrī, with Brahman, with the class of the Brahmins. In spite of incidental equations with Indra (associated with the Triṣṭubh, i.e. with the second position in the classificatory system) Prāṇa became the symbol of Brahman, of the Uktha (Ṛgveda), of the Udgītha (Sāmaveda). Prāṇa, the Ātman, the Brahman, in spite of its metaphoric descriptions as the victorious Kṣatriya who became a ruler by defeating the rivals, actually was the victorious champion of Brahmanic philosophers.

NOTES

1. According to Geldner ṚV. 1, 164, 30-33 deals with the riddle of life and Prāṇa plays a role in all these verses. See also n. 22.
2. B. Schlerath, *Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 52 f.
3. Agni is the sun in his cosmic form and the Prāṇa in his microcosmic (*adhyātma*) manifestation according to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB.) 10, 4, 1, 23. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (AB.) 5, 31, 3 calls Āditya the Prāṇa. Prāṇa is identified with Savitṛ in AB. 1,

19. Prāṇa is the sun in Aitareya Āraṇyaka (AĀ.) 2, 2, 1 and Indra in AĀ. 2, 2, 3. Cf. also Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad (KauṣU.) 3, 2, where Indra declares to be Prāṇa.

4. ŚB. 3, 8, 3, 15 even identifies heart and Prāṇa.

5. This becomes especially evident in the KauṣU. The Prāṇa is qualified as *prajñātman* (2, 14). The third book of this Upaniṣad extensively deals with the relation between Prāṇa and *prajñā* (knowledge). Prāṇa is identified with *prajñā* (3, 2), more or less replaced by *prajñā* (3, 6), identified with *prajñātman* and all the *prajñāmātras* are said to be fixed in Prāṇa.

6. For a discussion of this subject see Bodewitz, "The cosmic, cyclical dying (*parimara*). Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8, 38 and Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad 2, 11-12", *Sanskrit and World Culture* [*Schr. z. Gesch. und Kultur des Alten Orients* 18], Berlin 1986, p. 438-447.

7. For the identification of Prāṇa and Prajāpati see e.g. AV. 10, 8, 13; 11, 4, 12; ŚB. 4, 5, 5, 13; 6, 3, 1, 9; 7, 5, 1, 21; 8, 4, 1, 4; Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (TĀ.) 3, 14; Praśna Upaniṣad (PrU.) 2, 7.

8. Cf. JB. 2, 142 (*eṣā vai daivī śrīr daivī sabhā daivī saṃsad*) where the victorious god Indra represents *śrī* (royal lustre) and the defeated groups of gods the *sabhā* and the *saṃsad*.

9. On the *svāḥ* as "Angehörigen des Hochadels" see W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien nach den Brāhmaṇa Texten dargestellt*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 72 ff.

10. Cf. KauṣU. 3, 8, where Prāṇa (= *prajñātman*) is the power behind the senses. "He does not become great by good action nor small by evil action".

11. See also TB. 3, 2, 8, 8; ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 3; JUB. 1, 33, 2; 3, 38, 2 on Prāṇa = Brahman.

12. Even the breath of the killed sacrificial victim passes into the wind (ŚB. 3, 7, 4, 9). According to ŚB. 11, 5, 3, 11 all beings (*sarvāṇi bhūtāni*) enter into Vāyu. Manu 5, 28 states that Prajāpati made *idaṃ sarvam* the food (*anna*) of Prāna.

13. See H. Lüders, "Zu den Upaniṣads. I. Die Saṃvargavidyā", *Philologica Indica* (Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften), Berlin 1940, p. 361-390.

14. According to A.B. Keith, *JRAS* 1908, p. 373 ŚāṅkhĀ. 9 "is nothing more or less than an abbreviated and simplified version of Chāndogya Upaniṣad V, 1; 2". The relation between the passages of BĀU. and ChU. is not clear. The arrangement of BĀU., in which the contest of the vital powers has become separated from the Mantha ceremony, is wrong, but it is uncertain whether this should prove the secondary character of the BĀU.

15. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford 1909, p. 205, n. 4.

16. Prāṇa as *śreṣṭha* may be compared with Indra in JB. 2, 141 who is created as *śreṣṭha* and *adhipati* of all the gods.

17. In JB. 2, 25 Āditya is consecrated as a king (*rājyāya .. vairājyāya .. svārājyāya .. sāṃrājyāya .. sārvavaśyāya .. pārameṣṭhyāya*; cf. AB. 8, 13) by other gods who themselves have been consecrated already. This supreme king asks a *pradāna* from the apparently lower kings just as Prāṇa asks a *bali* from the other Prāṇas, his new vassals.
18. See Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, p. 32; 34-35; B. Weber-Brosamer, *Annam. Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Essens und der Speise im vedischen Ritual*, Rheinfelden 1988, p. 66-92. JB. 1, 172 uses together the terms *annāda*, *śreṣṭha* and *adhipati*. The *annāda* is the *śreṣṭha svānām* (JB. 1, 273). By particular ritual arrangements one makes the food play tribute to the eater (ŚB. 1, 5, 3, 18; 4, 2, 1, 29).
19. *yat kiṃ cid idam ā śvabhya ā śakunibhyaḥ* (ChU. 5, 2, 1); *yat kiṃ cā śvabhya ivā śakunibhyaḥ* (ŚāṅkhĀ. 9); *yad idaṃ kiṃ cā śvabhya ā krimibhya ā kīṭapataṅgebhyaḥ* (BĀU. 6, 1, 14). The totality of living beings is meant.
20. Cf. AĀ. 1, 3, 8 (*sarvāṇi bhūtāny ā pipīlikābhyaḥ*); AĀ. 2, 1, 6 (*tad yathāyam ākāśaḥ prāṇena bṛhatyā viṣṭabdha evaṃ sarvāṇi bhūtāny ā pipīlikābhyāh prāṇena bṛhatyā viṣṭabdhāni*); BĀU. 1, 4, 4 (*evam eva yad idaṃ kiṃ ca mithunam ā pipīlikābhyaḥ tat sarvam asṛjata*); ChU. 7, 2, 1 (.. *śvāpadāny ā kīṭapataṅgapipīlikam* ..).
21. ŚB. 3, 8, 4, 8; 4, 3, 4, 5; TB. 3, 2, 3, 4; AB. 7, 13; ŚāṅkhB. 25, 12, 15; BĀU. 5, 12. In the two Upaniṣads Prāṇa = *ana* = *anna*. Breath (called *apāna* in distinction to *prāṇa* 'smell') is the only power who is able to grasp *anna* in Aitareya Upaniṣad 1, 3, 10, where this victorious vital power is identified with Vāyu, but ultimately this Upaniṣad (3, 2 ff.) qualifies heart and insight as higher than this breath.
22. "... Er hüllt sich in (die Gewässer), die in gleicher und in entgegengesetzter Richtung laufen und bewegt sich hin und her in den Geschöpfen" (tr. Geldner, who observes in a note: "Der Lebenshauch (*prāṇá*) ... Schon im ṚV. ist wohl ein Doppelsinn beabsichtigt, aber dann ist nicht die Sonne, sondern der Wind der zweite Sinn, also das beliebte Doppelspiel mit *prāṇá* - *vāyú*"). Most translators assume that the sun is meant. Some make the verse refer to both sun and Prāṇa. This may also be the interpretation of AĀ. 2, 1, 6 and JUB. 3, 37, 1-5.
23. On the relation between the *mantha* ceremony and the contest of the vital powers see Bodewitz, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 1-65*, Leiden 1973, p. 273-275.
24. See the quotation *divyā strī yaṃ pravadati 'mama svāmī bhavān bhava' / svapne dṛṣṭvā ca jāgartti sa ca rājā bhaved dhruvam* in J. von Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva*, Giessen 1912, p. 172.

25. ChU. 5, 2, 6 adds *aham evedaṃ sarvam asāni* after *sa hi jyeṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭho rājādhipatiḥ sa mā jyaiṣṭhyaṃ śraiṣṭhyaṃ rājyam ādhipatyaṃ gamayatu*. Cf. ChU. 7, 25, 2, where someone who really knows the *ātman* becomes *svarāj*, whereas the other people are *anyarāj*. In Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (ŚvU.) 1, 11 one obtains *viśvaiśvarya* by meditating on God. See also Bodewitz, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 1-65*, p. 287, n. 39.
26. *tad yathā śreṣṭhī svair bhuṅkte yathā vā svāḥ śreṣṭhinaṃ bhuñjanti* is interpreted by Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, p. 75 as referring to the "Gastmahl" of the king and the "Hochadel": "Wie da ein *śreṣṭhin* sich durch die *svāḥ* (zusammen mit den *svāḥ*) ernährt oder wie die *svāḥ* den *śreṣṭhin* ernähren". I doubt, however, whether *bhuñjanti* means "they feed". For *bhuñj* meaning "to be of use" see e.g. JB. 1, 159 (and Bodewitz, *The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 66-364*, Leiden 1990, p. 264, n. 5). On Prāṇa and his own men (*svāḥ*) during sleep see also ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 4 (discussed above).

VEDIC MYTHOLOGY: A RETHINKING
some dual divinities in the Ṛgveda

R.N. Dandekar

The occasion for the present rethinking of the Ṛgvedic mythology has been the urge to seek a satisfactory rationalization of the concept and nature of dual-divinities in the *Ṛgveda*. I should like to start with the following postulates: (1) The Ṛgvedic mythology cannot be said to have assumed a finite and finished form at any given moment. It would, therefore, be wrong to study that mythology as if it was a static phenomenon. Ṛgvedic mythology had been throughout reacting and responding to the various vicissitudes in the cultural history of the Ṛgvedic age. (2) A particular Vedic god is seen to have been dominant in a particular period, because the personality and character of that god adequately reflected the ethos of that period. (3) Even after a Ṛgvedic god had been once conceived, his character did not remain unchanged. His personality, as it were, 'grew' - it often assumed a heterogeneous character on account of the different elements which came to be assimilated into it in conformity with the mythological ideology which had been undergoing constant modification. (4) The relationships among the various Ṛgvedic gods were governed by certain culture-historical compulsions.

Before I proceed, let me make it clear that I am not going to examine critically the views of other scholars regarding the topics which I shall be dealing with in the course of this paper. I have already done so at great length elsewhere.[1] I shall take for granted my own views in this regard and shall endeavour to set them forth in a new frame-work. Further I shall be taking into account mainly the original character of the Vedic gods who form the subject-matter of my discourse and not the subsequent development of their personalities.

On this background, I propose to discuss in this paper three Vedic gods, namely, Varuṇa, Indra, and Viṣṇu. I think that there are indications in the *Ṛgveda* of a broad chronological sequence in respect of the ascendancy of these three gods.

The ninth verse of the ninetieth hymn in the first book of the *Ṛgveda* reads:

śaṁ no mitraḥ śaṁ varuṇaḥ
śaṁ no bhsvatv aryamā /
śaṁ na indro bṛhaspatiḥ
śaṁ no viṣṇur urukramaḥ //

> "Propitious unto us Mitra; propitious Varuṇa; propitious unto us may Aryaman be. Propitious unto us Indra; Bṛhaspati[2]; propitious unto us Viṣṇu, the widestrider".

Whether it is deliberately intended or not - in view of the significant recurrence of this verse in various Vedic texts[3], I for one should like to believe that it *is* deliberately intended - this verse reflects the three main and consecutive phases of the evolutionary mythology of the *Ṛgveda*, some of the principal features of which I have set forth above- in the first two quarters, the first phase of the definite realization of the cosmic (moral) order established by the 'binder' god Varuṇa and his two alter egos Mitra and Aryaman; in the third quarter, the phase of the mythologization of history as represented by Indra and his purposefully concocted counterpart Bṛhaspati; and in the fourth quarter, the phase of the hierarchisation of popular religious cults as symbolized by Viṣṇu.

It may be presumed - and this presumption gets adequate confirmation from the history of later Hinduism - that independent religious sects grew round these gods. A mutual confrontation among those religious sects was also inevitable - and, indeed, quite understandable. Therefore, in order to avoid any probable schism in the Vedic religion that might arise out of such confrontation, the Vedic seers contrived the concept of dual-divinities and thereby sought to establish a kind of rapprochement among these gods, based mainly on the principles of complementariness, conciliatory adjunstment, and hierarchisation.

The conception of dual-divinities in the *Ṛgveda* is certainly of great moment in the early Vedic evolutionary mythology. As pointed out earlier, the relationships among the various Vedic gods were governed by certain religious-cultural compulsions. I believe that the conception of dual-divinities - at least in some major cases - has originated out of such compulsions. In the first phase of the Ṛgvedic mythology, which had developed in the Proto-Aryan period in the region round about Balkh, great emphasis was put on the belief of the sustenance and regulation of the cosmic phenomena, and incidentally of the affairs of human life, having been brought about through some kind of 'bondage'. There must have also developed, during that period, some kind of simple ritual involving Agni and Soma. But the predominant mythological concept was definitely that of the cosmic law *Ṛta*[4] and the sovereign administrator of that law Asura Varuṇa. As far as the Vedic mythology was concerned, the mythological concepts of Mitra and Aryaman represented merely an extension of the Varuṇa-concept - they were obviously minor and late. Broadly speaking, Mitra was conceived of as being in relation to the affairs of men what Varuṇa was in relation to the cosmic phenomena. Mitra was *yātayajjana*[5], the organizer and regulator of human relationships through the bonds of contract and friendship. Aryaman's function was still more restricted in scope. He may be said to have been responsible for establishing amicable relations with 'strangers'. In course of time, however, Mitra's function must have come to be regarded as being as important as that of Varuṇa, for, the ethical-moral order in human affairs was believed to be as essential as in cosmic phenomena. The two gods representing the two different aspects of the same basic concept of ethical bond, namely, Asura Varuṇa and *yātayajajna* Mitra, were combined to form a single divinity Mitrāvaruṇau. Indeed, as far as the *Ṛgveda* is concerned, the dual-divinity Mitrāvaruṇau has more hymns dedicated to it than to each of the two gods individually. Twenty-three whole hymns and parts of several others celebrate Mitrāvaruṇau, while Varuṇa has twelve hymns addressed to him and Mitra only one. In the case of Mitrāvaruṇau, the concept of dual-divinity served the purpose of religio-mythological complementariness.[6]

The concept of Indrāvaruṇau is, however, of far greater consequence. The dominant religious cult of the Proto-Aryan period was the Varuṇa-cult. The last years of the Proto-Aryan period witnessed the migration of the Proto-Aryans towards Iran on the one hand and towards Saptasindhu or the Land of Seven Rivers on the other. The migration towards Saptasindhu meant for these people, whom we may now call Vedic Aryans, a drastic change in their way of life and thought, particularly after their fairly long sojourn in the region of Balkh. It was now a life of fateful confrontation with Vṛtras - human foes and environmental impedements - and of consequent warlike adventures. This new life of conquest and colonization called for a new religion and a new god. The cosmic religion of the world-sovereign Asura Varuṇa could no longer adequately meet the exigencies of the new age. The Vedic Aryans naturally craved for a heroic god who could bless and promote their onward march towards Saptasindhu and beyond. So was Vṛtrahā Indra 'born' in the Vedic pantheon. And soon after he had been born, he became the foremost among the Ṛgvedic gods - *yo jāta eva prathamaḥ*.[7]

Numerous Ṛgvedic references would make it clear that originally Indra was not a god, but that he attained god-head through his own achievements.[8] It is noteworthy that the Ṛgvedic poets have not emphasized the human traits, in form and character, of any other god to the extent to which they have done of Indra. The human elements in Indra's personality are really basic and essential and not merely the result of the anthropomorphization of a natural phenomenon. Verily, Indra was a human hero, who was characterized by some human weaknesses but who, at the same time, possessed the capacity for superhuman exploits.

After the mythological deification of the human hero Indra, all conceivable exploits - historical or otherwise - came to be attributed to him. It is the period of the warlike adventures of the Vedic Aryans and their subsequent conquests and colonization under the victorious leadership of Indra, which is largely reflected in the *Ṛgveda*. This explains why the Ṛgvedic mythology is so conspicuously Indra-dominated.

In course of time, there developed in Vedic religion two major cults, presumably rivalling each other, namely, the more ancient cult centering round Asura Varuṇa and the newly evolved one centering round Vṛtrahā Indra. A headlong conflict between these two cults could have adversely affected the solidarity of the Vedic community. The impending schism within the Vedic Aryandom had to be avoided at all costs. This was achieved by the evolutionary Vedic mythology through the conception of the dual-divinity Indrāvaruṇau.

There are in the *Ṛgveda* eight whole hymns and parts of two hymns which have Indrāvaruṇau as *devatā*. Out of these, the four hymns in the seventh book of the *Ṛgveda*, which, indicentally, form the largest single group of the Indrāvaruṇau hymns, are particularly significant. Vasiṣṭha, the seer of the seventh book, was a devoted protagonist of the Varuṇa-cult.[9] But, transcending all thought of bigotry, he assumed a very practical and realistic attitude and deliberately sought to co-ordinate and harmonize the two religious cults.[10] He studiously emphasised in his Indrāvaruṇau hymns that the spheres of activity of Varuṇa and Indra, though separate, were essentially complementary and that an active collaboration, on equal terms, of these two gods would alone ensure the properly integrated and amicable operation of the world-process in its cosmic and socio-political aspects. All thought of antagonism between Varuṇa and Indra was vigorously discountenanced, and an attitude of religious conciliation became quite transparant. This, Vasiṣṭha accomphished in various ways. For instance, he identified the specific spheres of sovereignty of these two gods by characterizing Varuṇa as *saṁrāj* or primeval world-sovereign and Indra as *svarāj* or one who won his divine suzerainty through his own prowess.[11] In the course of the development of the Vedic religious ideology, Varuṇa, the administrator of cosmic law, also came to be represented specifically as the god who enforced moral order within the human community. In his Indrāvaruṇau hymns, Vasiṣṭha has taken special pains to reiterate that Indra, the war-god, sponsored the Vedic Aryans' exploits of conquest and colonization (*pṛtanāsu*), while Varuṇa, the moral governor, blessed their efforts in connection with the establishment of law and order (*kṣemasya prasave*).[12] Both gods were great (*mahāntau*) in their respective roles; having duly recognised this, all other gods, in the highest heaven, subserved Indra-Varuṇa by consigning into them their splendour and their strength.[13] But Vasiṣṭha's main slogan in his efforts to bring about conciliation between the Varuṇa-cult and the Indra-cult may be said to have been embodied in *ṚV* VIII.83.9 ab: *vṛtrāṇy anyaḥ samitheṣu jighnate vratāny anyo abhi rakṣate sadā*. "One of the two gods", proclaims Vasiṣṭha, "vanquishes the enemies in battles, while the other ever sustains the socio-ethical laws." In other words, Indra *conquers* and Varuna *rules*.

Bṛhaspati-Brahmaṇaspati (I take the two divinities, Bṛhaspati and Brahmaṇaspati, to be identical), obviously owes his origin to the tendencies which were inevitably engendered by the Indra-dominated mythology. In a sense, therefore, this god may be said to belong conceptually to the second phase of the evolutionary mythology of the *Ṛgveda*.

Bṛhaspati is celebrated in eleven entire hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, while in two hymns (IV.49, VII.97) he forms a dual-divinity with Indra. Though some kind of distinction appears to have been made between Bṛhaspati and Brahmaṇaspati in the Vedic ritual and in the ancillary Vedic texts,[14] the two words are used almost indiscriminately in the *Ṛgveda*. Etymology also seems to suggest the identity of the two gods.[15] Incidentally it may be noted that only one name, namely, Bṛhaspati, is generally retained in later literature. Ṛgvedic references to Bṛhaspati clearly indicate that he has by no means grown out of naturalistic mythology. Nor is he an outcome of the mythologization of a historical human personality. Again the suggestion that *bṛhaspati* was originally an epithet of Indra and was later separated from him and established as an independent god does not seem to be warranted. There is no indication in the *Ṛgveda* of this kind of evolution in his personality - he already appears as a full-fledged independent god in that Veda as is clearly testified by II.24.11-13. At the same time, there can hardly be any doubt that he is a later addition to the Vedic pantheon. The facts that Bṛhaspati has no Indo-European or Indo-Iranian cognates, that his name is artificially coined as a compound with *pati* as the latter member, that the hymns relating to him rarely contain any internal repetitions, and that sometimes a suspicion is expressed regarding the genuineness and originatity of his personality[16] would seem to confirm such an assumption.

The over-all impression that one might form in the light of what has been said so far would be that Bṛhaspati was a deliberate artificial mythological creation, that he was conceived at some later stage in the evolution of the Ṛgvedic mythology to serve some specific function. Without discussing the various aspects of the personality and character of Bṛhaspati, I shall address myself to only one question: why did Bṛhaspati come to be introduced in Vedic mythology?

We have seen that the changed conditions in the life of the Proto-Indo-Aryans necessitated a transition from the cosmic-ethical phase of the Ṛgvedic mythology to the Indra-dominated heroic phase. During their migration from Balkh to Saptasindhu and their subsequent colonization in that region, the early Vedic Aryans had to confront many Vṛtras, both natural and human. History came to be mythologized, and as the result of this the victorious warlike leader of the Vedic Aryans was 'born' in the Vedic pantheon as Indra and forthwith became the foremost among the gods - *yo jāta eva prathamo manasvān*.[17] This naturally eventuated in the general glorification of the cult of military prowess. The socio-religious repercussions of the newly evident domineering stance of the cult of militarism against priestcraft - of Kṣatra against Brahman - are seen to have been reflected in several Vedic passages. In *Ṛgveda* X.109, for instance, there is a reference to *brahmajāyā*, the wife of a priest, having been kidnapped.[18] The same topic is dealt with at greater length in *Atharvaveda* V.17. That hym contains a clear threat that the kidnapped wife of a Brahman is fearful and causes great disaster.[19] It is hinted that there will be nothing but sheer misfortune in the kingdom in which a Brahman's wife is kept away from him.[20] *Atharvaveda* V.18 refers to the robbing of a Brahman of his cow. "Her", it is said, "the gods did not give thee for thee to eat, o king; do not thou, O Rājanya, desire to devour the cow of the Brāhmaṇa, that is not to be eaten."[21] The degraded military potentate becomes addicted to dice, is evil and self-ruined, and eats up the Brahman's cow, for, he only thinks: let me live today; I don't care for the morrow - *adya jīvāni mā śvaḥ*.[22] He forgets that the Brahman, like fire, is not to be harmed by one who holds himself dear, for, Soma is Brahman's heir and Indra his protector against imprecations.[23] We are told that the military rulers, Vaitahavyas, who usurped the Brahman's cow (that is, the Brahman's belongings), perished.[24] Elsewhere it is reported that the Sṛnjaya-Vaitahavyas, who prospered excessively, who just did not quite touch up to the sky (*nodiva divam aspṛśan*), having molested the Brahman, Bhṛgu, suffered utter mortification.[25] Those who spat upon a Brahman, we are further told, or who sent their mucus at him - they sit in the midst of a stream of blood, devouring hair.[26] A king who thinks himself formidable and who desires to exploit a Brahman - his kingdom is laid waste where a Brahman is scathed.[27] The derisive attitude of the Pajras towards Bṛhaspati[28] may also be mentioned as being indicative of the growing Brahman-Kṣatra antagonism.

Obviously the need must have been felt, even at an early stage, for counteracting such militarist arrogance. Passively, the Vedic poet-priests used to insist that, in order to prove efficacious, the military prowess (as symbolised by Indra) had to be supplemented by the magically potent *mantra*. For instance, the credit for the victory of Sudās in the War of the Ten Kings (*Dāśarājña*) is said to have largely belonged to Vasiṣṭha (Sudās's Purohita) who, through his *mantra*-power, had brought about Indra's intervention in Sudās's favour.[29] When, in that war, the Pṛtsu-Bharatas had become disrupted and weak, their Purohita, Vasiṣṭha, assumed the leadership and goaded their patrons on to victory.[30] Elsewehere it is said: O Indra-Varuṇa, invulnerably you overpowered Bheda by means of your deadly weapons and thus aided Sudās in the Dāśarājña battle; for, you listened to the magically potent prayers of the Bharatas even in the midst of the urgent rival-invocations. In all this, indeed, there clearly became evident the supreme efficacy of the priest-craft of the Tṛtsu-Vasiṣthas - *satyā tṛtsūnām abhavat purohitiḥ*.[31]

Another step in this process of asserting the claim of priestcraft by the side of - or, in some cases, even against - military prowess was more positive. A veritable new god was conceived and came to be introduced in Vedic mythology - Bṛhaspati-Brahmaṇaspati, the lord of *brahman*, of *mantra*-power and priestcraft. Understandably, there was little anthropomorphism in the make-up of this god - the 'function' aspect of this god was definitely more prominent than the 'individuality' aspect. It is emphasised that that king alone would, indeed, prevail over his adversaries who held Bṛhaspati in high esteem and regard.[32] Bṛhaspati is the sage of sages (*kaviṁ kavīnām*), the supreme king of prayers (*jyeṣṭarājaṁ brahmaṇām*).[33] He promotes the yoking of devotion, and without him sacrifice does not succeed.[34] As a pathmaker he makes good the access to the feast of the gods.[35] He awakens the gods with sacrifice.[36] Wise gods themselves attain their share in sacrifice through mighty Bṛhaspati; he is the creator of all magically potent *mantras*. Whoever makes offerings unto him will never be subjected to suffering; but of the Brahman-hater he is a veritable scourage.[37] Verily, Bṛhaspati is the most godly of the gods (*devānaṁ devatama*).[38]

Besides such conventional glorification of Bṛhaspati, attempt seems to have been deliberately made to present that god as being on par with Indra, the victorious warlike hero who had become the foremost among the Vedic gods. Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa, the first-born holy one, cleaver of rocks, roars as a bull at the two worlds, slays *vṛtras*, shatters forts, overcomes foes.[39] No one can overpower him in great fight or small.[40] He is to be invoked in combats,[41] and is a priest much praised in conflict.[42] Bṛhaspati shares with Indra the epithets *vajrin* (wielder of the bolt),[43] *maghavan*,[44] and *somapā*.[45] He is sometimes represented as the companion and ally of Indra,[46] but, what is far more significant, Bṛhaspati is individually credited with great heroic exploits in the celebrated Vala-myth. The mountain is said to have yielded to Bṛhaspati's splendour when he opened the cowstall. Accompanied by his singing host, he rent Vala with a roar and shouting drove out the lowing cows. He won treasures and the great stalls full of cows; the irresistible Bṛhaspati slew his foe with flames.[47] Bṛhaspati's conquest of Vala was regarded to be so characteristic that it almost became proverbial.[48]

There can hardly be any doubt that such warlike character was tendentiously superimposed on Bṛhaspati. Indeed, in their enthusiasm for counteracting the ascendancy of the Kṣtra-power over the Brahman-power, the Vedic myth-makers have gone to the other extreme. Indra's role, even in warlike exploits, is sometimes said to have been secondary to that of Bṛhaspati.[49] Presumably, therefore, in order to avoid a new impending conflict between the Brahman-cult and the Kṣatra-cult, the evolutionary Vedic mythology conceived the dual-divinity of Indrā-Bṛhaspatī, who is celebrated in the two whole hymns, *ṚV* IV.49 and VII.97.

Besides complementariness (as in the case of Mitrāvaruṇau) and conciliatory adjustment (as in the case of Indrāvaruṇau and Indrābṛhaspatī), the third purpose which the conception of the dual-divinities served was religio-mythological elevation or hierarchization.

It needs to be emphasized that the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, as we have it today, does by no means constitute the entire literature which had been produced in the *Ṛgvedic* age. Nor can the *Ṛgveda* claim to reflect the life and thought of all the strata of the Ṛgvedic community. For instance, the cults, which had developed round Varuṇa-Mitra-Aryaman and Indra and Bṛhaspati and which we have briefly surveyed so far, have to be understood as representing mainly the religio-mythological ideology of the classes of the Ṛgvedic poets, priests, and warriors. But there must have then existed also some forms of the religion of the masses or the common people. The gods of these 'popular' cults could possibly not be by-passed altogether. In course of time, after the life-conditions of the Vedic Aryans had in general become more settled and secure, the peculiar pressure of circumstances must have compelled the Vedic poet-priests to grant recognition to these gods, albeit with some reluctance. But while granting such recognition, those poet-priests took care to change the original character of those gods in such a way as to bring those gods in line with the hieratic religio-mythological ideology. However, fortunately for us, some indications about the original character of those gods have remained unobliterated in the *Ṛgveda*. A typical example of this phenomenon is the evolutionary mythology relating to Viṣṇu.[50]

For instance, in a few passages of the *Ṛgveda*, Viṣṇu is characterized as *śipiviṣṭa*. It is noteworthy that these passages are - perhaps deliberately - shrouded in obscurity. Apparently the Vedic poets were straining themselves to refer to Viṣṇu's character denoted by the epithet *śipiviṣṭa* in as guarded and vague a manner as possible. Etymologically, the word *śipiviṣṭa* denotes an expanding, active male organ. Presumably, the concept of *śipiviṣṭa* must have been regarded by the sophisticated poet-priests almost as taboo. In the *Nirukta*, Aupamanyava describes Viṣṇu's epithet *śipiviṣṭa* as *kutsitārthīya* - "having a censurable implication." This would explain why the Ṛgvedic poet-priests mentioned it (when they were at all required to mention it) almost grudgingly. That epithet signifies Viṣṇu's connection with the concepts of virile power, procreation, fecundity, etc. In other words, Viṣṇu must have originally been a god of virility and fertility. In confirmation of this hypothesis, attention may be drawn to the *Vṛṣākapi*-hymn in the *Ṛgveda*[51] wherein the *Vṛṣākapi* is said to have invested the exhausted Indra with fresh virile power. The identity of Vṛṣākapi with Viṣṇu is proved by considerable literary evidence. Viṣṇu's connection with virility, procreation, and fertility is further confirmed by some other incidental references in Vedic literature and ritual, such as, Viṣṇu's association with Sinīvālī, the guardian goddess of wombs, his epithets *niṣiktapā*[52] and *sumajjāni*[53], and the formula, *viṣṇur yoniṁ kalpayatu*, employed in a rite connected with conceiving.

Anthropological research has shown that many primitive communities have conceived their fertility-gods as having 'bird' as their synmbol. Some traces of this trend are to be seen in Vedic ritual also. For instance, the divinity which plays a very significant role in the Mahāvrata rite, which is obviously a fertility-rite, is represented in the form of a bird. Similarly the *Mahadukthya* altar used in that rite has the shape of a bird. The word *viṣṇu* is to be derived from the root *vi* 'to fly', to which is suffixed the termination *snu* (as in such words as *jiṣṇu, kṣeṣṇu*). Thus, Viṣṇu, the god of virility and fertility, was also conceived as having the form of a bird.

When, however, the Vedic poet-priests were constrained to admit Viṣṇu into their mythology, they shrewdly shifted their emphasis from the concept of the bird as the symbol of a fertility-divinity to that of the bird as the symbol of a solar divinity. As a result of this, Viṣṇu appears in the *Ṛgveda* mainly as the wide-striding sun-god. In the Ṛgvedic mythology, Viṣṇu is thus seen to be steadily developing from his original character as a popular fertility-divinity to an artificially sophisticated solar divinity. In course of time, the Ṛgvedic mythology sought to validate this elevated mythological status of that god. It brought this about by associating Viṣṇu with Indra in howsoever superficial and artificial a manner. Indra had become the very hallmark of the hieratic Ṛgvedic religion, as is amply testified by the conspicuously Indra-dominated Ṛgvedic mythology. He served as a catalyst, as it were, in the process of the hieratic elevation of 'popular' gods. Intrinsically Viṣṇu had nothing in common with Indra - he had hardly anything to do with Indra. But Vedic mythology-makers made him a subordinate ally or an equal partner or sometimes even a superior associate of Indra in his heroic deeds and eventually confirmed his elevated status by combining him with Indra to form the dual-divinity Indrāviṣṇū.[54]

NOTES

1. *Dandekar, Vedic Mythological Tracts* (*VMT*), Delhi, 1979.
2. On account of the single occurence of the word *śaṁ* in this quarter it is sometimes suggested that *bṛhaspatiḥ* is to be understood as an epithet of Indra. But the general tenor of the context makes it clear that the mention of two separate divinities, Indra and Bṛhaspati, is intended here. Moreover, in no sense can *bṛhaspati* be regarded as a distinctive epithet of Indra (in the way

in which *urukrama* can of Viṣṇu).

3. *AV* XIX.9.6; *VS* 36.9; *TĀ* 7.1.1; *TU* 1.1.1; 12.1; *Mān ŚS* 6.1.5.
4. Cf. *ṚV* V.1.7; IV.42.4; II.27.8.
5. *ṚV* III.59.5; VIII.102.12. Also cf. III.59.1.
6. The dual-divinities Dyāvāpṛthivī and Sūryācandramasau, though generally suggestive of complementaryness, are 'physical (naturalistic)' rather than 'mythological' concepts.
7. *ṚV* II.12.1.
8. *VMT* 141-198.
9. See "A Vedic god and a Vedic seer", *VMT*, pp. 312-350.
10. See "Vasiṣṭha as religious conciliator" in *Dandekar, Exercises in Indology*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 122-132.
11. *ṚV* VII.82.2.
12. *ṚV* VII.82.4 ab; 5 cd; 6.
13. *ṚV* VII.82.2bcd.
14. Cf. *TS* II.1.7; 2.6; 8.2; *Nirukta* X.11.12; *Bṛhaddevatā* I.12.2; II.2.3. The word *brahmaṇaspati* is sometimes employed as a gloss on *bṛhaspati* (*TB* III.11.4.2).
15. *Brahman-* and *bṛh-* are derived from the same root *bṛh* which means "strenghten" or "make firm".
16. Cf. *ṚV* I.190.5.
17. *ṚV* II.12.1.
18. *ṚV* X.109.2,5.
19. *AV* V.17.6,7.
20. *AV* V.17.12-17.
21. *AV* V.18.1.
22. *AV* V.18.2.
23. *AV* V.18.6.
24. *AV* V.18.10.
25. *AV* V.19.1.
26. *AV* V.19.3.
27. *AV* V.19.6.
28. *ṚV* I.190.5.
29. *ṚV* VII.33.3.
30. *ṚV* VII.33.6.
31. *ṚV* VII.83.4.
32. *ṚV* IV.50.7-9.
33. *ṚV* II.23.1.
34. *ṚV* I.18.7.
35. *ṚV* II.23.6,7.
36. *AV* XIX.63.1.
37. *ṚV* II.23.4.
38. *ṚV* II.24.3.
39. *ṚV* VI.73.1-2.
40. *ṚV* I.40.8.
41. *ṚV* II.23.13.

42. *ṚV* II.24.9.
43. *ṚV* I.40.8; *AV* XI.10.12,13.
44. *ṚV* I.24.12.
45. *ṚV* IV.49;50.10.
46. *ṚV* II.23.18; 24.2; VIII.85.15.
47. *ṚV* II.23.18; IV.50.5; VI.73.3.
48. *AV* IX.3.2.
49. *ṚV* X.108.6,11; II.24.3.
50. See "Viṣṇu in the Veda", *VMT*, pp. 68-90.
51. *ṚV* X.86.
52. *ṚV* VII.36.9.
53. *ṚV* I.156.2.
54. One whole hymn, namely *ṚV* VI.69, is dedicated to *Indrāviṣṇū*. This dual-divinity is also referred to in many other passages. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the history of the dual-divinity Indrāpūṣāṇau has much in common with that of Indrāviṣṇū.

THE DECONSTRUCTION OF VEDIC HORSELORE IN INDIAN FOLKLORE

Wendy Doniger

People in India today, and traditional Sanskrit-centered Orientalists, often want to see a connection between the ancient Vedic equine tradition and contemporary equine stories that may not be, as far as we can tell, *historically* related to the Vedic tradition. For instance, they identify the clay Aiyanar horse of South India and the brass horse of Orissa with the horse born when, in the *Rg Veda*, Surya took the form of a stallion to cover Samjna when she fled as a mare (*Rg Veda* 10.17.1-2; 10.72.8-9).[1] Or they identify the mare associated with the South Indian buffalo sacrifice with the mare in the Vedic horse sacrifice.[2]

Such connections cannot be proven, though they are by no means unlikely. There are, however, a number of correspondences so detailed that they do suggest the possibility of specific references to, unconscious vestiges of, or sources of, the Vedic tradition. Yet even in such instances it is virtually impossible to sort out the direction of the historical flow. That is, even on those relatively rare occasions when we do have approximate dates for the recordings of several versions of a myth or a ritual, the fact that one was recorded before another does not necessarily indicate that the text recorded earlier is the source of the ideas, let alone the words, in the text recorded later. Some contemporary equine myths and rituals may be versions of ancient myths and ritual tales that served as the sources of the stories that we know from the Vedas, while still others seem to be later stories reflecting back on the Vedic horse sacrifice. But there are other possibilities, too. On the third hand, both the Vedic myth and the contemporary folk myth may derive from a common source, now lost to us; and, on the fourth hand (appropriate to a discussion of quadripeds), any Indian equine tradition is likely to reflect the influence of the many foreigners who brought horses into India. Let us begin with this fourth point.

1. Alien Horses

The equine and equestrian folklore of Hindu India reveals a surprisingly positive attitude to the many invaders of India, who invaded on horseback: the Indo-Europeans, the Mughals, the British. One simple reason for this acceptance is that there would probably not be horses in India but for these aliens. The horse is not really an "Indian animal" in the sense that it is well adapted to conditions in most of the subcontinent. Though there are, and always have been, some breeding centers for horses in India, by and large horses do not thrive on Indian soil.[3] In the Punjab, Maharashtra, and Karnataka there is some horsebreeding, and Poona, Bombay, and Calcutta are today breeding centers for thoroughbred horses. But it is true of horsebreeding everywhere in the world that one needs a periodic infusion of new stock, and in India it has been the custom in contemporary times to import new blood every five years or so (more often mares than stallions).[4]

The best explanation I know, to date, for the failure of the horse to thrive in India is also a good explanation for the particular way that the mythology of the horse developed in India. This hypothesis has been set forth by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Jöchle, a veterinarian doctor and expert in animal reproduction (theriogenology):

> Vedic scriptures [depicted] the mare goddess [as] an almost demonic figure which epitomized everything that human males perceived as dangerous in human females: beauty and attractiveness combined with low levels of fertility or even infertility; seductiveness which robs man's vital substance (semen), weakening him in the process but not necessarily providing offspring...
>
> To those aware of the vagaries of equine reproduction, the mare goddess' degradation seems to reflect the Aryans' experiences with horse breeding during the same period. The Aryans were nomadic breeders of lifestock and of horses from Central Asia ... But with their move from the steppe ... came a shift from extensive breeding methods to intensive reproductive management, in confinement ... What emerged was a much lower level of fertility, prolonged heat periods requiring multiple matings where a lot of stallion power - semen - is wasted, especially early in the season, or late in the transition phase; seasonality in general resulted, with the subsequent fair chance of the male to get seriously hurt while trying to copulate, which may result in impotence ... The horse is the only domesticated animal species we know that as a result of intensified breeding management may have become less fertile. This may also reflect breeding goals counterproductive to fertility, i.e. breeding for performance and certain configurations regarded as desirable, or, in breeding for these goals, fertility traits may have been reduced inadvertently.[5]

The mare, in this scientific myth, thus comes to represent danger to the male and infertility coupled with beauty and speed. And the horse, of both genders, becomes a rare species, difficult to breed.

Yet it may be that culture, rather than nature, is what has kept horses from thriving in India. It is often alleged (by people who may or may not have known what they were talking about, and who may or may not have wanted to slander the Hindus) that Indian kings and their servants simply did not know how to care for horses properly, that they fed them enormous quantities of butter (a sacred food, but not a truly sensible diet for herbivores[6]) and made other mistakes in their care that kept them from thriving. But it may be that foreign traders and invaders purposely kept the knowledge of proper horse-care from the native Indians, precisely in order to keep their monopoly on horses. Stephen Inglis tells how "the wily Arabic traders kept the secret of shoeing horses from the South Indians for centuries and so the poor beasts were simply ridden until their hooves wore down and they died. This added to the popular notion of the horse as an ephemeral, semi-divine creature (and made for steady business at the Arab end)".[7] This being so, the positive attitude to the foreign horse-owners, as well as to their horses, is all the more surprising.

2. The sacrificial stallion

The first foreign equestrians in India were the Aryans. They established the first patterns of horse myth and horse ritual in India, patterns that we may still detect in contemporary folklore. But what kind of patterns are they? The themes are not merely repeated, parrotted; they are changed, challenged. The fact that these patterns often appear in inversion, or even, perhaps, in subversion, may perhaps suggest a submerged, perhaps even repressed, resistance against the alien equestrian forms. And at what point do structuralist inversions turn into Marxist subversions? In examining some contemporary Indian images that seem to bear a striking resemblance to images that we know from the Vedas, we will be fortunate in having as our guide, as on so many other journeys through Indian history, an original insight from Jan Heesterman. For it is he who has done far more than anyone else to chart a path for us between the most ancient (even "pre-classical") world of the sacrifice and the most contemporary manifestations of Indian religious thought.

The central image of the ancient Vedic horse sacrifice, the beheading of the horse, is found throughout later Indian literature in many non-sacrificial contexts. Heesterman has suggested that the horse sacrifice and human sacrifice were part of an alternating and recurring ritual cycle.[8] Taking this insight as his *point d'appui*, Asko Parpola has cited in support an archaic text (the *Vadhulasutra*) in which it is said, "In old times, he who first cut [the horse], his head used to fall severed".[9] Parpola suggests that there is a direct connection between this double sacrifice and the image of the *kimpurusa* or *kinnara*, whose "outward appearance is half human, half animal, the animal part being usually a horse, or sometimes a flying horse or a bird". He argues that the "*kimpurusa* originally denoted a human victim ... who was decapitated in conection with a sacred marriage feast". Noting that in the Vedic human sacrifice, "both a man and a horse were sacrificed", he continues: "It seems that in some cases at least, the heads were exchanged". He sees as evidence of this a passage in Magha's *Sisupalavadha* (4.38), which says that the *kimpurusa* is a demigod with a horse's head and a human body, while the *kinnara* has a man's head and a horse's body. One might cite as a counter-example that proves the rule, not a horse substituted for a human victim, but an inversion of this theme, in which a human substitutes for a horse: when Ambarisa's sacrificial horse was stolen, he went to seek a human victim in its place, and purchased Sunahsepha, who was (in *Aitareya Brahmana* 7.13-18), the subject of a complex myth of sacrifical substitutions that did *not* include horses.[10] But is this inversion another form of a horse sacrifice, or the beginning of a deconstruction of the horse sacrifice?

The horse's head on a human body is also a part of the Vedic image of Dadhyanc, the sage with the head of a horse: Dadhyanc had a human head, but the Asvins gave him a temporary horse head with which he told them the secret of the sacrifice - that is, the secret by which the mutilated victim is made whole again - ; Indra then cut off his equine head, and then the Asvins restored his original human head (*Satapatha Brahmana* 14.1.1.18-25).[11] Parpola connects this story, too, with the transposed heads in the human/horse sacrifice.

But even the ancient myth of Dadhyanc may be interpreted as an inversion of another image: it is an inverted centaur, with the horse's head on top of a human body, in contrast with the conventional centaur, who has a human torso on a horse's hindquarters. The horse-head (with a human body) is the ritual figure: it comes from the decapitation of the horse in the sacrifice and also from rituals in which men can put on the masks of the heads of animals. The centaur is the mythical figure: it comes from the idealized image of riding (which is in its turn an idealized image of flying, perhaps of sex). India doesn't have many centaurs.[12] The realistic image of a man riding a horse was rare in the ancient Sanskrit texts, since the kings who are the subject and object of these texts did not usually ride astride; they preferred to drive horses in chariots instead. Thus the solar horse in Greece is Bellerophon's Pegasus, ridden astride; the solar horse in ancient India is the chariot horse of Surya. Centaurs do occur on some ancient Indian sculptures, however, and probably represent the equine activities of people below the level of kings, the lower aristocrats (Rajputs) and herdsmen who did ride astride. For in the later *Samhitas* riding astride became more common, and by Mauryan times there is evidence for the use of cavalry.[13] The horse-headed figure, or inverted centaur, is, therefore, the aristocratic image, in contrast with the relatively plebeian centaur.

The inverted, aristocratic centaur also appears later in the Puranic image of Kalki (perhaps imported from European millennialism): Kalki, usually depicted as a horse or as a rider on a horse, sometimes as a man with a horse's head. He is the avatar of Visnu that ushers in the period of invasions by defiling foreigners. And both the centaur and the inverted centaur appear in a 17th century Telugu poem in which the poet, mocking the god Visnu for his apparent lack of martial agression, boasts:

> ... If even a Brahmin like me
> had a weapon like the *cakra* that you hold in your hand,
> I would carve up all the Turks,
> put a horse's head on a soldier's body
> and a horse's body on a warrior's head ...[14]

We may see a submerged irony in this use of the centaur, since both the barbarians whom the hippocephalic Kalki was sent to drive out of India and the Turks to whom the Telugu poet threatens to give horses' heads are foreigners who brought horses into India.

A story that may well be a satire on the horse sacrifice was recorded in North India during the nineteenth century:

> There is a stock horse miracle story told in connection with Lal Beg, the patron saint of the sweepers. The king of Delhi lost a valuable horse, and the sweepers were ordered to bury it, but as the animal was very fat, they proceeded to cut it up for themselves, giving one leg to the king's priest ... The king, ... suspecting the state of the case, ordered the sweepers to produce the horse. They were in dismay at the order, but they laid what was left of the animal on a mound sacred to Lal Beg, and prayed to him to save them, whereupon the horse stood up, but only on three legs. So they went to the king and confessed how they had disposed of the fourth leg. The unlucky priest was executed, and the horse after died also.[15]

This is a horse sacrifice in the shadow world of the Untouchables, a subversive sacrifice with Vedic *vasanas*: the lost leg of the horse recapitulates the leg of the racing-mare Vispala, which was cut off and replaced by the Asvins (*Rg Veda* 1.116.15, 1.117.6),[16] and the mutilated leg of Yama, the son of the solar horse and mare and a half-brother of the Asvins (*Markandeya Purana* 103-5).[17] Ranging a bit farther afield, to other equine limbs cut off and replaced, we may recall the lost head of Dadhyanc (and, still further afield, the lost head of Daksa in another shadow sacrifice[18]).

There may well be a deconstruction of the Vedic horse sacrifice in another story of a human and equine beheading, a story that is still prevalent in oral tradition in the Punjab area (Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, and Delhi) and has also been published in popular bazaar pamphlets in Hindi and Panjabi. This is the story of Dhyanu Bhagat (or, Why coconuts are offered to the goddess):

> There was once a devotee of the Goddess named Dhyanu Bhagat who lived at the same time as the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Once he was leading a group of pilgrims to the temple of Jvala Mukhi [in Dist. Kangra, Himachal Pradesh] where the Goddess appears in the form of a flame. As the group was passing through Delhi, Akbar summoned Dhyanu to the court, demanding to know who this goddess was and why he worshipped her. Dhyanu replied that she is the all-powerful Goddess who grants wishes to her devotees. In order to test Dhyanu, Akbar ordered the head of his horse to be cut off and told Dhyanu to have his goddess join the horse's head back to its body. Dhyanu went to Jvala Mukhi where he prayed day and night to the Goddess, but he got no answer. Finally, in desperation, he cut off his own head and offered it to the Goddess. At that point, the Goddess appeared before him in full splendor, seated on her lion. She joined his head back to his body and also joined the horse's head back to its body. Then she offered him a boon. He asked that in the future, devotees not be required to go to such extreme lengths to prove their devotion. So, she granted him the boon that from then on, she would accept the offering of a coconut to be equal to that of a head. So, that is why people offer coconuts to the Goddess.[19]

The devouring goddess, who appears openly in the deity who originally demands blood sacrifices, also appears at the very start of the story in her equine form, as Jvala Mukhi, the holy place where she takes the form of a flame. For Jvala Mukhi (literally "Mouth of Fire", a common term for a volcano) is the name of the submarine doomsday mare, known to us from Epic and Puranic sources.[20]

The story itself offers us at least one good clue to the fact that it is really a myth about human sacrifice - perhaps a local myth - that has been adapted to take account of the more "Sanskritic" tradition of the horse sacrifice. This clue is the coconut, an essential part of a *puja*, just as animals are an essential part of a sacrifice. Now, a coconut closely resembles a human head (a resemblance that is often explicitly alluded to in *pujas*), but does not at all resemble a horse's head. We might read this text as a meditation on the historical transition from human sacrifice to Vedic horse sacrifice to contemporary coconut sacrifice, subversively incorporating the Vedic myth of Dadhyanc (now called Dhyanu).

A very similar myth collected in Chandigarh may also be related to the ancient Vedic sacrifice but may, on the other hand, have a closer link with the well-known Puranic myth of King Hariscandra, whose son was killed, in order to test Hariscandra, and was eventually restored to him (*Markandeya Purana* 7-8).[21]

> Queen Tara told her husband, King Haricand, of a miracle that the goddess had performed (involving snakes and lizards). The king asked, "How can I get a direct vision (*pratyaks darsan*) of the Mother? I will do anything". Tara told him that it wasn't easy and that he would have to sacrifice his favorite blue horse. He did so. Then she told him to sacrifice his beloved son. He did so. Then she told him to cut up the horse and son and place them in a cauldron and cook them. This he did. She told him to dish out the food on five plates, one for Mata, one for himself, one for the horse, one for the son, and one for her. The king, bound to his word, started to eat, but tears welled up in his eyes. The horse and the son both came back to life. Devi appeared on her lion. King Haricand worshipped her and begged for forgiveness. Mata forgave him and then disappeared.[22]

We may see behind this story not merely the Vedic horse sacrifice, but, behind *that*, the Indo-European sacrifice, the Irish version of which involved the cooking of a dismembered mare in a cauldron, and the drinking of the soup made in this way.[23] But the final point is quite the opposite: the goddess relents and stops the sacrifice.

3. The mythical mare

This last text introduces yet another complication into our pattern, for it deals not with a stallion but with a mare. Despite all of its complexities, the image of the Vedic stallion does seem to be reflected in certain contemporary folk ideas, such as the ones discussed above. The Vedic mare, by contrast, undergoes an inversion from positive to negative as the image passes into the Epic, an inversion that may be related, as we have seen, to the Aryan invaders' frustrated attempts at successful horse-breeding. The mare in Vedic myth and ritual is benevolent, but the mares in the myth of the Epics and Puranas are evil, symbolic of dangerous lust and anger that must be harnessed and that will, inevitably, erupt to destroy the world at doomsday.[24] By contrast, the many mares in Indian folklore are almost always benevolent, and therefore stand in opposition to the enduring Puranic tradition. Since both versions of the mare image appear in folk variants, it is difficult to posit with any confidence a direct link between the two sets of ancient texts and the modern tradition. Are these good mares survivals of the good mare in the Vedic horse sacrifice, or are they independent creations?

The Telugu hero Devnarayan rides a black mare named Tejan.[25] But Teja is, in turn, the name of a human hero in Hindi folklore, whose magic mare is called Lila Gori ("Magic Mare"). Another Telugu hero, Peddanna, inherits from his foster mother a winged, talking, celestial mare named Karubollanna.[26] Evidently the authors of these stories are either ignorant of the Puranic bias against mares or chose to ignore it in favor of a pro-mare tradition that was either native to them or inherited and preserved from the Vedic period. Within this tradition, we find a narrative pattern of considerable detail repeated in many different stories, suggesting that, once the tradition began, it was diffused within this area, rather than arising independently everywhere where people rode mares. Let us look at some examples of this pattern.

Mares appear in the mythology of Guga or Gugga, also known as Zahar Pir, an important cult in the horse-nurturing cultures of North India.[27] When Guga died, the earth opened and received him, with his famous black mare Javadiya.[28] William Crooke tells how the mare was born:

> The mare has, of course, a story of her own. Guga had no children, and lamenting this to his guardian deity, he received from him two barley-corns, one of which he gave to his wife and the other to his famous mare, which gave birth to his charger, hence called Javadiya or "barley-born". We find this wonderful mare through the whole range of folklore, but the best parallel to her is the famous mare of Gwri of the golden hair, and Setanta in the Celtic tale.[29]

The parallels to which Crooke refers are the Welsh tale of Gwri and the goddess Rhiannon and the Irish tale of Setanta and the goddess Macha, two Celtic versions of one of the basic ancient Indo-European myths of the mare-goddess: the simultaneous birth of a son to the queen and a colt to the royal mare.[30]

Another version of the story of Guga was recorded shortly after Crooke published his, at the turn of the twentieth century:

> A Queen wanted to have a child; her co-wife (also her twin sister) tricked her, appearing to the yogi in her place and receiving the blessing that she would have two children. The real queen then appeared, and the yogi gave her an apple, of which she was to eat three fourths and give the remainder to her favourite mare. A miraculous child was born, with the power to suck the head of a cobra unhurt. When he grew up, he had a horse named Leilah [cf. Lila Gori in the story of Teja], "a foal of the mare that had been favored with a bit of the yogi's apple".[31]

Yet another version places still less emphasis upon the mare but adds another figure, an Untouchable woman:

> The legend from Nabha State ... tells us that Siva and Gorakh went to [the serpent] Vasuki to ask for one of his 101 sons, but his queen refused to give one up. When Vasuki, in anger, foamed at the mouth, Gorakh quickly took some gugal, saturated it in the

> saliva, and gave it to Bacala, who shared it with a brahman woman, a sweeper woman, and her mare, all of whom were impregnated.[32]

We see the subversive association of the horse, the Aryan animal par excellence, with Untouchable sweepers, as in the myth of Lal Beg. Indeed, the equine imagery throughout this cycle of myths is, in a sense, subversive, since it argues for a positive valence for the mare that appears, in Sanskrit Epics and Puranas, as demonic.

Mares, positively valued, also appear in the tale of Pabuji, a minor Rajput chief of the 14th century who was subsequently deified by the local people, and whose story is illustrated on twenty-foot long scroll paintings, called *pars*, in Rajasthan.[33] Here is Stella Kramrisch's version of the tale of Pabuji:

> The noble hero Pabuji Rathore lived and died, 25 years old, in the 14th century. The beautiful Deval Devi rode on a splendid black mare while tending her cattle in the desert of Marwar. Deval was considered an incarnation of Shakti (the Great Goddess). Jind Raj, a baron of Jayal, saw and coveted the splendid black mare Kesar Kalimi, but Deval would part from her only at the price of his head. Deval, fearing for her safety after this incident, moved to the land of the chief of Kohlugarh who treated her like his own daughter. Deval gave her black mare to Pajubi, his son, for they esteemed each other greatly, and he promised to protect her and her cattle at the cost of his life. But a beautiful princess fell in love with Pabuji on his beautiful mare, and wanted Pabuji to marry her. He told her, however, that he had pledged his life to see to Deval's safety and that of her cattle. Jind Raj in the meanwhile took away Deval's cattle. In the form of a bird, Deval informed Pabuji, and he left his bride during the wedding rites, to keep his word. With seven men he rode on Kalimi, the black mare, against Jind Raj and his thousand soldiers and rescued the cattle. But he was mortally wounded and died, together with the black mare. His bride immolated herself as Sati and joined Pabuji in heaven.[34]

John Smith recently recorded and analysed a full version of the story of Pabuji, of which the following is a brief summary:

> Pabuji's father saw a flock of nymphs [*paris*, or *apsarases*] bathing; he stole their clothes, and forced one of them to marry him. She did so, on condition that he never enter her room without first warning her of his approach (by clearing his throat). She was Kesar Pari, the saffron nymph. In time, Pabuji was born. One day, the father forgot to warn her, and entering the room he

> saw that she was suckling the child, and that she had the form of a tigress. She left him forever, but first she promised the baby that she would return when he was twelve, "as a mare on which you can sport [*ram*] throughout the world".
>
> When he was twelve, Pabuji needed a horse, and dreamt that he was riding a brilliant mare, Kesar Kalmi ("black saffron") owned by Deval Charan. [The Charan men are panegyrists, *sutas*, and the women are powerful; Deval is regarded as an incarnation of the goddess]. Pabuji said, "We have not found a mount suitable for me. Deval the Charan lady has crossed the seven seas and brought back costly horses. Last night I dreamt that I was riding her mare, Kesar Kalmi". He went to Deval Charan and said, "Give me your mare". She replied, "I have promised her to Kichi. He will raid my territory and steal my cattle". Pabuji said, "I will pay for the mare with the price of my head". He promised to come to her aid if she were raided. The mare was secured in the innermost of seven underground rooms ... Pabuji mounted her, and the mare rose up. Though wingless, she flew into the sky. They burnt incense; the mare smelled it and returned to earth.
>
> Later, when Pabuji went to Umarkot to be married, there was a horse race, an essential part of the marriage ceremony in this area. Pabuji staked his mare and his best friend against all of Umarkot. The mare won, by flying through the air. Then, during the marriage ceremony, the mare became restless: she winnied, and champed her bit, and broke her fetters of steel. Deval Charan took the form of a bird and told Pabuji to come to her aid, as she was being raided. Pabuji left the wedding to help Deval Charan; mortally wounded in the ensuing battle, he and the mare ascended to heaven.[35]

The flock of bathing nymphs, the broken contract with the nymph that the hero's father marries, and the appearance of Deval Charan in the form of a bird at the wedding are fragments of the story of the swan maiden, which we know from the Vedic myth of Urvasi (*Rg Veda* 10.95). We may also hear Vedic echoes in the whinnying of the mare during the wedding, that echoes the whinnying of the mares in the presence of the stallion in the Vedic sacrifice. And there are more tenuous connections implicit in Pabuji's offer to give his head for the mare and in the horse race (a part of the Vedic consecration ceremony).

The theme of the horse ridden to a wedding is manifest in weddings, and in paintings of wedding processions, all over India, where the bridegroom rides to the wedding on a horse to whom a kind of *puja* is offered. This horse is alway white, an auspicious color, and the wedding is presumably completed; by contrast, the black mare in the folktales appears in weddings that are not completed. We might, therefore, see the black folk mare as a kind of mythic shadow, or even a subversion, of the auspicious horse in the rituals. The interrupted wedding, that recurs in many of the equine folktales, is a variant of a theme that we know from texts about two ancient interrupted sacrifices: the horse sacrifice in the *Mahabharata*, that is interrupted on so many occasions, and the Vedic ceremony of consecration, that was "interrupted" by a chariot race as well as by a game of dice.[36] The Vedic horse sacrifice is simultaneously a marriage and a slaughter; ideally, both are consummated. In the *Mahabharata*, the sacrifice is interrupted and taken up again with a new horse. In the folk epics, the marriage is interrupted by a horse race and is then again interrupted so that the slaughter of the horse and the bridegroom can take place. That is, the incomplete marriage is consummated by a completed sacrifice; the horse - now a mare - is the "new bride". Here, as so often, the martial and fertile functions of the horse are played off against one another in the myth and ritual. But here again we may see the folk tradition turning an auspicious and aristocratic Vedic image into an inauspicious and more plebeian image.

4. Epic and folk horse myths

Thus the folk tradition provides parallels not to the Epic mare but to the Vedic mare. Yet in the equine folklore more broadly conceived, and particularly in the stories of stallions, there are many parallels with an Epic tradition that is, in itself, the preservation of a Vedic tradition. In fact, it makes better sense to regard the Epic and Vedic traditions as parallel to one another, rather than chronologically sequential, and, indeed, to regard both of them as parallel to, rather than chronologically prior to, the folk traditions.

Parallels to many horse-myths from the *Mahabharata* that have a sometimes obscure link with the Vedic horse sacrifice are preserved, and often satirized, in folk traditions. In the *Mahabharata* (1.121.13-14), the hero Asvatthaman is an incarnation of a portion of Siva, and gets his name because, as soon as he is born, he whinnies lke the stallion Ucchaihsravas, the mount of the Vedic god Indra. But in a Tamil play based upon this episode, Asvatthaman's "filiation from Siva is unmistakeably enriched, and the suggestion that he is a reverse centaur, with horse-like head and human body, is not only linked to his name but is an evocation of the doomsday mare and the horseheaded apocalyptic avatara Kalki".[37] Alf Hiltebeitel summarizes this play:

> The curtain is then lifted to reveal an instantly hilarious figure: Siva with topknot, six inch mustache, waist-length beard, and sunglasses. He has come in disguise as a rishi, to visit Krpi, the childless wife of Drona, and as she serves him rice, Siva tells Narada he is overwhelmed with desire and ejaculates onto his rice. Then he leaves with Narada without eating it. Krpi returns to find the rice covered with semen, and orders her servant ... to feed it

> to a horse. The horse (offstage, as it were) gets pregnant, delivers, and dies, and (all this in a trice) Krpi turns around with a little boy on her arm plucked from the audience. Now Drona appears. He does find Krpi's story hard to believe, and interrogates her, at first doubting her chastity. But at last he is convinced by a more detailed explanation. Moreover, the baby's face looks like that of a horse while his body is human. At this point Vyasa ... appears and lends his approval, and together they name the child Asvatthaman (retaining the etymology from Sanskrit *asva*, horse).[38]

As Hiltebeitel remarks, "The weave in this portion of the play of novel 'epic' and 'folkloric' themes with traditional epic characterizations is remarkable". But we might also look behind the Epic to the Vedic rite, to see in the "impregnated rice" a parallel to the rice fed to the Vedic stallion before his immolation. Indeed, we might look back even farther, to see in Asvatthaman's birth a version of the Indo-European myth of the simultaneous birth of a prince and a colt to the queen and the mare who share the same magic food,[39] a myth that we have always seen lurking in the background of Crooke's version of the story of Guga. But the Tamil play makes fools of all the Epic heroes, and even greater fools of the Epic gods. Once again, subversion.

5. Vedic, Epic, and folk myths of horses and snakes

Another folk theme with both Vedic and Epic parallels is the theme of horses and snakes. Let us begin, briefly, with the Vedas. We have seen that Guga has the power to suck cobras' heads, and that it was Vasuki whose foaming mouth impregnated Guga's mother (as well as a mare). In many Indian images, horses - sometimes mounted by equestrian heroes like Guga - trample serpents under their hooves. David Shulman has written of the antiquity of this theme:[40]

> ... The serpent who is, as it were, reborn out of his own dead skin serves in India as a very widespread symbol of the sacrifice, in which new life is won from death.[41] But the serpent seems to share this symbolic role with the horse, and the two animals are clearly associated from early times .... Both horses and serpents rise from the ocean, and both are closely connected with the nether world, Varuna, and the sun.[42] The Naga-king Padmanabha takes the place of the horses which draw the chariot of the sun;[43] during the destruction of the Triple City of the demons, the famous serpents Nahusa, Karkotaka and others become bands to bind the manes of Siva's horses.[44] Rahu, undoubtedly a serpentine figure, rides a chariot of eight horses; he is portrayed with a snake's head, carrying a fish, standing beside his horse.[45] Hayagriva, the horse-headed form of Visnu, sometimes holds a

> serpent; according to some texts, his left foot should rest on the cosmic serpent Adisesa;[46] snakes are entwined in his head-dress.[47]

Shulman relates this corpus of horse-snake myths to a statue in a 10th century temple in Tamil Nadu, a free-standing statue of "a white, winged horse rearing up, with his front feet resting on the hoods of a five-headed serpent".[48] He connects this icon with "the descriptions of the Vedic winged horse Dadhikra and of his multiform, Paidva, the white horse trampling serpents".[49] It is almost as if the Tamil village shrine were offering us a graphic representation of this almost forgotten Vedic symbol".[50]

But it is in the *Mahabharata* that we encounter a fully developed corpus of stories that connect horses and snakes, and several of these stories are also told in non-Sanskrit traditions. Sometimes the main characters have the same names that they have in the Epic, but many other essential details are different; sometimes, by contrast, the story is told with all the same essential details, but the hero has a different name. Either case can make us pause and wonder whether the story really is "the same" to any significant degree. As R.C. Temple remarks of one such story, "It contains much that is not to be found in the Mahabharata and Bhagavata versions, and also much that is obviously based on the same foundations as the classical story".[51] With this caution, we may note that Punjabi versions of the story of Janamejaya's snake sacrifice were recorded by Temple in the 19th century,[52] and that many other versions of that tale were incorporated in the Punjabi stories of Guga/Zahar Pir,[53] the Hindi stories of Teja,[54] and the Tamil and Telugu stories of Desingu (or Desinghu) Raja. Indeed, there is an unbroken thread of versions of the story, in Sanskrit and in the vernacular up to the present day. Near Banaras, at Fort Chunar, people tell stories about a "Gun Major" (they use the English word); this name is explicitly regarded as a later British version of the name of Janamejaya.[55] Thus, through the association of the horse with foreign invaders, the *Mahabharata* is updated.

The Epic abounds in myths and rituals in which horses and snakes replace one another.[56] In one much-retold story, Nahusa is cursed to become a serpent for having harnessed sages to his chariot instead of horses (*Mahabharata* 5.15-17). The theme of people substituting for horses pulling chariots appears in Buddhist texts, too: in the *Vessantara Jataka*, when Vessantara gives away all his horses, the gods become red deer and pull his carriage. The stories of both Nahusa and Vessantara may be seen as inversions of the older, and more basic, theme of horses substituting for people in sacrifices. In Bengali astrological texts describing the vehicles (*vahanas*) of planets, the chariots of all but one of the planets are drawn by horses, but the chariot of Sani, the evil planet, is drawn by eight serpents[57] or by a *grdhra*,[58] a kind of lizard that is often confounded with snakes and associated with horses, as in the Chandigarh story of King Haricand.[59]

In the tale of Utttanka in the underworld (*Mahabharata* 1.3.85-95 and 14.55-57) and in the *Kathasaritsagara* (6.69-72), the hero obtains a magic horse from a Naga maiden. Versions of this theme are also found in later folk literature. In the tales of Guga and Desingu, the hero wins his princess through the combined agency of a magic horse and a Naga. In many of these Naga myths, the magic horse comes up from the underworld, the home of the Nagas. But equally common are myths in which horses descend from heaven, as in the Telugu story of Peddanna. This celestial association fits well with the association of horses with birds, gods, and the sun; but it also resonates with the "otherness" of the horse in association with foreign human beings, such as Muslims and Englishmen. Significantly, these stories often refer to the infusion of this magical foreign bloodline as the cause of the outstanding quality of the native horses.

The simultaneously subterranean and divine origins of the horse were noted by Hiuen Tsang in his report on India in the 6th century:

> To the north of a city on the eastern borders of the country, in front of a Deva temple, there is a great dragon-lake. The dragons, changing their forms, couple with mares. The offspring is a wild species of horse ("dragon-horse"), difficult to tame and of a fierce nature. The breed of these dragon-horses became docile. This country consequently became famous for its many excellent horses. Former records [of this country] say: "In late time there was a king called 'Gold Flower', who exhibited rare intelligence in the doctrine [of religion]. He was able to yoke the dragons to his chariot. When the king wished to disappear, he touched the ears of the dragons with his whip, and forthwith he became invisible".[60]

Since Chinese dragons are half horse, half snake (sometimes also part bird), it was a simple mattter for the Chinese pilgrim to assimilate his native dragon myths to the Indian Naga myths. Here, as elsewhere, cross-breeding is good for the breed of horses, but dangerous for the breed of humans who own the horses - a fine example of the ambivalence with which Indian folklore regards horses, particularly the association of horses with foreigners.

6. The demonic horse

This ambivalence about the horse is both intrinsic and culturally constructed. That is, we might argue, from the corpus of equine mythology beyond the borders of India, that the horse is often, if not always, regarded with mixed feelings: it is both tame and wild, both male and female, both divine and demonic, both solar and chthonic, both beautiful and infertile, and, as we have seen, both native and foreign. But in India this intrinsic ambiguity is enhanced by the role played by the horse in successive phases of mythology, more precisely, by its association first with positive, male values, in the Vedas, and then with negative, gynophobic values, in the Epics and Puranas.[61] It is further enhanced by the role played by the horse in Indian history, by its association first with the Aryans and then with the invading Muslims and British.

This complex of ambivalence is at the heart of the Maharashtran cult of Khandoba, another equestrian god (regarded as a form of Siva) who tramples on a serpent demon. For the horse of Khandoba itself has strong demonic connections: "Siva in Puranic style invariably rides a *nandi* [bull] and arrives on his *nandi* before he mounts a horse to fight the demon. Most of the texts tell us that the *nandi* turns into the horse (*turanga, haya*), though there are indications that the demons Mani and Malla owned the horse before Khandoba".[62] According to other sources,[63] Mani already had a horse. Siva ordered the moon to become a horse and, seated on it, he cut off the demon's head. Ever since, the horse as a *vahana* became dear to the god. Yet another source tells us that Mani became "horse-faced" (*hayamukha* [more precisely, horse-headed]) after his head was cut off by Khandoba and he started neighing. Eventually, the upper half of him became an elephant.[64] And elsewhere it is said that the horse, chariot, and elephants all derive from the demon.[65]

The horse symbolism in the cult of Khandoba incorporates several different Sanskrit traditions. The Vedic tradition may be seen in the figure of the divine horse, but more specifically in the name of Martanda, a name given to Khandoba but also a name of the sun in the *Rg Veda* (particularly of the mutilated son of the solar horse).[66] The demonic horse resonates with the Puranic tradition of the demonic horse (manifest in Keshin, whom Krsna kills) and the demonic mare (the submarine mare).

But Khandoba is not a horse god; he is not a horse. He *rides* a horse, which is, in this context, the very opposite of *being* a horse. In the myth, he rides a demonic horse; in the cult, he rides his human worshippers: "During Dasara at Devatagudda (Karnataka), the devotees gallop like horses whipping themselves with horsewhips, ... and even at the Somvati Amavasya festival in Jejuri one may see devotees possessed by the power of the god moving similarly like horses in front of the palanquin".[67] Khandoba is the subduer of horses, the tamer of horses. He makes demonic horses, like his worshippers, into divine horses. And the rites of possession associated with Khandoba, often indistinguishable from demonic possession, may have sprung from the same religious imagination that produced, in the Epic, the inverted image of the demonic Nahusa harnessing sages like horses, and becoming, as a result, a snake, the enemy of the horse.

Thus, in many icons, the god, together with his once demonic horse, now tamed and made divine, tramples on a still demonic serpent, evoking the ancient Vedic image of Indra, the horse, subduing Vrtra, the serpent - Saint George subduing the dragon. In some of the images of Khandoba, there is a demon, rather than a serpent, under the hooves of Khandoba's horse, itself originally a demon's horse. "The myth of the battle of the god on the horse against the demons"[68] on icons depicts the victory over the demon not merely in the obvious way - by demonstrating how the god kills the demonic snake - but also, indirectly, by demonstrating how the god took the demonic horse and harnessed its evil for the good of the worshipper. Khandoba is the conqueror, the foreign invader, who turns his conquered subjects into willing devotees. The image of the snake/demon under the hooves of Khandoba's horse owes something to the Indo-European dragon-slaying motif, something else to the Epic saga of snakes and horses, something to the invading tradition of horses, and something yet again to the creative imagination of contemporary Indian folklore.

7. Arabian Horses

Whatever the traces of Vedic horse lore in contemporary Indian horse lore, we have seen evidence, throughout this journey, that our stock of stories has been cross-fertilized by other, non-Vedic, indeed non-Indian horses. We have seen that the hippocephalic Kalki, as well as the Barbarians that he was sent to drive out of India, were foreign invaders, as were the Turks who figure in many of the Telugu tales, the "Gun Major" at Fort Chunar, and the donors of the horses in the tale of Hiuen Tsang, himself, of course, also a foreigner, if not a foreign invader. These stories express the connection between horses and aliens or foreigners (including native aliens like the Untouchables and Tribal peoples: we have seen the subversive association of the horse with Untouchable sweepers, in the myths of Lal Beg and Gorakh). This is the final strand that we must weave into our Vedic/Epic and vernacular strands to produce the complex braid of contemporary Indian horse lore.

There is substantial evidence about the importing of horses throughout Indian history. Ancient Sanskrit and Tamil texts, such as the *Arthasastra* and *Sangam* texts, observe that horses had to be imported, probably from Parthia. In the 13th century Marco Polo, whose opinion of Indian horsemanship was low, confirms that South India continued to import horses from Persia, to which was also now added the Arabian trade. When the Europeans arrived in India, the horse was a very expensive animal, costing in Moghul times up to 2250 pounds sterling for the best. The heavy losses at sea account primarily for the high cost.[69] The princes of southern India imported large numbers of horses from Persia and Arabia, despite their high cost; the king of Vijayanagar is reputed to have imported 13,000 horses annually for his own personal use and to provide mounts for his officers.[70]

Since the beginning of the invasions of India in the 10th century A.D. by the Arabs and the Turks, who were to be followed by the Mughals, horses in India have always been associated with Muslims. We have noted the suggestion that the Arabs purposely kept from the Hindus the secrets of the way to breed (and shoe) Arab horses, to this day the finest horses in the world. A trace of mystery, perhaps also of resentment, but also of glamor, hedges one of the best known, and most charming, South Indian stories about Muslim/Arab horses, the myth of Siva and the jackals:[71]

> Messengers arrived at the Pandyan court reporting that foreigners with fine horses to sell had landed on the east coast at Perunturai. The king, delighted at this news, dispatched his most faithful servant Tiruvatavurar to buy the horses. Meanwhile Siva became incarnate as a guru and initiated Vatavurar. The King became furious and sent a letter, beginning, "You left here with a huge treasure. Without purchasing the horses you have put on a loincloth". ... Tiruvatavurar took the letter to the divine teacher and asked him to listen to its contents. When the guru heard the letter, he smiled. He said that he himself would bring horses to Madurai at midday on the first of Avani month. Meanwhile Vatavurar should return to the king and inform him of the promised arrival of the horses ...
>
> The king suspected that Vatavurar had misappropriated the money, threw him in jail and had him tortured. Vatavurar prayed to Siva. Moved by his disciple's distress, Siva transformed all the jackals in the region into horses and himself became a rider at the head of the herd. He drove the horses to Madurai. The king was much impressed by these fine animals and restored Vatavurar to favor. The day, of course, was the first of Avani. The extraordinary beauty of the foreign horse groom was apparent to all. When the Pandyan presented the horseman with a beautiful piece of silk, Siva smiled, caught it with his horsewhip, and simply left. This disrespectful behavior angered the king, but Vatavurar mollified him by attributing the horseman's strange manner to foreign customs.
>
> The king had the horses examined by experts, and it was determined that these excellent animals were worth eight times the sum he sent with Vatavurar to Perunturai. Satisfied, the Pandyan ordered the horses taken to the royal stables. On the following morning, however, Madurai awakened to the howling of jackals, for the horses had reverted to their former nature. The horses went back to their jackalhood, gobbled up all the horses of the king, and went to the forests, like lions, their mouths[72] smeared with quantities of drops of various blood.[73] The cluster of grooms reported the various evil deeds of the horses ... The

> jackals' clamor struck terror in the hearts of the population, causing people to question the righteousness of their king. The Pandyan was beside himself with rage. Again he had Vatavurar taken into custody and tortured. Again he prayed, and Siva caused a flood. The king released Vatavurar and the flood abated.

The transformation into jackals might be regarded as a transformation from tame to wild, jackals being the untamed form of dogs; or from pure to impure, jackals, like other scavengers, being polluted and polluting, in contrast with the pure horse, the sacrificial animal. Both of these categories would make the jackals inversions of horses. Siva here is a Muslim only as an *object* of the myth, not as a subjective part of the myth. That is, here, as in many of the equine myths in Indian folklore, we are dealing not with stories borrowed from the Muslims (who, like all great horsemen, had horse myths), but, rather, with Hindu stories *about Muslims*.

There is a corpus of myths that depicts the Arab invaders bringing horses into India, and depicts them in a positive light. These myths seem to have assimilated to the ancient theme of "magical horses brought from heaven or the underworld" the historical experience of the importation of horses.

One version of the myth of equestrian invaders in India is told by Stella Kramrisch:

> Images of seventy-two horsemen are installed on a platform somewhere in Kutch. They commemorate, legend tells, and keep as potent helpers, those white-skinned foreigners said to have come in the thirteenth century from Anatolia and Syria and to have killed the tyrant Punvaro. He had cut off the hands of the architect who had built the city of Patan so that he might not construct anything like it again. The seventy-two horsemen took the fort and killed the chief. Harking back to other, untold memories from Inner Asian horse-herding cultures, these apocalyptic horsemen transmute the fear generated by Muslim invasions into India into a liberating legend in which the evil power does not come from outside but is local, embodied in the tyrant Punvaro".[74]

The local evil is the native snake of the soil, trampled by the equine, solar invader. Thus the cult of the horse reflects gratitude for the gift sent from across the sea, just as any offering expresses one's gratitude to the gods. This is an otherness not loathed but admired, not despised but coveted; it is an otherness that has been assimilated into the native system of values. This, too, is subversion, but subversion of a very different sort from the folk satires on Vedic ritualism. This is subversion turned on its head, as it were, subversion inverted, subversion from the top down: it speaks of the assimilation of the values of the conquerors by those who are conquered.

Similarly, the tribal people called Bhils, who have horse rituals but no horses, have taken their equine cult from their neighbors, the Rajputs, who do have horses, while the Rajputs have taken from the Bhils their right to have real horses. They do not own horses themselves, but at least their gods are made to ride horses. The Bhils ruled over their own country, subsequently Rajasthan, before they were invaded by the Rajputs, in about the sixth century A.D. The Bhils commemorate fallen heroes with stone slabs showing an engraved horse and rider. Leshnik sees in this an attempt by a tribal people to assimilate into their own traditions an aspect of Rajput behavior, "a step at Brahmanization as it were".[75] More precisely, one might see this as Kshatriyazation: through the horse, the Bhils seek and find a higher status. Thus the Bhils have assimilated from their conquerors, the Hindu Rajputs, the values of horsemanship, without assimilating the actual use of the horse.

On the one hand, the horse-myths of non-horsey people may pose a challenge to materialist or Marxist interpretations of mythology: the myth survives even when the myth-makers have no horses in India; the symbolism has power even where there can be no actual material basis for its importance to the people. But, on the other hand, a Marxist might view the survival of the mythology of the aristocratic horse as an imposition of the lies of the invaders upon the people, an exploitation of the masses by saddling them with a mythology that never was theirs nor will ever be for their benefit, a foreign mythology that distorts the native conceptual system, compounding the felony of the invasion itself. A Freudian might see in this the process of projection or identification by which one overcomes a feeling of anger or resentment or impotence toward another person by assimilating that person into oneself, *becoming* the other.

But there are other ways of understanding the assimilation of foreign horse mythologies in India. Throughout Indian history, the horse has belonged to people who were not merely economically "other" than the villagers - aristocrats - but who were politically and religiously other: invaders and Muslims. Though these people were often of low (or no) *social* status, they must have had superior political or economic powers to keep horses in India. Yet the myths about these people and their horses became a *positive* factor in the lives of those whom they conquered, a source of beauty that was a surrogate for the real horses that the conquered people could not own, just as the horse was a surrogate for humans in the sacrifice and in hard labor. The myth was, like the horse, a gift from the sea, or from the sky - from an other world that was generous, even if only accidentally and ambivalently generous, divine as well as demonic. Where the horse itself gave the nobleman freedom, the horse-myths gave the common people another kind of nobility. The myth transferred to the people some of the status of the dominant classes (Muslims or Rajputs) or the religious power of certain people of *low* status (Pirs and certain Untouchables). This yoke, at least, the villagers, like good horses, willingly accepted.

And thus the Kutch tradition turns on its head the ancient Vedic myth of the Aryan horse trampling the native (Dravidian?) serpent - if, indeed, it knows that myth at all. The mythemes of the bricolage are still there - the good horse and the evil serpent - but these mythemes extend far beyond the Vedic world, indeed even beyond the Indo-European world. And with such different actors playing the classical roles (the Aryan invader replaced by a Muslim invader, the Panis, or other Vedic Others, by a Patan tyrant), is it really the same myth at all? I think it is, but another historian of religion might not. I wonder what Jan Heesterman would think.

NOTES

1. See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
2. See Madeleine Biardeau, *Histoires de poteaux: variations védiques autour de la déesse hindoue* (Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1989), and "Brahmans and meat-eating gods", ms., 1985.
3. Lawrence S. Leshnik, "The Horse in India", pp. 56-57 in *Symbols, Subsistence and Social Structure: The Ecology of Man and Animal in South Asia*, ed. Franklin C. Southworth (University of Pennsylvania, South Asia Regional Studies, 1977-78). Cf. also Lawrence S. Leshnik, "Some Early Indian Horse-bits and other bridle equipment", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, April, 1971.
4. Personal communication from Romila Thapar, Oxford, May 25, 1986.
5. Dr. Wolfgang Jöchle, "Reflections on Equine Reproduction in Indian Mythology", presented in the History Section of the World Veterinary Congress in Rio de Janeiro in August 1991.
6. Like the fool described in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Act II, scene 4, line 128, who, "in pure kindness to his horse, buttered his hay".
7. Personal communication from Stephen Inglis, March 26, 1985.
8. J.C. Heesterman, "The Case of the Severed Head", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, II (1967), pp. 22-43.
9. Asko Parpola, "The Pre-Vedic Indian Background of the Srauta Ritual", in Frits Staal, *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983, 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 41-75.

10. For Ambarisa, see *Ramayana* 1.61-62. For Sunahsepha, see Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, ed., *Textual Sources for the Study of Hinduism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 19-25.
11. See O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes*, pp. 218-233.
12. It has been hypothesized, by Georges Dumézil and others, that the Indian *gandharvas*, equine and sexual, are cognate with the centaurs of Greece, but thereby lies another tale.
13. Lawrence S. Leshnik, "The Horse in India", pp. 56-57. Indeed, the Indians were the first people to perfect the mechanical tool that makes riding astride safe and comfortable: the stirrup. Stirrups on horses are shown in Indian stone sculptures of ca. the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. in Sanchi, Bhaja, Pitalkhora and Mathura. S.D. Singh asserts that "this is the first occurrence in any representation, not only in India, of stirrups, however primitive they are". S.D. Singh, *Ancient Indian Warfare with Special reference to the Vedic Period* (Leiden, 1965), p. 63, cited in fn 33 to p. 58 of Stella Kramrisch, *Unknown India.*
14. *Venkatacalaviharasatakamu* 7, by an anonymous author. Cited in *Sri Venkatesvara Laghukrtulu*, edited by Veturi Prabhakarasastri, Tirupati, 1981. I am indebted to David Shulman for finding this poem and translating it for me.
15. William Crooke, *The Folklore of Northern India*, vol. 2, p. 206; citing *Indian Antiquary* xi. 325 ff; *Panjab Notes and Queries* ii.2.
16. O'Flaherty, *Women*, p. 179.
17. See O'Flaherty, *Women*, pp. 175-76.
18. See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (Berkeley: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 272-277, and *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 98-103.
19. Personal communication from Kathleen M. Erndl.
20. O'Flaherty, *Women*, pp. 213-238.
21. For Hariscandra, see Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Dreams, Illusion, and Other Realities* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 143-46. Kathleen Erndl notes, of her contemporary story: "There is a controversy over whether he is the same as king Hariscandra of Ayodhya, an ancestor of Rama, or a local king of Haripur in District Kangra, H.P.".
22. Summarized from a text given to me by Kathleen M. Erndl, itself a summary of *Tararani ki Katha* (the story of Queen Tara), Hardwar, no date, a Hindi oral version that she collected in Chandigarh in 1982-83.
23. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*. Ed. J.S. Brewer (vol. 5 of Giraldus Cambrensis *Opera* [London, 1861-1891]). See O'Flaherty, *Women*, pp. 152-3.
24. O'Flaherty, *Women*.

25. See Om Prakash Joshi, *Painted Folklore and Folklore Painters of India* (Delhi, 1976), pp. 42-64.
26. Gene Henry Roghair, *The Epic of Palnadu: A Study and Translation of Palnati Vitrula Katha* (Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 147-153.
27. See Elwyn Lapoint, "The epic of Guga: A north Indian oral tradition", in S. Vatuk (ed.), *American Studies in the Anthropology of India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1978), pp. 281-308.
28. William Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (London: Archibald Constable, 1896, 2 vols.), vol. I, pp. 211-213, citing *Indian Antiquary* 11.33 ff; Cunningham, "Archaeological Reports", xvii.159; "Panjab Notes and Queries", ii.1.
29. Crooke, volume 2, p. 212.
30. O'Flaherty, *Women*, pp. 167-174 and 185-190.
31. Summarized from John Campbell Oman, *Cults, Customs, and Superstitions*, 1908, pp. 68-82.
32. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-west Frontier Province*, vol. 1 (Lahore: Government printing, 1919), p. 179. I owe this citation, and indeed all that I know about Guga, to Sandra King Mulholland.
33. See L.P. Tessitori's translation of a 17th century chronicle of Pabuji, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1916, pp. 110-114.
34. Stella Kramrisch, *Unknown India: Ritual Art in Tribe and Village* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1968), p. 87.
35. John D. Smith, *The Epic of Pabuji: A study, transcription and translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
36. J.C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague: Mouton, 1957).
37. Alf Hiltebeitel, *Turonaccari Yakacalai*, "Dronacarya's Sacrificial Hall". A play. Ms.
38. Alf Hiltebeitel, *ibid.*.
39. O'Flaherty, *Women*, pp. 154-156, 185-190.
40. David Dean Shulman, "The Green Goddess of Tirumullaivayil", *East and West* (IsMeo), New Series, Vol. 30, Nos. 1-4 (December, 1980), pp. 117-131.
41. David Dean Shulman, "The Serpent and the Sacrifice: An Anthill Myth from Tiruvarur", *History of Religions* 18 (1978), pp. 107-37.
42. See F.B.J. Kuiper, "The Bliss of Asa", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 8 (1964), pp. 106-7; G. Johnson, "Varuna and Dhrtarastra", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 9 (1966), pp. 255-261; *Satapatha Brahmana* 3.1.1.7.
43. J.Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore* (London, 1926), pp. 84-7; cf. *Visnu Purana* (Bombay, 1866), 2.10.
44. *Mahabharata* (southern recension, ed. P.P.S. Sastri, Madras, 1931-33) 8.26.16.

45. On Rahu, see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Madras, 1914), I, 2, pp. 321-23 and pl. XCVI. Rahu is portrayed as described in a 13th-century manuscript from Andhra reproduced in *Verve* (Homage à Teriade exhibition, London, 1975).
46. T.V. Mahalingam, "Hayagriva - The Concept and the Cult", *Adyar Library Bulletin* 29 (1965), pp. 188-199.
47. F.D.K. Bosch, "The God with the Horse's Head", in *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archeology* (The Hague, 1961), p. 147.
48. Shulman, "The Green Goddess", p. 129.
49. See A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (repr. Delhi, 1971), pp. 148-149; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
50. Shulman, "The Green Goddess", pp. 130-131.
51. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab* (Bombay, 1884-1900, 2 vols.), vol. I, p. 418, re pp. 418-528, "Princess Niwal Dai".
52. Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab*, vol. 1, p. 1-65.
53. Temple vol. 1, pp. 121-209; Devaraja Sarma, *Guga Jahara Pira* (Rataihala, Jila Bilasapura, 1974), pp. 83 ff; also H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, vol. 1, p. 185. I am indebted to Sandra King Mulholland for these references.
54. Ram Prakash Agravat, *Satyavadi Vir Tejapala*. Jodhapura: Sri Uttama Ashram, Kagamarga, 1973. 76 pages.
55. Personal communication from Peter Kepfoerle.
56. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, "Horses and snakes in the *Adi Parvan* of the *Mahabharata* in *Aspects of India: Essays in Honor of Edward Cameron Dimock*, ed. Margaret Case and N. Gerald Barrier (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Manohar, 1986), pp. 16-44.
57. *Agni Purana* 120 gives Sani eight horses.
58. Mrs. Debala Mitra, "A Study of Some Graha Images of India and their possible bearings on the navadevas of Cambodia", *Journal of the Asiatic Society* [of Calcutta] VII, nos. 1&2, 1965, pp. 13-37; citing *Vishnudharmottara Purana* III, Gaekwad Series 130 (Baroda 1958), pp. 191-195.
59. Lizards are confounded with snakes and associated with horses in the story of Ruru, told in *Mahabharata* (1.8-12) as part of the tale of Janamejaya. See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, "Horses and snakes", p. 39.
60. Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (New York: Paragon, 1968, 2 vols.), vol. 1, p. 20.
61. See O'Flaherty, *Women*.
62. Gunther D. Sontheimer, "The Mallari/Khandoba myth as reflected in folk art and ritual", *Anthropos* 79 (1984), p. 161. Citing *Sri Mallari Mahatmya*, by Vinakaya (Bombay, 1972).

63. Sontheimer, *ibid.*, fn 16, citing *Sri Martanda Vijaya*, by Gandgadhara, R.C. Dhere ed., Pune 1975; composed in Marathi, 1823; 34.51 ff.
64. *Sri Mallari Mahatmya* by Vinayaka, Bombay 1972, 13.24.
65. *Sri Mallarimahatmya* by Siddhapal Kesari, composed in Marathi in 1585 according to Dhere (Bombay) 13.59; R.C. Dhere, *Khanmdoba*, Puna 1961, p. 31. See also Sontheimer, p. 27.
66. *Rg Veda* 10.72.8-9; *Satapatha Brahmana* 3.1.3.-5; O'Flaherty, *Women*, pp. 174-5.
67. Gunther D. Sontheimer, "Some incidents in the history of the god Khandoba", in M. Gaborieau and A. Thorner, eds., *Asie du sud: traditions et changements* (Paris, 1978), p. 116.
68. Gunther D. Sontheimer, "The Mallari/Khandoba myth", p. 162.
69. Leshnik, "The Horse in India", p. 56.
70. R. Nagaswamy, "Gateway to the Gods". In *Unesco Courier*, March 1984.
71. This story is known from several versions. The one I have relied upon primarily is chapter 7, lines 1-48, of a Sanskrit version told in Mandalakavi's *Pandyakulodaya*, probably from the early 16th century, in a recent edition by K.V. Sarma. I am indebted to David Shulman for this text. I have also made use of the summary of a story told in Manikkavacakar's biography in the *Tiruvatavurar Purana* (a 15th century hagiography) and the *Tiruvilaiyatal Puranam*, as well as oral versions narrated to Glenn Yocum, to whom I am also indebted. The story is also told in T.M.P. Mahadevan, *Ten Saints of India* (Bombay, 1965), pp. 61-73.
72. This should be mouths of the jackal horses, though it actually agrees in case with the devoured horses.
73. Trans.: the proxy horses resumed their foxy forms.
74. Stella Kramrisch, *Unknown India: Ritual Art in Tribe and Village* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1968), p. 55.
75. Leshnik, p. 57.

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RITUALS AND BELIEF SYSTEMS IN THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

E.C.L. During Caspers

The culture known as the Indus Valley Civilization is both puzzling and fascinating in the paradoxes it presents us. It was a society characterized by very sophisticated urban conglomerations, yet no traces have so far been found of a well-defined state apparatus or of the sort of elaborate religious system which characterized its Near Eastern contemporaries. Although recent excavations in the wider cultural area have shed a great deal more light on it, tantalizing questions still remain. If the script were deciphered it would undoubtedly widen our horizon, but so far the key has eluded us.

In 1931 S. Langdon, then Shillito Professor of Assyriology at the University of Oxford, suggested a date of c. 2800 B.C. for the Indus Valley script on the basis of the then known inscriptions and script signs from the Indus Valley. In his research he incorporated their limited occurrence on cylinder seals, Indus Valley stamp seals and seal impressions known at that time from Elam and Sumer.[1] A bone cylinder seal from Susa showing a file of short-horned Indus bulls accompanied by an Indus inscription[2] was dated at c. 2800 B.C. and consequently Langdon chose the same date for the Indus Valley Script.

Comparing it to the Egyptian pictographic system, Langdon remarks that the Indian script is, despite its widespread geographical distribution, already standardized and offers no scope for studying an evolutionary process. He expresses his astonishment at the sophistication of the script itself and at the apparent knowledge of phonetic principles in such an early period.[3]

In 1982 K. Koskenniemi and A. Parpola[4] suggested an approximate date of c. 26th century B.C. for the creation of the Indus writing system, basing their hypothesis on parallels with the Sumerian writing system of the Fara texts in the 26th century B.C.

Langdon's view appeared nearly a decade before Vats' excavation report of 1940.[5] Here the excavator has published a large number of variously shaped thin, microscoipic tablets of burnt steatite from the earliest levels at Harappa. These tiny tablets are erroneously called miniature seals for, besides being very thin and small, they are characterized by the absence of any knob or hole to handle them. This factor, in conjunction with the very superficial nature of the writing on them, shows they were unsuited for stamping seals. Vats already noted that these tablets were meant to be read directly from their originals and not from their impressions. The range of the inscriptions is very limited and the signs are few in number, because of the limited surface space and the frequent recurrence in the same order of the same signs. According to Vats[6], they do not basically differ from the normal, later Indus stamp seals in the higher strata of the site.

In a Postscript Langdon expressed his view on a possible relationship between the earliest stage of the Sumerian script and that of the Indus Valley. Recently this relationship has been reconsidered by Kinnier Wilson.[7] In the light of new evidence we now know that the oldest texts recovered from Sumer come from Uruk, not from Jamdat Nasr. Within this corpus of the Archaic Texts from Uruk two chronologically distinct groups of tablets can be recognized. Nissen[8] attributes these to the last phase of the Late Uruk period, viz. Uruk IV-III, and the Jamdar Nasr period respectively, dated to c. 3200-2900 B.C.

The first signs of recording go back much further in history. They consist of small baked clay objects, shaped like spheres, half-spheres, cones, tetrahedrons and the like. These clay tokens are found on sites dating back as far as the ninth millennium B.C. and virtually coincide with the first appearance of agriculture in the Near East. They are the earliest device for recording the number and species of animals possessed by a temple and they were used over the many thousands of years which separate their first appearance from that of the oldest clay tablets at Uruk which may be properly called 'writing'. These earliest 'writings' still used the same symbols, now incised in stone or clay, as represented by these clay tokens. At the end of the fourth millennium B.C. a more complex type appears, signalling the appearance of an increasing number of more specialist manufactured goods, the hallmarks of an urban economy. The two token systems then evolved into two of the greatest human inventions: abstract numerals and phonetic writing.[9]

Having set the scene in which writing systems developed it is necessary to give a brief overview of the various hypotheses which have been advanced to explain the origin of the Indus script. Firstly there is the one propounded by H. Heras[10] and pursued since 1964 by Soviet, Finnish and Indian researchers with the aid of the computer. It proposes that the language of the Indus script was Dravidian in origin. Secondly there is the theory that before the main arrival of the Indo-Aryans in North India, an Indo-Aryan language was already spoken on the Indian Subcontinent. In other words, the language should be treated as Sanskrit.[11] W.A. Fairservis[12] has proposed a combination of early Dravidian with Indo-Aryan loan words. He suggests that the Indus characters were derived from the general stock of Neolithic culture in Western Asia, drawing on proto-Elamite, and indigenous symbols. In 1974, Kinnier Wilson, rejecting the proto-Dravidian hypothesis, suggested that the language of the Indus Valley was related to Sumerian.[13]

The crux of Kinnier Wilson's arguments lies in the assumption that Harappans and Sumerians were originally one in their Indian or other homeland, but that, at some unknown period in pre- or protohistory, the one family separated into two branches, or rather, that a small branch, the Sumerians, left the parent stock, the Harappans, to settle in new territory.[14]

Kinnier Wilson's Indo-Sumerian hypothesis hinges on the identification of the vertical strokes occurring in the Indus script as numerals. He refers to Parpola, Koskenniemi, Parpola and Aalto who stated that "they can in large measure replace each other in otherwise identical texts",[15] apparently functioning as totals. His other point in favour of a relationship between Sumerian and the Indus script is that in the Archaic Uruk administrative tablets a fish representation occurs in the normal, horizontal position. This is combined with the early sign denoting 'rations' and the numeral symbols just mentioned. Kinnier Wilson argues that the fish sign of the Indus inscriptions simply designated 'fish' and that the two signs which can precede and follow it also resemble pictographs of Archaic Uruk, inferring that some of the Indus texts, like those from Uruk, may deal with different fish rations.

If this identification is at all tenable, we ought to take more notice of Langdon's pioneering work, especially his momentous discovery that the earliest method of writing Sumerian pictographs was in the upright and natural position. Already in the great mass of archaic Sumerian texts, i.e. those following the Corpus of Archaic Texts from Uruk, the signs have been turned 90 degrees to the left.[16] Langdon argues that this was done to facilitate writing from left to right, the original pictographs having been written perpendicularly from right to left. In his view the Indus Valley script remained true to its original principle and the signs retained their upright position. He noted many similar or identical signs and pointed out that both the Sumerian and the Indus Valley script employ numerical ideographs as syllables.[17]

Independently of Kinnier Wilson, whose 1987 publication had not yet come to my notice, I suggested that the Indus fish sign: "may simply point to the great reliance of the society who invented the script on fish as an original substantial element in the daily diet"[18], and elsewhere[19], I pointed out that on the miniature tablets and sealings from Harappa fish have been represented in two different ways: first as script signs, placed in an upright position, and secondly, in some cases, as sketchy horizontal representations on the obverse. One of the sides of these tablets shows a short inscription.

The evolution of the clay tokens from tally signs to numeral symbols in the Fertile Crescent is not known from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the numeral symbols of the Indus script so far remain unrelated to an earlier counting and recording system.

From the fact that the Indus script was already standardized and that a large number of the original pictographs had been reduced to neat forms, Landon draw the conclusion that it evolved over a long period of time. I prefer to date the earliest known Indus inscriptions to the late fourth millennium B.C. but consider it unrealistic to maintain that the Indus script, having been used over such an enormous area as that covered by the Indus Culture, remained totally unchanged and entirely static during the many centuries of its existence, i.e. from the late fourth millennium B.C. to the early centuries of the second millennium B.C. Nor can we rule out the development of local 'dialects' within the various widely separated centres of this civilization, which may be reflected by some groups of the large corpus of Indus texts so far known to us. Furthermore we must also examine what form of written system, if any, existed in the pre- or proto-Harappan societies of South Asia.

No Indus pictographs occur on objects which antedate the introduction of the script of the Mature Harappan Culture. Consequently we are left with a group of symbols called 'potters' marks' for the earliest period. These 'potters' marks' are painted on the exterior, i.e. on and below the neck, as well as near or on the bases of pottery vessels. Their geographical distribution ranges from Southern Turkmenia, North-West Pakistan, Seistan, the Kandahar region of Afghanistan, and Baluchistan up to the Greater Indus Valley Plains.[20]

The earliest findings of these 'potters' marks' come from the site of Rahman Dheri in the Dera Ismail Khan district of North-West Pakistan, and have a C-14 date of 4400-110 B.C.[21] Rahman Dheri has further provided ample evidence of these 'potters' marks' that shows how they became more frequent in the intermediate and upper phases of the site, in some cases even appearing in groups.[22]

The wide distribution of these 'potters' marks' and the constant increase in the use of signs throughout the third millennium B.C. has led some scholars to consider them as non-decorative, and as the forerunners of the Harappa script. Durrani[23] gives examples in which he postulates a link between the 'potters' marks' and later Harappan script. Unfortunately, his comparisons are inaccurate and do not provide a solid foundation for supporting the hypothesis that these marks were indeed a formative stage of the Indus script.

These 'potters' marks' may have been trade-marks, or signs of personal prosperity, or they may have indicated place or person of manufacture. Perhaps they even have had an amuletic value.[24] However, the marks may also have constituted a purely functional device for assigning a particular pot or group of vessels to their place inside the pottery kiln, thereby acting as a sure identification of the owner of that particular pottery.[25] A recent discovery of seal impressions, inscribed stoneware and terracotta bangles at Moenjo-daro may lend further support to this suggestion. The items concerned were apparently used to prevent unauthorized interruption of the firing process.[26]

Finally these 'potters' marks' may represent a system of mutually intelligible symbols commonly shared and accepted in the pre-writing stage of the agricultural economies and early urban centres that emerged in the Indo-Iranian borderlands during the fourth and third millennia. However it should be emphasized that 'potters' marks' as a means of communication or a device for kiln production do not play a role in the fully urbanized "Hochkultur" of the Indus Valley. In our view this is invalidating the theory that they have been instrumental in the emergence of the Indus script.

Few scholars in South Asian archaeology would now wish to maintain that the Indus Valley Civilization should be treated as an alien culture which penetrated the Greater Indus Valley Plains around 3200-3000 B.C. At that time the area was inhabited by people of the flourishing Kot Diji Culture and other related cultural assemblages. It is now generally accepted that the Kot Diji Culture, traces of which are found in the riverine system of the Indus in both Pakistan and India, already shows distinct traits of an emerging urban society with the accompanying cultural attributes. Furthermore, it is closely related to another Early Indus Complex, the Sothi Culture, which was located in the valley of the Ghaggar (Sarasvati) River and its tributary the Chautang (Drishadvati) extending right up to the Pakistan frontier. This Kot Diji/Sothi Culture would appear to have formed the foundation for the Indus Civilization.

Jarrige[27] had stressed that these cultures, which preceded the great urban Indus Culture, were characterized by dynamic economic and cultural systems. These cultures go back to a local tradition of 7 to 8000 years before the Christian Era. Taking up Mughal's statement[28] Jarrige places the Kot Diji Culture and the Harappan Culture in a wider context in which the societies of Baluchistan and of the Kachi Plain and Kohistan in Sind play an important part. In the Kachi Plain an unbroken sequence has been established from the Early Neolithic right up to the Mature Harappan Culture (Nausharo II and III). This strand of continuity is very relevant to one of the puzzling features of the Indus Valley Civilization: the apparent absence of any clearly definable religious system and especially of the temple complexes which characterized contemporary civilizations.

At the Eighth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe at Moesgaard in 1985 I have stressed[29] that in the Indus Valley Culture there appear to be no clear indications of intellectual behaviour or a well-delineated level of religious or theocratic presence. This places even more emphasis on phenomena which suggest the continuance of a less sophisticated substratum of the populace.

By analogy with similar cultures the urban complexity which characterizes the Indus Culture would seem to guarantee the presence of a centralized government of rulers claiming divine authority, perhaps even divine descent. Yet archaeological records to date do not show any structural remains which can be readily recognized as sanctuaries or can be regarded as having fulfilled a religious function, despite the expectations of the excavators. Nevertheless, a number of buildings both on the citadel and in the lower town at Moenjo-daro have been tentatively called temples, and the stone statuary associated with these buildings has been referred to as cultic icons. Of course all this is highly speculative.

There would seem to be one exception, House A I in the HR Area of the lower town at Moenjo-daro[30] which has a monumental appearance despite its small proportions. Two symmetrically disposed staircases gave access to a monumental double gateway with a ring of brickwork in the centre of the courtyard. It measures 1.22 metres in internal diameter and is of a kind which has been conjectured to represent protective enclosures around sacred(?) trees. I have proposed designating this architectural unit (House A I) a sacred grove, a tree house or a 'tree shrine'. In my opinion it is very probable that others like it may well have existed in the L Area of the Citadel of Moenjo-daro to judge by the presence of similar brick enclosures which are not directly associated with any specific buildings.[31] Possibly similar circular brick constructions have also been found at Chanhu-daro.[32]

The most vital gap in our quest for the 'roots' of the Indus Civilization is the lack of definite textual assistance. We have no real clue to the linguistic background of the people. That precludes us from gaining a better knowledge of the political or socio-economic situation. It has also prevented efforts to explore the presence of belief systems or the existence of rituals. At least the latter area of research might benefit from a re-examination of the iconographic information available to us.

On the whole, the material culture of the Indus Civilization could be described as a natural development of earlier pre-urban experiences in the Greater Indus Valley Plains. A limited group of representations on seals, 'sealing amulets', thin copper tablets, or fashioned in terracotta, cannot easily be explained as constituting an integral part of a "Hochkuktur". [33] These aspects can be divided into human and animal representations. The human portrayals have particular traits in common, whereas the greater majority of the animal representations differs in specific details from those carved on the stamp seals or belongs to altogether different species.

The singularity of the humans portrayed on the seals, the 'sealing amulets' and the copper platelets, or fashioned in clay, is revealed by the addition of horns, bulls' ears, hooves and bulls' tails. There are also human figures, so far found exclusively at Moenjo-daro[34] which are engraved with a burin on a number of small, flat copper platelets or amulets. They wear horned animal masks and garments suggestive of having been made of leaves, pelts, hides or fleece or even a kind of camouflage. Humans adorned in this elaborate animal-like outfit, invariably carry what has been described as bows and arrows.[35] I have selected these examples to support my contention for the existence of religious practices and/or cultic performances in Harappan times.

Particularly pertinent to our discussion are a small number of petite clay masks, measuring from c. 4 cms. to c. 7.6 cms. These have human faces made in open moulds to which hand modelled horns and bulls' ears were fixed after they had been extracted from the open mould. So far they have only been found at Moenjo-daro. There is a distinct difference in facial details between those from the lower and the upper levels, but both groups have two holes each at the edge of the mask just below the horns and the adjacent bulls' ears to tie them onto some kind of material or to suspend them. We feel that the cast of the features is very suggestive of Sino-Tibetan, Mongolian, Northern Eurasian or Central Asian peoples.[36]

Recently I have cautiously suggested that these hurrying figures of men engraved on the thin copper platelets, with their heads completely shrouded by a short-horned bull-mask and torsoes and thighs scored with inverted V's, wearing a longh curling tail and carrying a bow in one hand and what may be construed as arrows in the other (there are now about 8), are suggestive of the existence of an ancient hunting cult with rites and practices which may have become blurred with the passing of time. I have also maintained, though with reservation, that the original home of those who participated in these performances may have to be sought further to the north, in the remote areas of the Indus Culture lying at a higher altitude than the Indus Valley lowlands. In these highlands the practice of hunting magic and sorcery attuned to the catching of game still existed.[37]

The force of my argument that these copper platelets played a definite role in rituals and cultic practices hinges on two salient factors. Firstly these copper platelets differ from the other inscribed material discovered at Moenjo-daro and other Indus sites. A short inscription, not very deeply engraved in positive figures on the obverse face, makes it quite obvious that the copper tablets were not used for stamping or sealing purposes and that the short inscriptions are to be read from right to left, in the way they have been engraved. They frequently show the same script symbols placed in the same order, possibly some magico-religious formula.

Secondly, the animals which figure on the reverse not only differ considerably in technique from the mastery displayed in those carved on normal Indus Valley stamp seals, but the sketchily drawn repertoire includes mythical(?) beasts which do not appear on the seals. For instance, we encounter a horned elephant with a bull's tail, ram-like animals with laterally spread spiral-shaped horns showing a well-delineated kidney design engraved on their bodies, bovine-tiger composites, two-headed(?) yak-like creatures. Most interestingly, in a number of cases, hares bending over three twigs or saplings, replace the customary 'manger' accompanying the other animal representations. Surprisingly, this 'manger' device even figures in front of a couple of 'unicorns'.

It is more difficult to discern clear facial features in the bull-horned, bull-tailed and hooved semi-human, semi-bovine creatures seen at each end of a square steatite prism from Moenjo-daro[38] and other 'sealing amulets' from Harappa and Moenjo-daro, one possibly rendered ithyphallically.[39] Nonetheless, they may all be of considerable pertinence in defining the different grades of importance which probably existed alongside one another in a reliance on and supplication to supernatural forces.[40]

In all my previous discussions pertaining to the possibility of hunting magic and concomitant sorcery still being practiced at the height of the Indus Valley Civilization, the representations of a figure seated on a stool or dais hold a key position. I shall first summarize the iconographic evidence and then add other relevant facts.

Three stamp seals and three 'sealing amulets' from Moenjo-daro[41], and a fourth 'sealing amulet' from Harappa[42] show a squatting figure with the legs bent at the knees and folded, the feet touching heel to heel and the soles pointing downwards. This posture has been uanimously, but perhaps anachronistically, described as a yogic posture. On most of them the squatting figure is depicted on a pedestal or a dais with legs, which in four out of the six representations end in hooves with well-delineated fetlocks. The exceptions are the 'sealing amulet' from Harappa which shows a straight-legged stool, the stamp seals from Moenjo-daro, No. 235, on which the figure apparently squats on the floor and No. 420 where the stool on which the figure perches does not terminate in hooved legs but in what resemble hour-glass shaped drums. In four cases it can be seen that the extended arms are loaded with tightly-fitting bracelets from wrist to armpit, a fashion also found on other representations of persons possibly engaged in religious or cultic performances. Only the figures on the three steatite stamp seals wear a tall head-dress consisting of either a pair of emphatically curved, ribbed horns, e.g. Nos. 420 and 235, or smooth, curved horns, No. 422. On No. 422 the central figure in addition wears an upright centre-piece, probably consisting of three pipal leaves, somewhat comparable to the curved frond of leaves worn by the central figure on stamp seal No. 235. It is remarkable to what extent the features of the face of the figure on stamp seal No. 420 are discernible.[43] It definitely gives the impression of being a human figure wearing a mask, and when half the frontal aspect of the face is covered vertically, one is presented with two one-horned faces with pronounced Mongoloid characteristics whereas the frontal aspect strongly suggests to represent the nuzzle of a tiger. The ingenuity involved in the making of stamp seal No. 222 is even more striking. "A remarkable factor appears when a sheet of paper is laid centrally and vertically over a photograph of the carving, for then it can become apparent that the entire figure appears in profile still wearing its two-horned head-dress. The originality and the dexterity in carving which produced this tiny and totally three-dimensional composition is truly astonishing."[44]

Facial and other details on the 'sealing amulets' from Moenjo-daro cannot be determined, but the central figures do not appear to wear a head-dress of any significance. However, the one from Harappa shows a long pigtail like the central figure on stamp seal No. 235 which has a long striated pigtail, a hair style often encountered on figures who seem involved in narrative scenes centring on the veneration of a pipal enclosure, to which we will return shortly.

The horned figure on seal No. 420 is surrounded by four animals, namely an elephant, a tiger, a rhinoceros and a waterbuffalo; the other two stamp seals No. 222 and 235 have no animal companions. Two 'sealing amulets' from Moenjo-daro[45] show a kneeling human with raised hands and a rearing snake behind them on either side, flanking the central figure. A third 'sealing amulet' from Moenjo-daro that recently came to surface in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has a snake, a gharial and a fish sign on either side of the squatting figure. The fourth 'sealing amulet', this time from Harappa, shows the squatting figure in the centre of a narrative scene, in which a tiger looks backwards over its shoulder at a man in a tree.

Looking closely at the figure on seal No. 420 we saw that the stool on which the figure perches terminates in what resemble hour-glass shaped drums. These are similar to the *dhamku* or *tamku* and to the *doru* and its smaller version known as *dugdugi*, all of wich are still used in the Punjab today.[46] This type of drum is also carried by two of a small group of terracotta 'musicians' and 'dancers', both male and female, from Moenjo-daro and Harappa.[47] Some of these figures are shown as free standing on crudely modelled feet. Their sturdy legs are placed well apart and slightly flexed. One of the 'musicians' carrying an hour-glazed drum is a so-called 'mother goddess' from Harappa.[48] The other, also a female, comes from Moenjo-daro.[49]

Two other standing terracotta 'musicians'[50] from Moenjo-daro appear to be dressed in a type of body stocking or leotard and are devoid of throat ornaments, bangles or anklets; they hold a flat roundel in front of their chest.[51] Again there is a third 'musician' holding a comparable instrument against his stomach. This is a naked male terracotta from Harappa modelled in a kneeling position, legs tucked underneath him.[52] This flat roundel resembles a small shallow drum similar to those known as *dharia* or *duff* and also known from present day Pakistan.

The three terracotta figures, which can be recognized as 'dancers', have their arms extended from the shoulder. Their hands are splayed with the palms held downwards. They wear an upright tongue-shaped cap encircled by a thick head band.[53] One can deduce a religious as well as a secular function in this small group. The evidence of dance and music in Harappan life may well be corroborated by some terracotta figurines from Harappa and Moenjo-daro which wear a curious knobbed skirt.[54] It is possible that such skirts were a part of a dancer's attire. In a hoard discovered at Harappa there were two sets each of 27 hollow gold cones with hooks. These add weight to the suggestion that the knobs on the skirt could have been made of gold, silver, copper or shell(?)[55]

The presence of metal decorations to be sewn on to clothing might possibly represent 'dancing skirts' as suggested by some fragmentary terracotta figurines and possibly other material traces like the representations at Kalibangan and Burzahom,[56] which suggest the incorporation of perishable material. The existence of ancient religious hunting rituals and cults with rites and practices in which hunters, usually led by sorcerers, mimic the movement of the animal to the beat of a drum and the rattling and clanking of bangles and ornaments attached to their bodies or dress, may be corroborated by the archaeological evidence previously mentioned: the rushing horned and masked figures on copper platelets, the animal representations not known from the stamp seals, the horned and bull-eared terracotta masks and other semi-bovine, semi-human representations, and the terracotta 'musicians' and 'dancers' with their drums. The illusion is heightened by the introduction of some genuine animal trappings such as pelts, horns and skulls. Such practices which still exist among hunting communities today[57] may have been preserved and continued alongside the development of urban society.

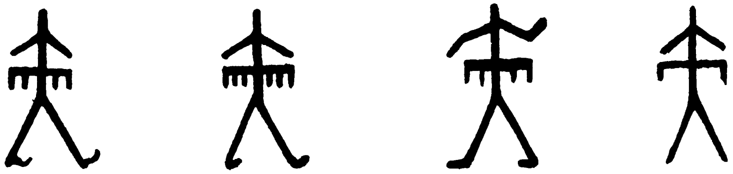
At this point I want to revert to the Indus script which, even though it has not yet been deciphered, may still give us clues to the society which produced it. If we assume that a pictographic script proper is a reliable reflection of man's efforts to communicate visually by drawing objects or symbols derived from a cultural matrix recognizable to the community, this implies its being understood by those engaged in the visualization process. Therefore in the Indus script we should expect to find signs or pictograms which relate to a well developed urban society. What we do find appears to be exactly the reverse and contradicts the usual pattern of development consequent upon increasing urbanization.[58]

A relatively large number of the pictograms show an initial dependence on a way of life one would not expect to find in a sophisticated urban culture. For instance there are script representations of matchstick-like men, identical to the schemastically rendered humans on the square stamp seals, except that the pictograms do not show a proper head. From the way with which they hold what appear to be bows and arrows these figures are suggestive of hunting/fishing activities. From their prominence in the script one might infer some possible additional significance, such as religious overtones related to magic and/or sorcery.

Among these matchstick-like figures several variants can be distinguished. For instance some carry what looks like a yoke with an oval-shaped bag on either side, perhaps representing a skin bag for carrying water. There are also two who carry what may be a bag of game on a pole held between them over their shoulders. A cultic or religious connotation may be inferred from figures, also present in several variants, wearing a pair of horns which would seem to place them in the same sphere of magic or sorcery as the horned, bull-eared terracotta masks and the horned hooved and bull-tailed semi-humans seen on the stamp seals and on the 'sealing amulets'.

Other figures of great relevance to my argument are those wearing what might be interpreted as bangles, holding their laden arms in an upright position. We also find a matchstick-like figure with clearly flexed legs holding an U-shaped object in one extended arm. This open, topless object, which can vary in size, is also being lifted or presented to a tree by a seated figure holding it in both hands, this time on one of the 'sealing amulets'. Incidentally the latter category also has instances which show very faded dancing images.[59] Curiously enough, a similarly seated figure, reduced to a matchstick-like form, with or without a striated pigtail, also functions as a pictogram.

Besides supplying evidence for the element of dance in the Indus script, five slightly varying signs depict a drumplayer, seen standing in frontal position or walking either to the left or to the right. In one instance the matchstick-like figure wears shoes with upturned toes reminiscent of the much later dress of the steppe nomads (fig. 1). In all these instances the drum portrayed is of the transverse type, placed lengthwise against the abdomen and played by both hands on the short sides.



(fig. 2)

All the signs we have been dealing with strengthen the notion that dance, the use of drums and the accompanying sound of clanging bangles, the practice of wearing horns and the use of bows and arrows for hunting purposes, were an intrinsic part of the culture responsible for the introduction and development of the Indus script and that this notion can be complemented by the portrayals on the stamp seals, the terracotta masks and other representations previously discussed.

In the course of the discussion I have cautiously introduced the term *shaman* on which I should like to elaborate. First I wish to define Shamanism. Shamanism is not a formal religion in its own right, but a configuration that needs to be defined by reference to the elements of which it is comprised and to its general motivation. A core feature of this religious configuration is what social anthropologists call "belief systems", i.e. the coordinated, interrelated set of religious beliefs that constitute the basic motivation. Shamanism is a religious configuration with such a belief system, namely, an ideology and a set of expectations concerning shamans.

Although the complex or configuration of the cultural phenomena known as Shamanism is an universal phenomenon, it attained a high degree of development among the clans and tribes of North-Eurasia, Central Asia and Siberia.

Shamanism is mostly a phenomenon of less complex societies, be they hunting and gathering societies, less developed pastoral societies with reindeer nomadism, or settled pastoralists like the Western Buryats. Shamanistic ideas are anchored in the conceptual world of the hunters, a world dominated by animals and animal-like spirits. In one form or another shamanistic practices occur in all recent marginal hunting cultures. Shamanism is less well adapted to cultures with a higher level of technological and social complexity.

There is good reason to assume that a form of Shamanism was once current amongst palaeolithic hunters, and that it had its origin in that very ancient past. From the rockpainting in the cave of Les Trois Frères in Lascaux, France, we may infer that Palaeolithic Europe already had its own form of Shamanism. Here we encounter a painting of a sorcerer or a hunter disguised as a deer, dressed in a deer skin and wearing antlers, while he 'dances' on his 'hindlegs.' Another hunter or sorcerer or shaman, standing in the centre of the painting, is disguised as a bison wearing a tail and bison horns. This may reflect a hunting ritual, wich is still one of the domains of the shamans of the Arctic peoples. The ithyphallic representation of the figures stresses an emphasis on fertility in the ritual.

Another important aspect of Shamanism is discussed by Hultkrantz who writes: "The central aspect of shamanism is to establish means of contact with the supernatural world by the ecstatic experience of a professional and inspired intermediary, the shaman. There are thus four important constituents of shamanism: the ideological premise, or the supernatural world and the contacts with it; the shaman as the actor on behalf of a human group; the inspiration granted him by his helping spirits; and the extraordinary, ecstatic experiences of the shaman. Most definitions of shamanism disregard one or two of these constituents."[60]

The word shaman originates from the word *samán* in Tungusian, a language of one of the aboriginal Siberian peoples, and is derived from the Sanskrit *sramana* through the Chinese word *sha-men*. Shaman means "he, who is in ecstacy" and this ecstasy is the particular way in which the shaman establishes his contact with the supernatural powers. Hultkrantz[61] refers to this as follows: "... the term 'ecstacy' being used by students of religion and ethnology, the term 'trance' by psychopathologists and parapsychologists". It is a genuine form of psychogenic, hysteroid mode of reacting, which assumes the form dictated by the mind. It is also seen as "a mentally abnormal state of introversion". It can be induced by auto-suggestion or by artificial means (drugs, narcotics, incense). It is an expression of the conscious or unconscious desires of the visionary. Trance states vary in quality and intensity from a fairly light trance to a deep trance with amnesia, which is very close to complete unconsciousness. However the different types may merge.[62]

Hultkrantz also refers to the important fact that "It is characteristic that some Arctic peoples prefer to grade their shamans according to their powers rather than their functions. The Samoyed (or Nenets) thus classify their shamans into strong, wonder-working shamans, medium shamans and small shamans; a forth category are the dream-readers and soothsayers".[63] Only occasionally does one and the same shaman master all the shamanistic skills. Although not all shamans are healers, one central activity of the shaman should be that of the healer. Clearly it is a difficult problem to define Shamanism with reference to professional functions.

In an article on "Categories of the Ket Shamans" Alekseenko[64] draws attention to the fact that Ket (Yenisei Ostyak) Shamanism can be described in 5 semantic categories of shamans and each of these different categories of shamans wears different head-dresses.

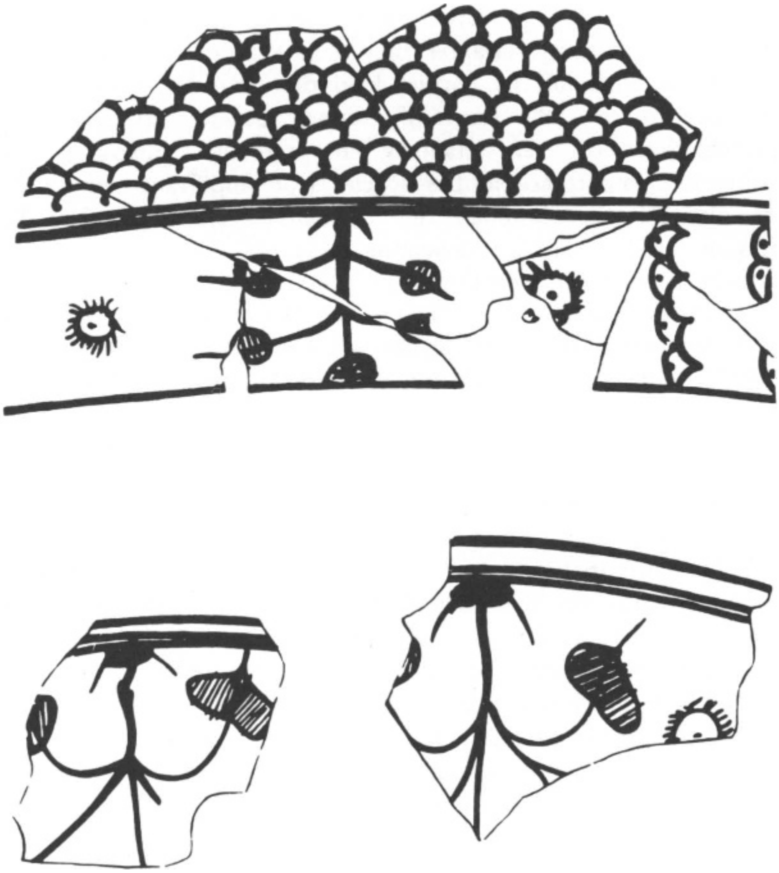
This is not the time nor the place to delve more deeply into Shamanism. It is pertinent for my argument to note that although these shamanistic rituals and performances have remained textually undocumented, it is known that, for example, the Ostyaks of the Ob River keep an accurate account of important events by marking signs or symbols on long pieces of wood which are carefully stored away. In exploring the possibility of recognizing a shamanistic element or substratum integrated into the Indus Valley population proper, it is also relevant to mention that shamans generally have spirit assistants. The majority of these helping spirits, guardian spirits, or informants to be called upon assume theriomorphic shapes, for instance, the eagle, loon, bear, reindeer, sturgeon, snake, hare, swan, duck and other animals. They may function as mounts during the shamanistic journey, for example, the bird for journeys through the air, the reindeer for land journeys and fish for voyages in the sea or rivers.[65]

Future research may gain from a fresh, unbiased approach towards such aspects as the appearance of the hare on the copper platelets from Moenjo-daro[66], the minute hare-shaped steatite tablets from the earliest levels at Harappa, and the presence of rearing snakes on two of the 'shaman' representations on 'sealing amulets' from Moenjo-daro.

My contention is that the archaeological material currently available to us presents a veiled picture of a simpler social component dominating the belief system of the Indus Valley Civilization.

Fundamentally this system seems to have been of a shamanistic nature and the role of the shaman as hunting magician features prominently. This sort of religious system would seem to be much more 'at home' in a hunting-gathering society than in a relatively sophisticated urban environment. For the moment we can only guess at the reasons.[67]

I have drawn my evidence for Shamanism from the representations preserved on durable material. Other less durable evidence such as shamanistic costumes has probably perished in the passage of time. Having indicated the possibility of the existence of what were basically shamanistic cults and rituals in the Indus Valley Civilization, I finally want to point to one other factor which would seem to have had religious connotations, not unconnected with shamanism: the clear evidence of a tree cult, which was centred on the pipal tree or *Ficus religiosa*. Representations of *Ficus religiosa* and some other trees occur on stamp seals, on 'sealing amulets', and are painted in black on Indus Valley pottery.



(fig. 8)

One of the most crucial beliefs in shaman ideology is that of the world tree. Evidently this concept achieved importance because it stood for communication with the other world. The representations of trees, often portrayed as standing inside a railing or a round brickwork enclosure, or being the centre of a cultic/religious/shamanistic performance seems to fit that notion. With the exception of the pipal, it is most unfortunate that due to the very schematic and inaccurate rendering of such diagnostic features as the shape and the formation of the leaves, only a few tree species can be identified and even then not with confidence (figs. 3-8).

I should now like to review some more evidence for a tree cult in Harappan times. Several 'sealing amulets' from Harappa[68] and a tablet from Kalibangan[69] represent trees standing inside a protective brick enclosure or fence. These fences often show clearly demarcated inner divisions, and, like the brick-built circular constructions from Moenjo-daro and Chanhu-daro, they in all likelihood once served to set trees apart for the purpose of worship as depicted on the 'sealing amulets'.

According to dr. M.M.J. van Balgooy of the Research Centre of Leiden University's Herbarium[70] some of these fenced tree representations from Harappa may be regarded as acacias (figs. 3-4). However, to pinpoint the correct kind of acacia is impossible at present. The occurrence of one of these acacia species among the representations of trees standing in protective enclosing walls is of considerable importance as the acacia is an important tree in shamanistic performances. For instance the shamans of the Siberian Tuvas and Chelkans used bows for divination made of an aspen branch with an acacia-bark string, for divination.[71]

The pipal tree or *Ficus religiosa* has so far not been noted among the group of railed trees shown on the 'sealing amulets', but the black painted pottery from Harappa,[72] Moenjo-daro[73] and Chanhu-daro (Harappan levels) as well as one seal from the latter site[74] show either pipal trees or saplings, acacia(?) or neem trees (*Azadirachta indica Adr. Juss.*), planted inside solidly painted enclosures or in tubs (fig. 6). Many other pottery fragments illustrate pipal leaves or foliage of other plants in their painted decoration.[75]

With regard to the acacias depicted on the Harappan 'sealing amulets' and occasionally on the painted pottery, it can only be suggested that they represent objects of veneration. A different picture emerges when we turn to the occurrence of the *Ficus religiosa* or pipal tree and the neem tree (*Azadirachta indica Adr. Juss.*). Both species of trees clearly play a central role in scenes suggestive of the supernatural world.

Besides being shown inside a solidly painted enclosure or tub on the painted pottery, the pipal tree is also depicted in another context which I earlier discussed as follows: "Three 'sealing amulets' from Harappa show the pipal forming an arch over a standing figure, possibly plumed or wearing horns. These examples gain considerable importance when contrasted to an intaglio representation from Moenjo-daro showing a horned figure wearing a short thick pigtail, both arms loaded from wrist to armpit with bangles. It stands in between the branches of a pipal tree. Confronting this, an equally schematic human being is shown in the characteristic seated position... It bears a central upright branch with three splayed pipal leaves. This figure also shows a short thick pigtail and the arms again are adorned with closely set bracelets. The arms are raised as if stretching out to the figure in the pipal enclosure, perhaps in a gesture of supplication... A composite ram-like human-faced animal with a tufty chest and with laterally undulating horns stands behind. Below, in the second register, is a professional file of seven plumed humans, their hair tied in a long plait, wearing a short skirt which trails at the back."[76] (fig. 7) 'Sealing amulets' from Moenjo-daro[77] and Harappa[78] also show a similarly horned figure standing between two pipal branches also faced by a similar ram-like animal.

Another point I want to make is that what is usually described as being the bole or the roots of the pipal tree is, in fact, a low enclosing ring resembling the brick enclosures seen in the Harappan pottery and on the 'sealing amulets', and representing the brick circles which were discovered in the HR Area of the Lower Town and in the L Area of the Citadel of Moenjo-daro. In all the above representations it seems that we are confronted with a ritual, probably shamanistic, act performed in the vicinity of or actually in connection with the pipal tree standing inside a brick railing. The *Ficus religiosa* was apparently held in such a high esteem as to produce at least seven variants of the pipal leaf in the Indus script. Also some of the microscopic steatite tablets from the earliest levels at Harappa are in the shape of a pipal leaf.[79]

The tree identified by Van Balgooy as the *Azadirachta indica Adr. Juss.* or neem tree also occurs on the painted pottery as standing inside a solid enclosure or tub,[80] but in all other instances it is seen without an enclosing fence.[81] This omission may lie in the nature of the scene in which this neem tree clearly plays an eminent role. In such scenes we invariably see a matchstick-like figure without horns or a horned head-dress, but wearing the hairbun tied at the back of the head, a hairstyle often encountered in the Indus Culture.[82] This figure sits in the characteristic seated position on the lowermost branch of the *Azadirachta* tree, steadying himself with one hand against the trunk and with the other stretched out, its palm upwards or turned down, towards a tiger which, without exception, looks back at him over its shoulder (figs. 5-6). The recurrence of the three components, namely the neem tree, the figure on its lowermost branch and the backward-looking tiger, raises the question whether we are witnessing an act symbolizing the inextricable interdependence of mankind, the animal world and the rest of nature. The choice of the tiger as the wild beast *par excellence* to represent the animal world can be matched to the fact that the tiger is sometimes portrayed as wearing a pair of zebu horns to underline this beast's supernatural status. The intimate man-tiger relationship is also demonstrated by the position and the size of the tiger on the so-called 'Proto-Śiva' seal no. 420 from Moenjo-daro (see above). In my view the dancing shaman is wearing a three- possibly four-faced mask to which a pair of zebu horns has been attached and of which the frontal aspect strongly suggests the muzzle of a tiger. A bull-horned, hooved and bull-tailed human figure combatting a horned tiger, seen on one of the stamp seals from Moenjo-daro[83] again appears to emphasize this cosmological concept.

As one of the main tasks of the shaman is that of a healer, he must have a profound knowledge of the different plants and herbs. He also has to know their medicinal and magical properties, not only for healing the sick, but also to prepare poisons, to entice wild animals or to kill enemies. There are also aromatic herbs to rub on the body or to use during the dancing performancies.

The medicinal qualities of the *Azadirachta* are well-famed because of the fact that almost every part of this tree has found application in indigenous medicine. Leaves, leaf extract, bast and bark, gum, young shoots, blossom, fruit, seeds and seed-oil are all applied in combination with other medicinal ingredients in the treatment of various skin diseases, like scrofula and leprosy, and of fevers such as caused by malaria, rheumatism, urinary, stomach and liver diseases.[84]

The medicinal properties of the *Ficus religiosa* and of the acacia family do not equal those of the *Azadirachta* but the leaves and the tender shoots of the pipal are used as a purgative and as a medicine against skin diseases. The blossom, which is homogamous, is used against mild fever. The species Leguminosae of the large acacia family provides gum for indigenous medicine, and Babul gum in particular is credited with numerous virtues. The dried pulp extracted from the wood of the *Acacia catechu* has digestive and other medicinal qualities.[85]

It seems highly unlikely that if shamanistic belief systems prevailed in the Indus Valley Civilization, the medicinal and magical qualities of the trees and shrubs so frequently portrayed had not yet been explored and not yet found their way in the shamanistic healing acts and practices of that time.[86] Further research is needed to reveal the way in which the so-called 'Calendar Stones' from Moenjo-daro and Harappa may have been used as instruments in the preparation of medicinal and intoxicating substances, or the symbolic role they may have played in certain performances and practices.

In this essay I have attempted to draw together some evidence from disparate sources in order to construct a hypothesis about the magico-religious system in Harappan times. Taking into account such features as the ideograms in the script, graphic representations and archaeological remains, I have endeavoured to present a cogent argument for the existence of a form of Shamanism. Certainly, at the moment, the evidence seems to point strongly in that direction.

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49. Marshall 1931, vol. III, Pl. XCIV, no. 13.
50. See note 47.
51. See note 47.
52. During Caspers 1985, p. 284, footnote 37.
53. Mackay 1938, vol. II, Pls. LXXV, nos. 11, 13; During Caspers 1985, p. 284, Pls. XI d), XII a).
54. Marshall 1931, vol. I, p. 342, vol. III, Pl. XCV, no. 10; Mackay 1938, vol. I, pp. 261-262, 271, 282, vol. II, Pls. LXXII, nos. 5-6, LXXVI, nos. 19, 22; Vats 1940, vol. I, pp. 294-295, vol. II, Pl. LXXVI, no. 12; During Caspers 1985, p. 285.
55. Vats 1940, vol. I, p. 295; see also jewellery group No. 8060 in vol. II, Pl. CXXXVII, nos. 6, 16, 20; During Caspers 1985, p. 285.
56. D.P. Agrawal, *The Archeology of India*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series no. 46, London, 1982, Fig. 90; Joshi & Parpola 1987, 324, K-119; B.M. Pande, Neolithic hunting-scene on a stone slab from Burzahom, District Srinagar, Kashmir, *Asian* Perspectives XIX, 1971, pp. 134-138; During Caspers 1989, p. 235, Fig. 18.
57. During Caspers 1989, p. 235.
58. In some previous discussions on the subject of the Indus script I have emphasized that by far the greater proportion of depictions of it are on steatite, ivory, metal and baked earthenware. Although we have so far been unable to discover whether the Indus Valley populace wrote on more perishable materials such as bark, leaves or wood, the inscribed ivory rods would seem to hint at the use of wood as a cheaper medium for similar written documentation. Apparently the Harappan Culture did not use the more suitable clay tablets, which the contemporary Near Eastern cultures had adopted. The Indus signs appear rectilinear, frequently with angular contours; rounded outlines seem to have been avoided as much as possible because of the prediliction for writing on a hard surface. The fact that the seemingly sculpted Indus characters applied on some Harappan pottery before firing are just as angular as the ones incised or gouged out of the steatite stamp seals and the ones engraved on pottery after firing, seems to favour the assumption that the Indus pictograms had developed out of signs or drawings originally made on rock, stone,

bone and/or wood.

59. Mackay 1938, vol. II, Pl. CI, nos. 2, 3.
60. A. Hultkrantz, Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism, *Shamanism in Siberia*, V. Diószegi & M. Hoppál, eds., Bibliotheca Uralica I, Budapest, 1978, p. 30.
61. Hultkrantz 1978, p. 41.
62. Hultkrantz 1978, p. 41.
63. Hultkrantz 1978, p. 35.
64. E.A. Alekseenko, Categories of the Ket Shamans, *Shamanism in Siberia*, V. Diószegi & M. Hoppál, eds., Bibliotheca Uralica I, Budapest, 1978, pp. 255-257.
65. Hultkrantz 1978, pp. 38-40.
66. Joshi & Parpola 1987, 134-136, M-533-542; 190, H-95 is a ragmentary seal from Harappa showing a hare without twigs or saplings.
67. In a hypothesis which I cautiously formulated a couple of years ago, I suggested the intrusion of an alien religious system from the north which continued to be practiced as a religious belief among the settled population. As, on anthropological grounds, this chain of events would be unlikely, it only leaves us with the possibility that the religious ideas of a deeply conservative substratum of the original population were preserved.
68. Vats 1940, vol. I, pp. 330, 331, vol. II, Pls. XCIII, nos. 325, 327, 328, XCIV, nos. 329-332; E.C.L. During Caspers, Sumerian Traders and Businessmen Residing in the Indus Valley Cities - A Critical Assessment of the Archaeological Evidence, *Annali* dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli, vol. 42, 1982, pp. 357-358, Pl. IVb, VI c-d; Joshi & Parpola 1987, 210-211, H-183-H-195.
69. Joshi & Parpola 1987, 313, K-76.
70. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. M.M.J. van Balgooy of the Research Centre State Herbarium of the State University of Leiden for his kind help and patience in identifying these tree representations.
71. V. Diószegi, Pre-Islamic Shamanism of the Baraba Turks and Some Ethnogenetic Conclusions, *Shamanism in Siberia*, V. Diószegi & M. Hoppál, eds., Bibliotheca Uralica I, Budapest, 1978, p. 144.
72. Vats 1940, vol. II, Pl. LXIX, no. 1.
73. Mackay 1938, vol. II, Pl. LXX, no. 25.
74. E.J.H. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations 1935-36*, Nrw Haven, 1943, Pls. XXXI, nos. 2-3, XXXII, no. 1a, XXXVI, no. 37; Joshi & Parpola, 1987, 334, C-28.
75. During Caspers, 1990, p. 253.
76. During Caspers, 1990, pp. 253-255.
77. Marshall 1931, vol. III, Pl. CXVI, no. 1; Mackay 1938, vol. II, Pl. LXXXII, nos. 1-2; Joshi & Parpola, 1987, 109, M-442, 119, M-488.

78. Vats 1940, vol. II, Pl. XCIII, no. 316; Joshi & Parpola, 1987, 209, H-177.
79. Vats 1940, vol. II, Pl. LXXXIV, W, XCV, nos. 417-418.
80. Vats 1940, vol. II, Pl. LXIX, no. 1.
81. One would have liked to identify e.g. Joshi & Parpola, 1987, 210, H-183B, H-184B as a railed *Azadirachta* but this is not confirmed by Dr. M.M.J. van Balgooy.
82. E.C.L. During Caspers, More on the Stone Sculpture from Moenjodaro, *Annali* dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale vol. 45, 1985b, pp. 409-426, Pls. I, IV.
83. Marshall 1931, vol. III, Pl. CXI, no. 357.
84. *The Wealth of India. A Dictionary of Indian Raw Materials and Industrial Products. Raw Materials* vol. I, Delhi, 1948, pp. 140-142; S.K. Jain, *Medicinal Plants*, India: The Land and the People, 1968, pp. 26-28; A. de Haan, *Azadirachta indica- In Ayurveda en recente wetenschap*, M.A. thesis, Utrecht, 1985.
85. *The Wealth of India*, vol. I, 1948, pp. 4-20, vol. IV, 1956, pp. 38-39. I owe this last information to Dr. M.M.J. van Balgooy; Shakti M. Gupta, *Plant Myths and Traditions in India*, Leiden, 1971, p. 17.
86. Lack of space prevents an incorporation of the medicinal science of the *Ayurveda* in which the *Azadirachta* occupies an eminent position, of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* where a close relationship is suggested between the aśvattha i.e. the *Ficus religiosa* and the śamī i.e. the acacia and of other texts such as the *Brāhmaṇas* in which aśvattha wood and śamī wood are used together to kindle fire. (I am grateful to Mrs. Drs. M. Oort for these references.) Further research on the Vedic litterature will certainly throw a better light on the occurrence of the *Ficus religiosa*, the acacia and the *Azadirachta*, and other, yet to be identified species in Harappan Shamanism.

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"WÖRTER UND SACHEN"
How much can the language of the Ṛgveda be used to reconstruct the world of things?

T.Y. Elizarenkova

Language occupies a central position in a certain system of values, as if it were playing the rôle of a mediator in this world, encompassing everything. According to language two spheres are distinguished in our world: the one is correlated with the "under-language", and the other with the "above-language". Language itself does not only determine the spheres but it also refers to them. It can lead downwards and upwards, to material things and to ideal, spiritual principles, thus connecting the lower and the upper levels and in extreme cases even spritualizing "the low" and materializing "the high".

This article deals with that part of culture which belongs to the "under-language" sphere, i.e. "things", "objects" - the concrete remnants which bring together two different sciences: linguistics and archeology. "Things" are, roughly speaking, the result of the "lower" activity of mankind, who produce whatever is necessary and useful to society. But if one examines the most ancient archeological artifacts, trying to understand what was indispensable to the life of a human being at that time, one's positively oriented mind faces great difficulties. It turns out that beginning from the Upper Palaeolithic age (and, generally speaking, from the time when not only nature, but also culture should be taken into consideration) man also produced objects which seem to be of no practical use, i.e. ritual objects, wall paintings, figurines, etc. and refer to the spiritual sphere of human life. The original spirituality of mankind, supported by the archeological data of man's early conscience is revealed, e.g., in the kind of activity of the mythological demiurge: "spiritual" creation takes place from the very beginning of the act of creation. Even more, it cannot be separated from "material" creation on the deepest level, each stage of creation involves simultaneously spirit and matter, culture and nature. Therefore a historian of culture interpreting this archaic situation should do his best to evaluate it the same way the people of this archaic culture did, keeping in mind that their criteria might be quite different from the modern ones.

All this makes one disagree with the view-point that even for the earlier stages of culture distinction should be made between things that are "really" functional (instruments, tools, etc.) and those that are "quasi-functional" (ritual objects deprived of "real" use). One should state just the contrary. Only that which is sacred is of higher value for the archaic self-consciousness, and sacred is that which is "cosmogonical", and should be regularly reproduced in the annual ritual of a given tradition. Therefore it is natural to suppose that originally it was the sacred thing par excellence, "cosmogony", i.e. connected with the beginning of creation by a succession of links, belonging to the ritual that was endowed with the highest prestige. It acts in special marked situations, connected with corresponding supreme tasks, and does so in a much stronger degree than it "is used. The meaning of the ritual can be defined this way: it is action, the deed par excellence which is opposed to word and thought and at the same time forms a triad together with them - thought - word - deed. In such a system of values the object as an instrument of the deed cannot be separated from the ritual and be non-ritual itself.

Studying dead cultures the scientist has often to face difficulties of two types. Either one comes to know things due to archaeological findings and in this case their names and purpose may remain unknown, or only the names of the things are known from the texts, but the things themselves, as well as their purpose, are unknown. A large scale of intermediate cases is situated between these two poles. The situation of the Vedic tradition as it is represented in the most ancient Indian monument, the Ṛgveda, will be described in the light of these general ideas.

What do we know about the world of objects surrounding the Vedic Aryans at the end of the 2nd - the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. from what sources? To what degree can one restore their mode of life based upon the world of "things"? First of all, it strikes one immediately that the Vedic culture in contrast to most of the great ancient cultures (e.g., that of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Ancient Balkans, Greece, Italy, Iran, China, etc.) which have left material traces of their existence, is to a considerably extent mute from the archaeological point of view. The fact that it is so mute made one of the prominent specialists in this field seriously ask a question: "Is Vedic archaeology possible?" [Rau 1977]. The muteness of Vedic archaeology greatly contradicts the "eloquence" of the archaeological testimonies to a much more ancient culture of an urban civilization in the Indus valley. The long epoch that followed the decay of this civilization, approximately in the middle of the 18th c. B.C. and which lasted to the times of the Buddha is called "the Vedic night". This night however has been illuminated by such bright flashes of creative spirit and marked by such outstanding achievements in religious speculation and poetry that there can be no doubt about the greatness of the Vedic culture.

The scarcity of a material culture for the Vedic tribes is evident, still Vedic archaeology "is not impossible", as it was stated by W. Rau [1977: C], and if one would like to give a more real shape to this phantom, one should know where to look for this shape and what it should be like. It seems plausible that if there are chances of finding any Vedic archaeological materials, they will be connected with Afghanistan, Northern Baluchistan, Jammu and Kashmir, Northern

Rajasthan, particularly with copper hoards, and with ceramics spread throughout the territory of Panjab, Haryana, Northern Rajasthan, Western Uttar Pradesh, and dating from the 1st half of the 2nd millennium B.C.[1] On Vedic archaeology Rau stresses the fact that there is little hope of finding either Vedic dwellings made of stone or brick or identifying Vedic graves and altars found in certain chronological layers - that might be only a lucky chance. The dwellings of the Vedic Aryans were made of wood (first of all of bamboo), thatch, skins of beasts, in short, all kinds of material which are not durable. The carts which played such a prominent rôle in the life of Vedic tribes were also made of wood and it was only military chariots that had metal ornaments and wheel rims. But metal objects (at least those made of gold, silver and copper) were smelted down again and again. Vedic tombs are not known (except for some ambiguous cases). So a Vedic archaeologist has to be satisfied with quite limited traces: the pits of a dwellings' posts, pits for pot roasting, moulds, crocks of earthenware, etc. All this is too little even to contour the limits of the Vedic material culture. Strange as it may seem, what has remained of this culture are not the things themnselves, but their traces, hints of them.

The poverty and unreliability of Vedic archaeology should not be explained only by the fragile character of the materials used by the Vedic Aryans for the production of the things that they needed. The explanation lies rather in the way of life they led, which one can judge much better from the Vedic texts than from archaeological data though these texts are connected with the ritual and stand aloof from the world of ordinary things.

During the Vedic epoch, especially in its early period, the Aryan tribes lived in quite a different way than they did later on. They did not establish any kind of settlement which was intended as a permanent or even temporary home-base. It was rather a camp, the tribes moving from one place to another with their herds of cattle. The cart was more important than a house not only because they spent as much or even more time in it than a "stationary" house, but probably because the cart itself was treated as a "small house", "small homeland" where everything was intimately connected with man. Consequently the cart that was always moving was a constant and the immovable house was a variable. It was not the house that determined their mode of life, but the moving cart. A day of travelling was followed by a day of rest (*yogakṣema-*), and for the night the carts were arranged in such a way that they made a circular fortification (Magenburg, according to Rau), with the cattle placed in its middle. All the possessions were placed in the carts or around them which means that there could not have been much bagage; people had only those things that were really necessary in the first place.

Sedatory periods of life did not last longer than half a year: from sowing the seeds till reaping the harvest of cereals (*yáva-*). Such a partially settled life also hindered the increase of worldly "things". Nevertheless it is during these comparatively short stops that social groups of people connected by blood relationship and by common fate acquired the status of a local and economical unity - *grāma* - "village", lit. "the totality of people living in a village", earlier "crowd", "mass", "heap", based on the idea of being gathered together - cp. I.-E. **ger-* "to gather together", "to join" [Pokorny 1959: 382-383]. Villages of this kind required a new type of dwelling - a house independent of any "cart-forms". It was usually a rectangular dwelling with a post deeply dug into the earth in the centre supporting a bamboo beam covered with reed mat-walls and fastened with the help of ropes; it had a door, but no windows [Renou 1939].

This was the situation on the material level. However the ancient Indian seemed to look for sustenance not in his everyday life, in the world of things, not in the transient, but in the ideal and eternal, in the sphere of the sacred and spiritual, as previously mentioned above. That is why for him the measure of the reality of a thing dependend on the place this thing occupied in the chain connecting the "low" everyday life with its "high" image. Because of this reason the boundary-line between that which is an object and that which is not, becomes very vague. Sacralized things or those involved in the ritual were regarded as something more than an implement, something that could overcome its inherent "thingness" and acquire the values of a higher rank, and vice versa. Profane objects not belonging to the mytho-poetic sphere might be regarded under certain conditions as something less than a thing (a "neutralized" thing, so to say).

Consequently it is not by chance that Vedic archaeology is somewhat "unreal" and this cannot be explained only by the fragile nature of the material used to make Vedic artifacts. There was a deeper reason for it: the word and not the thing, the spirit and not matter were given preference in their cultural tradition. And it so happened that the eternal word saved the transient object - kept its name, revealed its distinctive features and transmitted this information through the centuries to modern times. Most striking is the fact that in India the "Sacred Word" did not become materialized for at least two millenia. Even today only the sacred text which is pronounced and the hearing (śruti) of such a text brings revelation to an orthodox Brahman, not a manuscript or a book.

This characteristics of the Vedic tradition makes it necessary to be very careful while tackling the problem of "Wörter und Sachen". Words and things do not turn out to be of equal value for the reconstruction of Vedic culture. A Vedic thing itself gives too little information by itself from the view-point of the corresponding culture and in this respect it can quite rarely serve only as a primary source. As a matter of fact, primary are words denoting things. Words function as the most reliable guides into the world of things.

It should also be stressed that the RV is an entity only as a text revealed in a linguistic verbal form. It is the text which is primary from the ontological view-point and not the language, the word. The lexicon of the names of things is extracted from the text as a result of a secondary operation [cp. Macdonell, Keith 1912]. Though it is an indirect way to get information about things, the text as a source of this information sometimes has advantages over a lexicon because it also gives the possibility of reconstructing the functional characteristics of an object.

Concerning the RV as a text it should be noted that references to its being a special religious monument, ignoring everyday life and reflecting the real situation only one-sidedly cannot be regarded as relevant. It does not matter at all what the reality was. The only thing that matters is how this reality was interpreted by the Vedic mind and what was the "strong position" motivating the totality of other phenomena. As it was already stated, the "strong position" of this world-model was believed to be in the sphere of religion and ritual.

At the same time there exists a paradoxal situation. On the one hand, ritual objects are surrounded by the aura of sanctity because they reflect divine, ideal, celestial prototypes. The complements look astonishingly obvious, real and concrete, no matter whether it is a sacrificial post, grass strewed above the altar or a sacrificial ladle. On the other hand, objects usually treated as non-ritual, intimately connected with the profane life of man in this world, on his native soil, such as the pole supporting the bamboo beam, when transposed to the sky become the divine par excellence.

These general considerations about the mutual relations of "words" and "things" in the RV will be illustrated by the names of two "things" which played a prominent part in the life of the Aryans of the RV: the chariot and the house.

There is no doubt that every man of the Vedic epoch knew perfectly well what a chariot was like, he had either seen one or made one. However the status of chariot was formed not by empirical data, but by its connection with the divine, celestial prototype, with a reality higher than the empirical one. Therefore *rátha-* in the RV (lit. meaning in the Indo-European linguistic code "wheeled", cp. Lith. *rãtas* "a wheel", Lat. *rota*, Germ. *Rad*, etc.) mainly belongs to the celestial, divine world to Indra, Agni (and Indra-Agni), Varuṇa, Soma, Sūrya, Uṣas, Aśvins, Maruts, Vāta, Vāyu, etc. and only in the second place to an earthly king or warrior. Bringing the Vedic tendency to its extreme one can say, that it was the person mounting a chariot who became a king or a powerful person (*kṣatríya-*), rather than a king or a *kṣatríya-* mounting a chariot. It seems that the military function of the chariot was not regarded as an original one; it was not the prestige of a chariot that was defined by its military qualities, but the military use of a chariot was the result of its "independent" prestige, which also revealed itself in the military sphere. Generally speaking, the "prestige" of the chariot is a purely semiotic notion. It is verified in the contests (*ājí-*) of celestial charioteers, which are mentioned so often in the RV. The victory in these contests (reproduced by the annual ritual) is the main thing and its more "real" manifestations, such as victory in war, seizure of booty, winning of fame became possible only by means of it.

What a Vedic *rátha-* was like is known both from the Vedic texts and their scientific interpretations [cf., e.g., Sparreboom 1983]. However it is no less important to know what it was like in the eyes of the Vedic poets. The velocity, brilliance and lustre of the chariot are stressed in the hymns of the RV first of all. The word *rátha-* is found there approximately 200 times, not to speak of its derivations and compounds with this word as the first element. Chariot and the Sun in these contexts have not only attributes and predicates in common, but are compared with each other and even identified. Cp., e.g., the following lines from the Mitra-Varuṇa hymn V, 63, 7 c-d: *ṛténa víśvam bhúvanaṃ ví rājathaḥ sū́ryam ā́ dhatto diví cítryaṃ rátham* "By means of the Order you two rule over the whole universe. You have placed the Sun in the sky (as) the bright chariot".

The chariot is so to say "cosmologized"; it also becomes a kind of element of creation and the universe itself acquires the shape of a cosmic chariot or a wheel - cf. in this respect the Riddle-hymn of the RV I 164, where in stanzas 2-3 a one-wheeled chariot of the Sun is mentioned (*rátham ékacakram*) on the three-naved wheel of which (*trinā́bhi cakrám*) all the beings are standing; in stanzas 11-14: the wheel of the year having twelve spokes (*dvā́daśāraṃ ... cakrám*), i.e. twelve months, etc.

The list of epithets defining the chariot in the RV is rather informative: *āśú* - "quick", *ṛ́bhvas* - "clever, skilful", *govíd* - "finding cows", *ghṛtávat* - "abounding in fat", *citrá* - "excellent, bright; spotted", *jávīyas* - "more quick", *tricakrá* - "three-wheeled" (about the chariot of the Aśvins), *dyumát* - "brilliant", *dravádaśva* - "drawn by swift horses", *dhūrṣád* - "being foremost", *bṛhát* - "high", *mánojavas* - "quick, like a thought", *manoyúj* - "yoked by a (mere) thought", *yú* - "yoked", *rukmín* - "adorned with gold", *vásumat* - "having riches", *viśvárūpa* - "many-coloured", *vīḍupaví* - "having strong tires", *vṛ́ṣaṇvat* - "drawn by stallions", *śyenápatvan* - "flying like a falcon", *sacaná* - "helping", *samanáyojana* - "yoked in the same way", *sásni* - "winning riches", *sukhá* - "running easily" ("having a good axle-hole"), *súaśva* - "having good horses", *háriyoga* - "having a yoke of bay horses", *híraṇyapraüga-* "having a golden fore-part". One can judge from this set of epithets used with *rátha*, as well as from the list of predicates used with the same word, which can be reconstructed from the compounds of two elements, how far the process of the metaphorical usage of *rátha* has gone and how many poetical images are connected with the chariot in the RV.

There is no doubt that *rátha* means "a chariot" in the RV, but not only a real one. The word denotes everything what is able to convey the meaning of transposition from one sphere to the other. Therefore, the speech, word, hymn, ritual as a whole are for the Vedic poet a *rátha* which is able to express certain meanings, while the poet himself is a carpenter who makes (*takṣ-* "to fashion, to form out of wood") this *rátha-*.[2] E.g., V.2.11 a-b: *etáṃ te stómaṃ tuvijāta vípro ráthaṃ ná dhīŕaḥ svápā ataksaṃ* "The inspired skilful sage, I have fashioned this eulogy for you, O (god) of powerful nature"; I.109 1d: *sá vāṃ dhíyaṃ vājayántīm atakṣam* "I have fashioned for you two a poetical work bringing reward". In this context the contest of poets is similar to chariot races and the image of a chariot is a kind of symbol and measure of all that can be expressed in words. It is quite usual in the RV that *rátha-* is used metaphorically for "hymn", "eulogy" or "prayer", and that a verbal contest is hidden behind a picture of chariot races. Cp., e.g., the hymn to Viśve Devāḥ II 31, where the poet asks various gods to help only their chariot (st. 1a: *asmā́kam mitrāvaruṇāvataṃ rátham*; st. 2 a-b: *ádha smā úd avatā ... ráthaṃ ...*), and in the end of the hymn reveals the true nature of the situation, saying that the gods have enjoyed their prayer and sacrificial labour (st. 6 c-d: *cáno dadhe ... dhiyā́ śámi*), and that it is the Āyus who fashioned words for the new hymn (st. 7b: *átakṣann āyávo návyase sá*).

At the same time *rátha-* may denote "sacrifice", the sacrifice being a means of connection between the world of men and that of gods. The image of the chariot-sacrifice can be represented in the text by many variants. Compare, e.g., the following passages: IX 62.17 a-b: *táṃ tripṛṣṭhé trivandhuré ráthe yuñjanti yā́tave ...* "They yoke him [sc. Soma] to the chariot, having three backs and three seats, so that it moves" (by which the three daily pressings - savanas are meant;[3] IX 38.1 a-b: *eṣá u syá vṛṣā́ ráthó 'vyo vā́rebhir arṣati* "This manly chariot hurries through the sheep's hair-sieve" (about the clarifying juice of Soma); I 94.8 a-b: *pū́rvo devā bhavatu sunvató rátho 'smākaṃ śṃso abhy àstu dūḍhyàḥ* "The first, O gods, should be the chariot of the (man) pressing (Soma)! Let our praise surpass (that of) the mischief-maker!" (cf. st. 1 saying that the poets want to create solemnly a praise of Jātavedas, like a chariot). From all these examples one can draw the conclusion that the chariot in the RV possesses the highest status; like Sacred Speech, Vāc, in X 125 it is carrying the gods, expressing with them various meanings, and setting the total sense of the text.

At the same time in the RV there exists a very differentiated "sub-lexicon" of the chariot including all types of transport on wheels, such as, e.g., *ánas* - "cart". These consist of many technical terms - names of the parts and details of this vehicle, e.g., *cákra* - "wheel", *ákṣa* - "axle", *ará* - "spoke", *āṇí* "the pin of the axle of a cart", *gárta* - "a high seat", *chadís* - "roof of a carriage", etc. (some dozens of words, cf. their complete list in [Sparreboom 1983: Glossary]), which reveal quite distinctly this vehicle as an aggregate. The term also enables one to trace an archaic Indo-European layer behind the Vedic one.

The Aryans of the RV did not only spend their lives on the chariot or in a cart that served as their "moving house". They had a stationary life on the soil in an "immovable dwelling". It should not escape one's attention that the lexicon of "house" and "dwelling" is elaborated much less than that of the "cart" and "chariot" ; people of that epoch did not go into details in connection with the house. The reason probably lies in the question, how did the Ṛgvedic Aryan estimate his mobile, nomadic life and his stationary life? The second, "immovable" way of life seemed to be regarded as secondary and to a certain extent forced on him by necessity and therefore lacking in prestige. Victory, fame, honour, booty were mainly connected with the life in movement, which entailed risk, but also promised much more than one can get during half a year of settled life. These considerations are of course of a relative nature, however they seem to be supported by the fact that the tradition which the Indo-Aryan tribes had brought with them when they entered North-Western India, and the ancient Vedic social organization corresponding to this tradition ("military democracy") were oriented towards risk rather than towards a more sedate and quite life that was not so tempting.

To a considerable degree the hymns of the RV reflect the beginning crisis of the foundations of the ancient Vedic way of life and foreshadows the necessity of a new choice. The final hymn of the RV X 191 suggests the idea of unity, treaty, and that presupposes a trend towards stability and safety which a settled life is better equiped to secure. The Unity-hymn however is a response to a call coming from the future and in the present time a settled mode of life did not seem to be a well established alternative.

This ideal situation was reflected by the fact that the attachment to the home and dwelling was rather weak and relative in the RV. The lexicon of the word for dwelling is really scarce, and what is even more important, it has a social orientation rather than one based on elements locally or materially more stable and stationary. This peculiarity was mentioned above in connection with *grāma-*, which was a denomination of a village-community rather than that of a village-dwelling. A similar situation can also be supposed for the words denoting "a house" in the RV.

There is a number of synonyms denoting this artifact in the hymns: *dám-*, *dáma-* m.n., *gṛhá-* m., *dúrya/dúria-* m.f. (lit. "connected with the door", "connected with the house"). The most archaic of them, the root-stem *dám-*, having a well established I.-E. etymology, is mostly met in the RV in a fixed combination *pátir dán* or in the compound *dámpati-* "lord of the house" or "pater familias". The compound is generally used in the du., meaning "the two masters, husband and wife". *Dam-* is a rare word in the RV, its thematic variant *dáma-* being much more frequent. The overwhelming majority of cases of this word is in the loc.: *dáme* "in the house" or adverbially "at home". Still, the original social accent of its meaning can still be traced in some passages, as, e.g., in the Agni-hymn III 6.3:

> *dyaúś ca tvā pṛthivī́ yajñiyāso*
> *ní hótāraṃ sādayante dámāya*
> *yádī víço mā́nuṣīr devayántīḥ*
> *práyasvatīr ī́ḷate śukrám arcíḥ*
>
> "Heaven and Earth and the (gods) worthy of sacrifice set you down as a Hotar for the house, when human tribes devoted to the gods praise your pure flame, offering pleasant food"

The form *dámāya* means the inhabitants of the house.

The set expression *své dáme* or *svá ā́ dáme* "in one's own house" usually refers to Agni, serving as a metaphorical name of the *védi-*, where the sacrificial fire was kindled. For example., in I 1.7-8 it is said that every day the priests are approaching Agni, the illuminer of the darkness, who is growing in his own house (*várdhamānaṃ své dáme*).

The most frequent and neutral name for "a house" is *gṛhá-* (the word having also many I.-E. parallels). It is testified in the RV by the sg. and pl. paradigms (the latter one being spread mainly in the recent part of the RV and having the meaning of the sg. [Renou 1955-1969. XIV: 100]). In the main singular paradigm two cases evidently prevail: acc. "to the house" (direction), "home" and loc. "in the house" (place), "at home", with a clear tendency to an adverbial meaning. Compare, e.g., X 86.22 a-b: *yád údañco vṛṣākape gṛhám indrājagantana* "When you two, Indra and Vṛṣākapi, went home to the North ...".

The analysis of the passages where this well attested word is found, brings one to the conclusion that it denotes a thing belonging mainly to the world of men. Gods as a rule are not connected with houses, their constant attribute being a chariot and not a house. There are no descriptions of divine or celestial houses in the RV, no such notion as "the god's house" exists there. The rare cases when the word *gṛhá-* is mentioned in connection with a god's name usually give no information about the house itself and can be understood either as "a god's place" or as "at a god's home". Indra drank Soma in Tvaṣṭar's house (*tváṣṭur gṛhé* IV 18.3); Ṛbhus came to the house of the sacrificing Savitar (*savitúr dāśúṣo gṛhám* I 110.2); Vāyu is once asked to give the treasure that is hidden there in his house (*adó ... te gṛhé*); Indra is recommended to go home (*ástam*): "A beautiful woman and amusement is in your house ..." (*gṛhé te* III 53.6), says the poet. Besides, there exists one passage in the RV which can be taken as a "description" of a god's house. This is in the Varuṇa-hymn VII 88.5, when Vasiṣṭha says to the mighty god: *bṛhántam mānam varuṇa svadhāvaḥ sahásradvāraṃ jagāma gṛhám te* "To the high building, O Varuṇa having inherent power, to your house with thousand doors I went". The image of Varuṇa's high house reminds one of the attribute typical of Mitra-Varuṇa - a high (*bṛhánt-*) throne *gárta-* (lit. "the high sitting of a charioit") of golden colour and with metal columns on which they are sitting, discerning the good and the bad (cf. V 62.8; 68.5). So, the word *gṛhá-* seems to be metaphorically used in this passage, which is also supported by a formal analysis; it is defined here by several descriptive epithets, this being quite unusual for *gṛhá-* in its proper sense (cf. another metaphorical usage in the same Varuṇa-cycle in VII 88.1: *mṛnmáyaṃ gṛhám* "into the earthen house", sc. "into the grave").

In contrast to *rátha-* the noun *gṛhá-* has no qualifying adjectives with it. It is usually found in constructions with the possessive Gen. denoting the worshipper or the sacrificer: *somínas, dāśúṣas, sunvatás, yájvanas, víprasya* [Grassmann 1955: 406]. This shows that in the RV *gṛhá-* is mainly used in the sacrificial situation, denoting the place where sacrifices were performed. *Dā́sa-/Dásyu-* were not connected with *gṛhá-*, they had their *púr-* fortresses.

The semantic connections of *gṛhá-* become broader in the more recent parts of the RV, cf. I 84.15: *candramáso gṛhé* "in the house of the moon", i.e. "in the lunar house" and X 142.8: *samudrásya gṛháḥ* "the house of the sea" (the latter being a metaphorical expression).

Though the denotatum of *gṛhá-* belongs to the sphere of man, one can find only a few realistic details of a house in the text of the hymns, such as I 191.10 a-b: *sū́rye viṣám ā́ sajāmi dṛ́tiṃ súrāvato gṛhé* "I attach poison to the son, like a leather bag in a house of a person having wine".

Being regularly connected with the sacrifice *gṛhá-* might be transposed to the celestial region, which is found, e.g., in X 119.13 a-b, where the word referred to is a god drunken with Soma: *gṛhó yāmy áraṃkṛto devébhyo havyavā́hanaḥ* "I depart, a well-equiped house, carrying offerings to the gods". At the same time this image of a house is characterised in a most realistic way, for it is a moving house, which is stressed by the Western interpreters [Geldner 1951, 3: 346]. This might be called a position of neutralization of the opposition: world of gods-world of men.

Dúrya-/dúria- is an infrequent word in the RV. In the sg. it functions as an adjective, in the pl. m.f. as a substantive, denoting a house, or houses. The adjective *dúrya-* is connected with Agni (II 38.5; VII 1.11; VII 74.1), the domestic fire, centre of domestic rites, a deity which was very close to the inhabitants of the house, and once with the sacrificial post that brings to the sacrificers rich reward (I 51.14). Used as an adjective *dúrya-* is clearly linked to the situation of sacrifice. As a substantive it denotes the house of the worshipper, where a certain deity resides or is invited: Soma (I 91.19), Agni (IV 1.9; 2.12; VII 1.11), All-the-Gods (IV 1.18). Only once, in the latest part of the RV, it is met in a "profane" context (X 40.12). It may be supposed that the same semantic feature was distinctive for the substantive *dúrya-* as it was for the adjective. There is a passage, where the poet deliberately plays with the two grammatical values of *dúrya* - VII 1.11:

mā́ śū́ne agne ní ṣadāma nṛṇā́ṃ
mā́śeṣaso 'vī́ratā pári tvā
prajā́vatīṣu dúryāsu durya

"We should not be sitting around you, O Agni, either lacking men, or having no progeny, without sons - (just the contrary we should be) in houses full of children, O (god) of the house!".

The adjective defining the noun *dúrya-* in this passage speaks for the metaphorical use of it, i.e. "family", *dúrya-* having no epithets, as a rule.

Two more words in the RV denoting the house possess simultaneously other lexical meanings and cannot be regarded as neutral names of a house.

According to the Petersburg Dictionary *Duroṇá-* means "Wohnung, Heimat" (the English variants given in Mayrhofer's Dictionary are "dwelling, home"). The semantic motivation of the word remains unclear, because of a rather hypothetic etymology of the word [Mayrhofer 1956-1978, 2: 51]. In the RV it is used mostly in the loc., having either an adverbial meaning "home", "at home", or a substantive one "in the dwelling", "in the house". In the latter case it is usually connected with the gen., expressing the owner of the house: *dāśúṣas* "of the worshipper", *sukṛtas* "of the virtuous one", *stotúr* "of the eulogist", etc., and several times the formula *mánuṣo duroṇé* "in the dwelling of a man" is met (VII 70.2; VIII 87.2; X 40.13; etc.). So this word, as a rule, is connected with the world of men, though sometimes it can be transposed to that of gods, e.g., the combination *své duroṇé* "in his own house" in VII 12.1 about Agni (like *své dáme*), and at the same time in IV 4.7 about the sacrificer. In VII 60.5 it is used figuratively in the expression *ṛtásya ... duroṇé* "in the abode of Order" in connection with the Ādityas.

The word *duroṇá-* used in its literal meaning is not defined by any qualifying adjectives. No description of *duroṇá-* exists in the RV. It expresses rather an abstract idea of "home" or "homeland" as opposed to nomadic life, e.g., a passage in the Sūrya-hymn X 37.10 c-d:

yáthā śám ádhvañ chám ásad duroṇé
tát sūrya dráviṇaṃ dhehi citrám

"Bestow (on us), O Sūrya, a wonderful treasure, so that there

> would be happiness (to us) on the road, happiness (to us) at home!"

There exists one more name for a house in the RV (*harmyá/harmiá-*) which is a specification of the general idea. According to the Petersburg Dictionary it means, "ein festes Gebäude: Burg, Schloss, Palast, Herrenhaus, Wohnhaus, Vorrathshaus; Gefängniss" [Böhtlingk 1879-1889, 7: 262], the invariant meaning being "a firm structure", the rest of the meanings functioning in the text as its variants. It does not seem likely that the word could have independent meanings "a big house, palace, mansion" in the period of the RV they developed later. The invariant meaning however is distinctly revealed by some contexts. It is said in connection with Indra who has killed Vṛtra in V 32.5 c-d: *yád īm ... yúyutsantaṃ támasi harmyé dhā́ḥ* "When you have placed him who was eager to fight into the darkness in a firm house" (= dungeon); or in VIII 5.23 a-b the Aśvins are asked to help Kaṇva who was blinded in a dungeon: *kṇvāya ... ápiriptāya harmyé*. Soma is twice called in mandala IX *harmyásya sakṣṇi-* "vanquishing the firm house" (71.4; 78.3), of which a very probable explanation is given by K. Geldner in his comments: "Das feste Haus ist wohl seine Pflanzenhülle" [Geldner 1951, 3: 64].

The word *hármya-* is not defined by any epithets in the hymns. Judging by the contexts it can be connected both with people (I 121.1; VII 55.6; X 46.3) and with gods: Uṣas (VII 76.2), Yama (X 114.10), Indra (X 73.10).[4] Being a denomination of a specific kind of a house the *hármya-* does not take part in the general opposition: "chariot"-"house" or "road" - "dwelling". The same can also be said about "peripheral" denominations for a house or abode such as *pastíā-* (pl. "household"), *śárman-* lit. "refuge", "protection".

The "sub-lexicon" of the house is small. The centre of the house, its support, was the bearing post named *skambhá-*, *skábhana-* (*skambh-* "to support" - cf. *Skambhá-* in the AV as a Fulcrum of the Universe), its synonyms being *sthūṇā-* (possibly connected prehistorically with *sthā-* "to stand" [Mayrhofer 1956-1978, 3: 530], *upamít-* "a prop" (*úpa mi-* "to stick, to fasten on"). So the most important place in the house was called by several synonyms. The periphery of the dwelling, its borders, places by means of which contacts between a "house" and "non-house" were established was first of all marked by *dvā́r-* "the door", the thing belonging to the profane sphere, but being transposed to the celestial one deified in the Āprī-hymns. There also exists a special term for its detail *ā́tā-* f.m. pl. "frame of a door" which is used in the RV only figuratively as "the frame of the sky" (I 56.5; 113.14; III 43.6) or in an Āprī-hymn "the divine gate with its leaves" (IX 5.5).

I should like to make the following conclusions. One can say that it is the world of objects in the strict sense that reflects two opposite processes in the RV, the ritualization of life where everything can be derived from ritual, and the deritualization of life as the new possibility to explain this life from itself, finding other motivations for its elements, and detecting in them new profane aims. It is difficult to say what were the mutual relations of these two processes in the early Vedic period. The only source of our knowledge about it is the lexicon of "things" connected directly with the house because the stationary way of life gave greater possibilities for elaborating this "inventory of things" than life in a cart.

NOTES

1. It is considered that the ceramics of Vedic texts which was described according to its area, chronology and peculiarities corresponds best of all to the so-called "ochre-coloured ware" identified in 1947 by B.B. Lal, and dated by him by means of the thermo-luminescent method as far as 2000-1500 B.C. (according to V.S. Agrawala it is 1800-1400 B.C.).
2. Cf. *takṣ- & ráthaṃ* "to make a chariot" (I, 20.3.111.1; etc), but also *takṣ- & mántram* "to make a mantra", *takṣ- & vā́cam* "to create a word, speech".
3. Cf. K. Geldner's comments to this stanza [Geldner 1951, 3: 45].
4. In the last passage one can suspect the meaning "dungeon" of *hármya-*. Various versions of Indra's birth are contemplated here, one of them being as follows: *manyór iyāya harmyéṣu tasthau* "He was borne out of rage, he dwelled in a *harmya-*", which is translated by Geldner as "im verschlossenen Hause". Geldner's comment seems to be quite plausible that the gods envious of Indra locked him in a dungeon after his birth [Geldner 1951, 3: 254].

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SĀMAVEDA UND GĀNDHARVA

H. Falk

1. Das Problem

Über die Rolle des Sāmaveda bei der Ausbildung der profanen Musik, dem *gāndharva*, und der sie begleitenden Musiktheorie scheinen sich die alten Quellen und die moderne Forschung im Prinzip einig zu sein. Nach dem Nāṭyaśāstra (NŚ) 1,17 schuf Brahmā den Gesang aus dem Sāmaveda (*jagrābha sāmabhyo gītam*), nach dem Dattilam (222) gehen die *gītakas*, sieben sehr spezielle Vortragsformen, auf die Ṛṣis zurück.[1] Bei Śārṅgadeva[2] sind es einige Jahrhunderte später die 18 *jātis*, die den vedischen Sängern ihre Existenz verdanken sollen. Abhinavagupta zitiert mehrere Autoritäten bezüglich einer allgemeinen Ableitung des *gāndharva* vom Sāmaveda.[3] Trotz der Uneinheitlichkeit dieser späten Zeugen ist es üblich, Darstellungen der klassischen Musik mit einem mehr oder minder ausführlichen Hinweis auf die vedischen Wurzeln einzuleiten.[4]

Die Texte der vedischen Śākhas schweigen zu diesem Punkt. Allein eine gewisse negative Haltung gegenüber den Tönen beider Lager kommt gelegentlich zum Ausdruck. Wenn Sāmans zu hören sind, oder wenn Gesang und Instrumentalmusik zum Tanz erklingen,[5] muss die Rezitation der beiden anderen Veden unterbrochen werden. Die Gründe für diese Ablehnung scheinen aber nicht identisch zu sein. Der Sāmaveda steht mit der unreinen Sphäre der Toten in Verbindung,[6] während die weltliche Musik weitaus freudigeren Anlässen dient und auch den rezitierenen Sāmavedin zum Schweigen verurteilt.[7]

Durch eine Reihe von Tonträgern[8] ist es jedermann möglich, sich einen Eindruck davon zu verschaffen, wie die einzelnen vedischen Schulen ihre Texte vortragen. Eine wie auch immer geartete Ähnlichkeit mit der heute geübten profanen Musik, sei sie klassisch oder volkstümlich, wird man schwerlich feststellen können, gleich welcher Schule man zuhört. Eine oder beide Formen tonaler Äusserungen könnten sich im Laufe der letzten beiden Jahrtausende so verändert haben, dass ein Vergleich auf der Basis moderner Belege keine Rückschlüsse erlaubt. Eine Entwicklung hin zu neuen Stimmungsmustern (*jāti, rāga*) ist für die profane Musik leicht nachweisbar, da die Werke der Musiktheorie diese Zeitspanne umfassen. Nichts jedoch ändert sich hierbei im Umfang und Charakter der profanen Töne (*svara*). Auch die Beziehungen der Töne eines Stimmungsmusters untereinander sind heute noch erhalten oder nachvollziehbar. Bei den Sāmavedins steht man vor einem ähnlichen Zeugnis von Kontinuität: Die meisten tonalen Äusserungen sind mit den Aussagen auch der ältesten Texte vereinbar.

Der Unterschied zwischen profanem und vedischem Gesang liegt darin, dass die Töne der Sāmavedins keiner übergeordneten Harmonie folgen müssen und feste Tonhöhen zwar möglich aber nicht nötig sind. Man kann wohl zwischen "hohen" und "tiefen" Tönen unterscheiden, aber was die einzelnen Rezitatoren aus ihren Vorgaben machen, auch innerhalb eines einzigen Vortrags, kann sehr unterschiedlich ausfallen. Jairazbhoy spricht von drei häufigen Intervallen, einem "semitone of about 90 cents, a three-quarter tone of about 140 or 150 cents, and a whole tone generally just under 200 cents" (215). Das heisst, im Vergleich mit der temperierten Stimmung erscheinen Halb- und Ganzton leicht bis deutlich vermindert, der Dreivierteltton fällt ganz aus dem üblichen Schema heraus. Auch die indische profane Musik kennt Zwischentöne, doch nur in Übergängen, von wo aus man zu den Grundtönen mit ihrer festen Höhe zurückkehrt.

Ein grundlegender Unterschied zwischen Sāmaveda und *gāndharva* scheint also schon beim kleinstmöglichen Nenner festzustellen, dem Ton. Diese Unterschiede vergrössern sich noch, untersucht man, was die beiden Gruppen unter dem "Ton" verstehen, den sie gemeinsam als *svara* bezeichnen.

Auf der profanen Tonleiter bezeichnet *svara* einen einzelnen Ton in einer Reihe von sieben Tönen, denen Verhältnis untereinander für das aktuelle Stimmungsmuster festliegt. Im Rahmen eines sāmavedischen Textes dagegen steckt hinter einem *svara* eine Abfolge von Tönen über einer Silbe, "a musical phrase or motive", wie es Howard[9] in einer grundlegenden Untersuchung definierte. *Svaras* beider Gruppen werden einzeln mit Namen oder Symbolen gekennzeichnet, die ebenfalls keine Berührungspunkte zeigen. Die Reihe der profanen *svaras* z.B. beginnt mit *ṣaḍja*, darauf folgen *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhārva* und vier weitere Töne. *Ṣaḍja* wird zumindest heute bei der graphischen Wiedergabe mit einem *sa* fixiert, Punkte darunter oder darüber legen die Oktave fest. Ein vedischer *svara* dagegen kann ein "Akzent" sein, also z.B. *udātta*, *anudātta* oder *svarita*, der mittels Bewegungen der Hand bei der Rezitation und mittels Akzentuierungsstrichen in Handschriften kenntlich gemacht wird. Er kann aber auch, bei den Sāmavedins, zu einer ganz anderen Gruppe von fünf, sieben oder noch mehr *svaras* gehören, die mit den ṛgvedischen "Akzenten" auch namentlich rein gar nichts zu tun haben, und die mittels Fingerzeichen bei der Rezitation und durch Ziffern (Kauthumas) oder *akṣaras* (Jaiminīyas) in den Handschriften verdeutlicht werden.

Beim Grundbegriff des "Tons" stellen wir also Unterschiede fest, die prinzipieller Natur zu sein scheinen. Einen etwas anderen Eindruck erhält man, vergleicht man die Anzahl der Töne. Die 16, 32 oder 33 *akṣaras*, bzw. *svaras* der Jaiminīyas (s. Anm. 62) bilden eine Welt für sich, aber die Zahlen 1 bis 6, die von den Kauthumas-Rāṇāyanīyas für ihre sechs oder sieben *svaras* geschrieben werden, lassen eine Nähe zur profanen Skala denkbar erscheinen.

Die ältere Forschung[10] ging tatsachlich davon aus, dass auch ein vedischer *svara* letztlich nur als ein einziger fester Ton einer Tonleiter zu verstehen sei, dass man also die Zahlen 1 bis 6 austauschen könnte gegen profane Kürzel wie *sa, re, ga* etc., die die profanen Töne *ṣadja, ṛṣabha, gandharva* etc. kennzeichnen.

Den in Anm. 8 erwähnten Tonträgern sind Niederschriften der Sāmans mit ihrer Zahlennotation beigegeben, so dass sich Tonhöhen und Zahlen leicht vergleichen lassen. Beim Zuhören erkennt auch der Ungeübte bald ein Verhältnis von Zahlen und tonaler Bewegung, wobei bestimmte Tonhöhen durchaus mit einzelnen Zahlen in Verbindung zu stehen scheinen. Andererseits entspricht nie eine einzelne Zahl einem einzelnen Ton und die Töne in ihrer Gesamtheit sind nicht die reinen Töne einer Tonleiter. Die unterschiedlichen Möglichkeiten der Zuordnung von Zahlen und "phrases or motives" wurden von Howard 1977 und 1986[11] mustergültig dokumentiert und brauchen nicht weiter untersucht zu werden: Jede Phrase gehört zu einer bestimmten Zahl, andererseits kann eine Zahl mehrere Phrasen vertreten. Ein Verhältnis von Höhe der Zahl und Höhe der tonalen Bewegung gibt es nicht. Der status quo is also bestens dokumentiert. Der moderne Befund enthält nichts, was für eine Dependenz der profanen Tonleiter vom sāmavedischen *svara* sprechen könnte.

Ist aber der status quo für historische Fragestellungen überhaupt relevant? Howard ist entschieden der Ansicht, die moderne Art der Rezitation stelle die uranfängliche Rezitation des Sāmaveda dar, die sich bis heute dank einer "vitality of the traditions"[12] unverändert erhalten habe. Den Gedanken einer ursprünglichen Identität von sāmavedischem *svara* und einem festen Ton der profanen Musik lehnt er im Gegensatz zur älteren Forschung kathegorisch ab.

Verliesse man sich allein auf Howard, so könnte an diesem Punkt schon gesagt werden, dass eine Ableitung des *gāndhārva* vom Sāmaveda ausgeschlossen ist, weil es keinerlei Übereinstimmung auf tonaler Ebene je gegeben hat.

Versucht man jedoch im Sinne Howards seine "musikalischen Phrasen" in den vedischen Texten nachzuweisen, so findet man keine unmissverständlichen Belege. Statt dessen scheinen einige alte Texte just jenen Recht zu geben, die der gegenteiligen Ansicht sind.

Die relevanten Texte sind nicht sehr zahlreich. Sie lassen sich in zwei Gruppen gliedern, die chronologisch und inhaltlich auseinanderfallen. Die ältere Gruppe enthält ein Brāhmaṇa und Prātiśākhyas, die jüngere Śikṣās[13] und ein peripehäres Sūtra. Die Aussagen der älteren Texte gelten, zumindest was das Vokabular anbetrifft, auch heute noch. So bleibt die Frage, ob die Darstellungen der jüngeren Gruppe Reflexe einer einstmals gelebten Praxis sind oder eher theoretische Kunstgebilde.

2. Die svaras der Sāmavedins

Das Grundgerüst der sāmavedischen Rezitation bilden fünf *svaras*. Ordnungszahlen bezeichnen die ersten vier Töne. Es folgt als fünftes der "tiefe" Ton, *mandra*, so dass man annehmen muss, die vier erstgenannten seien mit einer höheren Frequenz verbunden. Zwei Besonderheiten namens *kruṣṭa* und *atisvārya* sind am oberen und unteren Ende dieser Skala angesiedelt.

Der *atisvārya*[14] liegt unterhalb des *mandra* und steht mit diesem in enger Beziehung, wie zwei Aussagen der Bṛhaddevatā zeigen. Einmal ist der *atisvāra* verbunden mit *mandrakarṣaṇa*,[15] dann dem Stand des *mandra* angenähert.[16] *karṣaṇa* bezeichnet ein "'Ziehen', Verlängern einer Silbe über ihre Zeitdauer und über ihren Hauptton hinaus durch Einschieben eines andern oder mehrerer anderer Zwischentöne".[17] Nach Howard[18] verrät die graphische Kennzeichnung der *karṣaṇa* Bewegung in den Handschriften ein "basic I-II-I pattern". Das Mātrālakṣaṇam[19] listet fünf Arten von *karṣaṇa*, vom "ersten" Ton zum zweiten, dritten, vierten oder *mandra* und *mandraś cātisvāryāt kṛṣyate*, "der *mandra* wird bis zum *atisvārya* gezogen". Zusammengenommen kann dies nur heissen, dass der *atisvārya* ein Ton war, der durch eine Absenkung des *mandra* Tones kurzfristig erklang, bevor die Bewegung wieder zum *mandra* stieg.[20]

Die Besonderheit am oberen Ende der Skala heisst *kruṣṭa*. Nach Howard (*Vāraṇasī*, 216), der sich auf Monier-Williams beruft, soll der Begriff "clamorous, loud" bedeuten, das heisst, er soll mit der Wurzel *kruś* zu verbinden sein. Es gibt nun einen Fall,[21] wo zum selben Thema ein Text von *kruṣṭa* spricht und ein anderer, älterer, von *kṛṣṭa*; das Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa 1,8 listet die sieben *svaras* mit *kruṣṭa* an der Spitze, das Saṃhitopaniṣadbrāhmaṇa 3,7 f. dagegen zählt *kṛṣṭa* zu den Akzenten. Graphisch sind die beiden Wörter leicht zu verwechseln, *kruṣṭa* ist zudem die südindische Aussprache von *kṛṣṭa*. Das heisst, dass schon sehr früh eine Verwechslung auf oralem Wege eingetreten sein konnte, ergänzt möglicherweise durch Fehllesungen in späterer Zeit. Da die Wurzel *kruś* in der gesamten sāmavedischen Literatur zu den Tönen keine Rolle spielt, die Wurzel *kṛṣ* mit der Bewegung *karṣaṇa* aber umso mehr, ist es nicht gewagt davon auszugehen, dass anstelle des Begriffs *kruṣṭa* ursprünglich überall *kṛṣta* verstanden wurde.[22] Der sogenannte *kruṣṭa* Ton ist eine Variante des "ersten" Tones,[23] die nur in zwei Sāmans vorkommen kann.[24] Graphisch wird er mit zwei Einsen ("11") bezeichnet, wohingegen der "erste" Ton nur durch eine einzige Eins angezeigt wird. Da ein *karṣaṇa* hinab zum "zweiten" Ton vom Mātrālakṣaṇam unter die normalen Bewegungen gerechnet wird, könnte der *kṛṣṭaḥ prathamaḥ* als Ausnahme ursprünglich leicht nach oben gezogen gewesen sein.

Das heisst, wir finden in den alten Texten der Sāmavedins sieben *svaras* vor, deren fünf das Grundgerüst der Melodien ausmachten. Ein Ausschlag nach oben, vom *prathama* ausgehend, war äusserst selten, ein Ausschlag nach unten begann und endete auf dem *mandra*. Ob allerdings diese *svaras* mit festen Tonhöhen verbunden waren oder eher als "phrases or motives" aufgefasst werden müssen, lässt sich aus der Aufzählung selbst nicht erkennen.

In jedem Fall aber scheinen die *svaras* ihrer relativen Tonhöhe nach geordnet zu sein. Es spricht dafür der Begriff *mandra*, aber auch der technische Ausdruck *pratyutkrama*, der mit dem Präfix *ud* eine aufwärtsgerichtete Bewegung impliziert, die etwa im MāL 18-26 als achtfach beschrieben wird: a) vom *atisvāra* zum *mandra*, vom *mandra* zum Vierten, c) vom Vierten zum Dritten, d) vom Dritten zum Zweiten, e) vom Zweiten zum Ersten, f) vom *mandra* über den Vierten zum Dritten, g) vom *mandra* über den Vierten und Dritten zum Zweiten, h) vom Dritten über den Zweiten zum Ersten. Das Präfix *ud* findet sich auch bei der Tonbezeich-nung *udūha*. Dies ist der dritte Ton über dem *atisvārya*, *mandra* oder Vierten, also der Dritte, Zweite bzw. Erste.[25] Nur Töne, die ihrer relativen Tonhöhe nach geordnet sind, lassen sich transponieren. Zu "a musical phrase or motive" will diese Art der Veränderung wenig passen.

3. Die svaras der Musiker

Die profane Musik kennt ebenfalls eine Tonleiter, auf der sieben Töne den Grundbestand bilden. Die Namen sind u.a. aus dem Nāṭyaśāstra wohlbekannt, gelten noch heute und haben nichts mit den vedischen gemein. Der Grundton heisst hier *ṣaḍja*, gefolgt von der Sekunde *ṛṣabha*, der Terz *gāndhārva*, der Quarte *madhyama*, der Quinte *pañcama*, der Sext *dhaivata* und der Septime *niṣāda*. Eine Identifizierung der fünf vedischen Töne plus ihrer zwei Besonderheiten mit den sieben Tönen der profanen Musik wäre denkbar, denn zumindest ihrer Anzahl nach lassen sich beide Gruppen miteinander verbinden.

Eine derartige Identifizierung findet sich in der Nāradīyaśikṣā (NārŚ)[26] 1.5, 1f., in einem Text also, den man zum Sāmaveda zählt:

> "Der erste Ton der Sāmasänger ist der *madhyama* Ton auf der Flöte. Der zweite ist *gāndhāra*, der dritte heisst *ṛṣabha*. 1. Den vierten nennt man *ṣaḍja*, der fünfte soll *dhaivata* sein. Der sechste heisst *niṣādas* und der siebte *pañcama*."[27]

SV	*profan*	
1. Ton	madhyama	F[28]
2.	gāndhāra	E
3.	ṛṣabha	D
4.	ṣaḍja	C
5.	dhaivata	A
6.	niṣāda	H
7.	pañcama	G

Ohne sie bei ihrem Namen zu nennen, stellt die NārŚ sieben sāmavedischen Tönen die sieben Töne der profanen Musik zur Seite. Den

Tönen Fünf und Sechs entsprechen mit *dhaivata* und *niṣāda* zwei Töne der Tonleiter, die jedoch in umgekehrter Reihenfolge aufgezählt werden.

Man muss sich nun fragen, was die NārŚ mit dieser Gleichung ausdrücken wollte. Sollen wir sie als eine blanke Identifikation verstehen, als ob die Sāmavedins eine Tonleiter benutzten?

Für diese Ansicht scheint das Bhāṣikasūtra der Vājasaneyins[29] zu sprechen, wo sich eine weitere derartige Identifikation findet. Die *svaras* der Sāmans werden im dritten Abschnitt so dargestellt:

> "Sieben (*svaras*) gibt es für Sāmans.16. (Sie heiszen:) *ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gandhara, madhyama, pañcama, dhaivata* und *niṣāda*.17. Deren Ursprünge.18. Aus dem Hals (kommt) *ṣaḍja*.19. Aus dem Schädel *ṛṣabha*.20. Aus dem Nasenloch *gāndhāra*.21. Aus der Brust *madhyama*.22. Aus Brust, Schädel und Hals *pañcama*.23. Aus der Stirn *dhaivata*.24. Von überall her *niṣāda*.25."

Hier haben wir die reinen Töne der profanen Notation in ihrer natürlicher Reihenfolge. Sie werden als die sieben Töne für Sāmans vorgestellt. Der Kommentator Anantadeva fühlte sich veranlasst, diese Gleichsetzung zu erklären. Seiner Ansicht nach gibt es zwei Sorten von Sāmans: einmal solche, die von Sāmavedins gesungen werden, und dann solche Sāmans, die Yajurvedins vorbehalten sind. Und nur letztere sollen mit Hilfe dieser sieben profanen Töne vorzutragen sein. Anantaveda verweist auf ŚB 9.1.2,43. Dort dürfen Sāmans beim Agnicayana im Rahmen des Śatarudriyam nur vom Adhvaryu gesungen werden.[30] Da wir sonst keine weiteren Quellen für eine andersgeartete Rezitation des Sāmaveda durch Yajurvedins haben, fällt es schwer, Anantadevas Erklärung ernst zu nehmen.

Gegen eine blanke Identifizierung von profanen und sāmavedischen *svaras* in der NārŚ könnten Gleichungen ähnlicher Art im selben Text sprechen. Laut NārŚ 12.4,1 z.B. glänzt *gāndhāra* wie Gold; den anderen Tönen sind ebenfalls Farben zugeordnet. Nach 1.4,3 haben die Töne unterschiedliche Affilationen zu den vier Ständen. *gāndhāra* wird als Vaiśya vorgestellt. Nach 1.5,3 sollen die Töne mit den Lauten einzelner Tiere vergleichbar sein; *gāndhāra* stammt demnach von Schafen und Ziegen. Diese Syllogismen gehören zu fast jedem vedischen Text und sind Zeugen eines beständigen Ringens um ein Ordnungsschema, in welchem man alle Erscheinungsformen der erlebbaren Welt unterbringen kann. Natürlich ist die Sekunde *gāndhāra* nicht golden, natürlich ist sie kein Vaiśya, und auch die Ziegen und Schafe meckern und blöken in einer Art, die mit dem reinen Ton überhaupt nichts zu tun hat. Der Autor der NārŚ wollte ein Ordnungsschema präsentieren, basierend auf der Zahl Sieben, mit Hilfe dessen man sich die Vielheit der Welt als Einheit vorstellen kann. Genau derselbe "philosophische" Gedanke könnte auch der Gleichung von sāmavedischen und profanen *svaras* zugrundeliegen.

Der heutige Vortrag des Sāmaveda, gleich welcher Śākhā und anlässlich gleich welchen *gānas*, gebraucht keine reinen Töne einer Tonleiter und es ist nicht vorzustellen, wie ein ehemaliger Gebrauch zur heutigen Rezitation hätte führen können. Deshalb scheint es vorerst sicherer, die Gleichung der *svaras* in der NārŚ ebenfalls als Ausdruck syllogistischen Denkens zu interpretieren. Anders aber als die Zuordnung zu Farben, *varṇas*, Tieren oder Göttern erscheinen die Verbindungen zwischen den beiden Arten von *svaras* noch an anderer Stelle im Text, bei den Fingerzeichen, auf die ausführlicher einzugehen nötig ist.

4. Die Fingerzeichen

Die Sāmavedins benutzen Verse als Grundlage ihrer Gesänge, und die meisten dieser Verse entstammen der Ṛksaṃhitā. Dort sind die einzelnen Silben akzentuiert, entweder als *udātta*, *anudātta* oder *svarita*, das heisst wörtlich "erhoben", "nicht erhoben" und "mit einer tonalen Bewegung versehen". Die Sāmavedins nun kümmern sich nicht im Geringsten um die ursprünglichen drei Akzente, denn jeder Vers kann bei ihnen nach unterschiedlichen Melodiemodellen gesungen werden. Diese Loslösung von den der gesprochenen Sprache eigenen Akzenten hin zu einer freien Vertonung scheint nun auch Rückwirkungen auf die Rezitation des Ṛgveda gehabt zu haben. Hier hatte die *saṃhita*-Rezitation schon die Verbindung zum ursprünglichen Vortragsrhythmus des Ṛṣis abgebrochen. Der Gedanke, auch die weitertradierten drei Akzente des Ṛgveda durch Töne einer Tonleiter zu ersetzen, wäre unter diesen Umständen sicher nicht revolutionär zu nennen gewesen.

Die NārŚ entwirft ein derartiges Bild von der ṛgvedischen Rezitation mit Hilfe der sāmavedischen Tonbezeichnungen. Auch hier wird man diese nur als Namen von einzelnen Tönen auffassen können, nicht als Bezeichnungen von "phrases or motives". Nehmen wir die Angaben der NārŚ ernst, so müssen wir sogar mit zwei unterschiedlichen Formen der Vertonung rechnen.

4.1. In NārŚ 1.1,9f. erfahren wir, dass die Kaṭhas,[31] die Kālāpas, die Taittirīyakas und die Āhvarakas unter den Yajurvedins, und offenbar alle Schulen des Ṛgveda und des Sāmaveda den ersten Ton verwendeten:

> *kaṭhakālāpavṛtteṣu taittirīyāhvarakeṣu ca,*
> *ṛgvede sāmavede ca vaktavyaḥ prathamaḥ svaraḥ.* 9.

Der folgende Vers sagt, dass zum Ṛgveda auch der zweite und dritte Ton gehört. Zusätzlich spricht der Text von einem Ton, der als Verbindung des oberen und des mittleren Tones zum König wird:[32]

> *ṛgvedas tu dvitīyena tṛtīyena ca vartate,*
> *uccamadhyamasaṃghātasvaro bhavati pārthivaḥ.* 1.1,10

Wenn die sāmavedischen Tonbezeichnungen hier wie im folgenden Text der NārŚ als mit profanen Tönen identisch aufzufassen sind, dann sagt die NārŚ, dass man den Ṛgveda auf drei Tönen zu singen habe, die absteigend aufeinander folgen, beginnend mit den höchsten "Ersten". Eine besondere Verbindung vom Ersten zum Zweiten wird als krönende Variante besonders hervorgehoben.

Eine Deutung dieser Darstellung ist nicht schwer. Der erste und der zweite Ton repräsentierten offenbar den *udātta* und den *anudātta*. Der Verbindungston, *saṃghātasvara*, kann nur den *svarita* bezeichnen. Die bekannte Stelle bei Pāṇini (1.2,29-32) definiert die Verbindung in gleicher Weise: *uccair udāttaḥ.29. nīcair anudāttaḥ.30. samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ.31. tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam. 32.*[33]

So bleibt nur noch zu klären, welche Aufgabe der "dritte", etwas tiefere Ton hat. Denn die drei Akzente sind durch zwei Töne sowohl in der NārŚ wie bei Pāṇini abgedeckt. Bei Pāṇini folgt aber ebenfalls ein etwas tieferer Ton, 1,2,40: *udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ.40.*. Wie so häufig, gehen auch hier die Interpretationen der Pāṇinīyas im Detail auseinander, sicher ist aber, dass ein *anudātta*, der unmittelbar vor einem *udātta* oder *svarita* steht, tiefer zu sprechen ist, als ein *anudātta* vor einem anderen *anudātta*. Letzterer trägt den Namen *pracaya*, oder *sarvānudātta*, falls er den Beginn eines Verses bildet.

Pāṇini und die Verse 1.1,9f. der NārŚ passen also bestens zusammmen, was den Umfang und die Art der Definition der Töne ṛgvedischer Rezitation betrifft. Ein besonderes Alter könnte dieser Definition auch deshalb zukommen, weil die NārŚ hier nur die Ordnungszahlen für die Töne benutzt.

4.2. Neben der eben vorgestellten Intonierung findet sich in der NārŚ aber noch eine zweite, im Kapitel über die Akzente des Ṛgveda, die offenbar mit der ersten nicht identisch ist. Sie verwendet nicht die bekannten sāmavedischen Termini, sondern die Namen der profanen Töne (NārŚ 8,8):

> *udātte niṣādagāndhārāv anudātte ṛṣabhadhaivatau,*
> *svaritaprabhavā hy ete ṣaḍjamadhyamapañcamāḥ.*
>
> "Im *udātta* (sind) *niṣāda* und *gāndhāra* (enthalten), im *anudātta ṛṣabha* und *dhaivata*, aus einem *svarita* entstehen *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* oder *pañcama*."

Ordnet man die Töne nach ihrer Höhe, so ergibt sich folgende Tabelle:

niṣāda B = *udātta*
dhaivata A = *anudātta*
pañcama G = *svarita*
madhyama F = *svarita*
gandhara E = *udātta*
ṛṣabha D = *anudātta*
ṣaḍja C = *svarita*

Auch hier finden wir den *udātta* an oberster Stelle, gefolgt vom *anudātta*. Der *svarita* wird jedoch nicht als Kombination der ersten beiden dargestellt, sondern folgt eine Note tiefer als dritter. Diese Reihenfolge ergibt sich zweimal.

Offenbar aus der NārŚ entnommen, erscheint dieser Vers auch in einigen Handschriften der Pāṇinīyaśikṣā (PāṇŚ) an 11. Stelle in der Version der Ṛgvedins. Aus metrischen und inhaltlichen Gründen zählte schon Ghosh[34] diesen Vers nicht zum echten Bestand des Textes. Immerhin belegt der Vers den Versuch, ṛgvedische Akzente mit den Tönen der profanen Musik zu verbinden.

Eine leicht abweichende Lesart findet sich in der Śaiśirīyaśikṣā (ŚaiŚ)[35] 173f., wo statt *udātte uccau* zu lesen ist und statt *anudātte nīcāv-*.[36] Das Metrum weist diese Lesart als die bessere aus.

Weitere Versuche, ṛgvedische *svaras* mit profanen Noten zu verbinden, lassen sich auch bei den Fingerzeichen, die die Rezitation begleiten,[37] nachweisen. In der Fassung der Ṛgvedins lautet der 43. Vers der PāṇŚ:

> *udāttam ākhyāti vṛṣo 'ngulīnāṃ*
> *pradeśinīmūlaniviṣṭamūrdhā,*
> *upāntamadhye svaritaṃ dhṛtaṃ ca*
> *kaniṣṭhikāyām anudāttam eva. 43*

> "Der Stier der Finger (= Daumen) bezeichnet den *udātta*, wenn seine Spitze die Wurzel des Zeigefingers berührt, (er bezeichnet) den *svarita* und den *dhṛta* am Ringfinger und in der Mitte, (er bezeichnet) den *anudātta* am kleinen Finger. 43."

upāntamadhye könnte natürlich ein *ṣaṣṭīsamāsa* sein.[38] Die Parallele in der ŚaiŚ 175ff mit der Lesart *antye ca madhye ca*[39] macht ebenso wie der in der PāṇŚ unmittelbar folgende Vers unmissverständlich klar, dass wir es mit einem Dvandva sg. zu tun haben.

Vier Finger markieren demnach, die Rezitation begleitend, die vier Akzente: Am Zeigefinger liegt der *udātta* und am entgegengesetzten Ende, am kleinen Finger, der *anudātta*. Dazwischen, am Ringfinger, wird der *svarita* angezeigt und am Mittelfinger der *dhṛta*. Dass *dhṛta* ein alter Name des *pracaya* ist, hat Whitney[40] ad Taittirīyaprātiśākhya (TPrā) 23, 17 nachgewiesen. Die NārŚ nennt den *pracaya dhārya* und den letzten *anudātta* vor dem *udātta nihata*.[41] Der unmittelbar folgende Vers sagt dasselbe mit anderen Worten:

> *udāttaṃ pradeśinīṃ vidyāt pracayaṃ madhyato ’ngulim,*
> *nihataṃ tu kaniṣṭhikyāṃ svaritopakaniṣṭikām. 44.*
>
> "Den Zeigefinger soll er als *udātta* verstehen, den Mittelfinger als *pracaya* (Akzent), den kleinen Finger als *nihata* (Akzent) und den Ringfinger als *svarita*. 44."

Der *pracaya* trägt hier seinen üblichen Namen, dagegen wird der *anudātta* direkt als *nihata* bezeichnet, als letzter vor dem *udātta*.[42] Eine Tabelle zeigt die Übereinstimmung der beiden Verse:

	PāṇŚ 43:		PāṇŚ 44:
Daumen	(dient als Zeiger)		
Zeigefinger	*udātta*		*udātta*
Mittelfinger	*dhṛta*	=	*pracaya*
Ringfinger	*svarita*		*svarita*
kleiner Finger	*anudātta*	=	*nihata*

Aus keinem der beiden Verse geht hervor, dass mit den einzelnen Akzenten bestimmte Töne verbunden wären. Weder sāmavedische noch profane Namen werden zur Identifizierung bemüht.

Ganz anders jedoch in NārŚ 1,7,3. Hier wird ein System von Handzeichen für Sāmavedins ausführlich dargestellt:

> *aṅguṣṭhasyottame kruṣṭo ’ṅguṣṭhe tu prathamaḥ svaraḥ,*
> *pradeśinyāṃ tu gāndhāra ṛṣabhas tadanantaram. 3.*
> *anāmikāyāṃ ṣaḍjas tu kaniṣṭhāyāṃ ca dhaivataḥ,*
> *tasyādhastāt tu yonyaḥ syān niṣādaṃ tatra vinyaset. 4.*
>
> "An der Spitze des Daumen (liegt) der Ton namens *kruṣṭa*, am Daumen (selbst) der "erste" Ton. Am Zeigefinger ist *gāndhāra*, *ṛṣabha* am folgenden (Mittelfinger). Am namenlosen (Ringfinger) ist *ṣaḍja*, am kleinen Finger *dhaivata*; darunter, an dessen Wurzel, soll man den *niṣāda* anordnen."

Man stellt eine Mischung aus alten sāmavedischen Termini (*kruṣṭa*, *prathama*) und Tönen der profanen Musik fest. Die Verteilung selbst ist wie folgt:

Daumenspitze	*kruṣṭa*	?
Daumen	*prathama*	F
Zeigefinger	*gāndhāra*	E
Mittelfinger	*ṛṣabha*	D
Ringfinger	*ṣaḍja*	C
kleiner Finger	*dhaivata*	A
dessen Wurzel	*niṣāda*	B

Man sieht zweierlei: Einmal müsste bei einer linearen Fortführung *kruṣṭa* identisch sein mit einem Ton oberhalb des *prathama*, zum anderen ist die Reihenfolge der Töne am kleinen Finger wieder umgekehrt.

Kombiniert man NārŚ 1.51f, wo die Gruppe der sāmavedischen Termini mit der profanen Tonleiter gleichgesetzt wurden, und NārŚ 1.7,3f, dann erhält man eine Zuordnung von sāmavedischen Tönen, profanen Tönen und Fingerstellungen:

NārŚ 1.7, 3+4			NārŚ 1.5, 1+2
Daumenspitze	*kruṣṭa*	?	
Daumen	*prathama*	F	prathama = madhyama
Zeigefinger	*gāndhāra*	E	dvitīya = gāndhāra
Mittelfinger	*ṛṣabha*	D	tṛtīya = ṛṣabha
Ringfinger	*ṣaḍja*	C	caturtha = ṣaḍja
kleiner Finger	*dhaivata*	A	pañcama = dhaivata
dessen Wurzel	*niṣāda*	B	ṣaṣtha = niṣāda
		G	saptama = pañcama

Verbinden wir nun probehalber einmal dieses Modell mit dem, was in der PāṇŚ über die Fingerstellungen für die Akzente der Ṛgvedins gesagt wird:

	PāṇŚ 43/44:	NārŚ (s.o.):
Daumen	(dient als Zeiger)	D. = 1. Ton = madhyama
Zeigefinger	udātta	Z. = 2. Ton = gāndhāra
Mittelfinger	pracaya (= anudātta)	M. = 3. Ton = ṛṣabha
Ringfinger	svarita (dhṛta)	R. = 4. Ton = ṣaḍja
kleiner Finger	anudātta (nihata)	K. = 5. Ton = dhaivata

Ein Vergleich mit dem zuerst genannten Vers NārŚ 8,8 (und PāṇŚ 11), der die Akzente des Ṛgveda vertont, zeigt eine völlige Übereinstimmung mit der Art und Weise, wie sāmavedische Rezitation Handzeichen und profane Noten benutzen soll:

	PāṇŚ 43/44:	*NārŚ 8, 8 (PāṇŚ 11):*	*NārŚ (s.o.):*
für:	RV	RV	SV
Daumen:		svarita = madhyama	1.Ton = madhyama
Zeigefinger:	udātta	udātta = gāndhāra	2.Ton = gāndhāra
Mittelfinger:	pracaya	anudātta = ṛṣabha	3.Ton = ṛṣabha
Ringfinger:	svarita	svarita = ṣaḍja	4.Ton = ṣaḍja
kleiner Finger:	anudātta	anudātta = dhaivata	5.Ton = dhaivata
		udātta = niṣāda	
		svarita = pañcama	

Wenn wir allein die unverdächtigen Verse PāṇŚ 43 + 44 gelten lassen, hören wir nur etwas über die Zuordnung von Fingerzeichen und Akzenten. Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass dieses System durch Termini der profanen Notation erklärt oder ergänzt werden musste. In der NārŚ dagegen finden wir einmal eine Identifikation der Fingerzeichen mit den profanen Noten, dann eine Identifikation der ṛgvedischen Akzente mit profanen Noten und zusätzlich eine Identifikation sāmavedischer und profaner Töne. An keiner Stelle ist ein Widerspruch festzustellen.

Die einzige Merkwürdigkeit, die falsche Reihenfolge von *dhaivata* und *niṣāda*, könnte sich daraus erklären, dass eine ursprüngliche Gleichsetzung nur sechs Töne (ohne den *kṛṣṭa*) umfassen sollte. Da die profane Tonleiter vom tiefsten Ton ausgeht, musste eine Reihe bei *sādja* beginnen und bei *dhaivata* enden. Der *niṣāda* war überflüssig. Eine nachträgliche Einfügung des *kṛṣṭa* erforderte einen siebten profanen Ton, der zwar in der richtigen Sequenz (nach *dhaivata*), aber ohne Berücksichtigung der Umkehrung eingereiht wurde.

Die Gegenüberstellung zeigte die Stringenz dieses Systems, auch hinsichtlich der umgekehrten Töne *dhaivata* und *niṣāda*, zumindest innerhalb der NārŚ. Sollten sich jemals Ṛgvedins daran versucht haben, dann wären sie gezwungen gewesen, ihre vier Akzente von *udātta* bis hinab zum normalen *anudātta* auf den Tönen *gāndhāra, ṛṣabha, ṣaḍja* und *dhaivata* zu intonieren, also auf der Basis eines Moll Akkordes mit der Terz für den *pracaya*.

Angesichts des ersten Systems, bei Pāṇini und den Versen der NārŚ 1.1,9f. für den Ṛgveda bezeugt, das so viel Ähnlichkeit hat mit der ṛgvedischen Rezitation von heute, wird man die Identifikation von Fingerzeichen und profanen Noten nur als akademischen Versuch werten können, die Rezitation der Ṛgvedins in ein theoretisches Modell einzubinden. Die Stringenz dieses zweiten Systems weist auf die Konsequenz seiner Verfasser hin, sie beweist aber nicht, dass es auch praktiziert wurde.

5. Die Eigendynamik theoretischer Modelle

Welche Eigendynamik die Identifikationsspielereien gewisser Autoren annehmen konnte, ersieht man aus einer Anleihe beim Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa (SVB), die sich der Autor der Bṛhaddevatā (BD) gestattete.[43]

SVB 1.1.14 verbindet die sāmavedischen *svaras* mit diversen Gottheiten.[44] Auf den "vierten" Ton folgen *mandra* und *atisvārya*, wie es die Regel ist. In der BD 8,116-120 wird zusätzlich ein "fünfter" Ton eingefügt, der Sūrya zugeordnet ist.[45] So entsteht eine Reihe von acht statt sieben Tönen.

SVB/BD	*SVB*	*BD*
kruṣṭa	prajāpati/brahma/viśvedevāḥ	vaiśvadeva
prathama	ādityas	ādityas
dvitīya	sādhyas	sādhyas
tṛtīya	agni	aśvins
caturtha	vāyu	vāyu
-/pañcama		sūrya
mandra/ṣaṣṭa	soma	soma
atisvārya	mitravaruṇa	mitravaruṇa

pañcama ist als Ordnungszahl die einzige Tonbezeichnung, die in beiden Listen, der sāmavedischen wie der profanen, gleichermassen vorkommen kann. Die NārŚ 5,2 nennt *dhaivata* den "fünften", und in der profanen Notation heisst die fünfte Saite auf der *vīṇā* so, welche die Quinte hervorbringt. Dieses Doppelleben könnte für die Einfügung verantwortlich sein.

Die Einfügung an sich zeigt ein relativ sorgloses Verhältnis des Autors zur Anzahl der *svaras* der Sāmavedins. Genauso sorglos konnte man offenbar mit den umgekehrten Tönen *niṣāda* und *dhaivata* leben. Ein noch krasseres Beispiel bietet die Māṇḍūkīśikṣā (MāṇŚ) des Atharvaveda.[46] Hier erscheinen die Fingerzeichen in der Reihenfolge *kruṣṭa* (?), *madhyama* (F), *gāndhāra* (E), *pañcama* (G), *ṣaḍja* (C), *dhaivata* (A) und *niṣāda* (H).[47] Die Umkehrung der beiden letzten gehört offenbar zur gewachsenen Tradition, die Ersetzung von *ṛṣabha* (D) durch *pañcama* (G) jedoch lässt sich nur durch Unkenntnis erklären.

Schlechte Erinnerung oder Unkenntnis erklärt auch eine Abweichung in der NārŚ, wo ihr Autor aus dem Taittirīyaprātiśākhya (TPrā) zitiert. Das Prātiśākhya nennt in Sūtra 23,12 nur die alten sāmavedischen Bezeichnungen von *kṛṣṭa* (so!) bis *atisvārya*. Die Sūtras 14 und 15 lauten: *dvitīyaprathamakṛṣṭās traya āhvārakasvarāḥ.14. mandrādayo dvitīyāntaś catvāras taittirīyakāḥ.15*, "der "zweite", der "erste" und *kṛṣṭa* bilden die drei Töne der Āhvārakas; die vier Töne vom *mandra* (hinauf) bis zum "zweiten" sind der Taittirīya-Schule zugehörig."

Die NārŚ macht daraus Vers 1. 1, 11:

tṛtīyaprathamakruṣṭān kurvanty āhvārakāḥ svarān,
dvitīyādyāṁs tu mandrāntāṁs taittirīyāś caturaḥ svarān. 11.

Der "zweite" Ton der Āhvārakas hat sich zum "dritten" gewandelt.

Der "zweite" Ton der Āhvārakas hat sich zum "dritten" gewandelt.

Auch jüngere Autoren, wie etwa Bhavatrāta zum Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra,[48] Sāyaṇa zum Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa (*passim*) oder die Kommentatoren zum Puṣpasūtra, gebrauchen ausschliesslich die alten Namen, wenn sie einzelne Töne der Sāmavedins bezeichnen wollen. Nur wenige Texte dagegen, die NārŚ, die MāṇŚ und das Bhāṣikasūtra, nennen die profanen Töne an Stelle der *svaras* der Opfertexte. Betrachtet man beide Gruppen, so hat man auf der einen Seite junge Texte brahmanischer Śāstrins, von denen nur die NārŚ eine Beziehung zum Sāmaveda aufweist, und auf der anderen alte und jüngere Texte mit Autorität für Vaidikas. Kein Prātiśākhya kennt andere als die alten Namen und keiner der drei problematischen Texte, in denen mit den Namen der profanen Tonleiter argumentiert wird, ist von Relevanz für praktizierende Sāmavedins.

6. Ein Zeitrahmen

Da die Namen der profanen Töne in der Zeit nach diesen drei Texten nie wieder im Zusammenhang mit dem Sāmaveda genannt werden,[49] würde man gerne wissen, wann die Gruppe der drei problematischen Texte entstand. Die NārŚ, die MāṇŚ und das Bhāṣikasūtra sind allesamt schwer zu datieren. Der sicher einflussreichste Text dieser Gruppe, die NārŚ, ist zwar aus diversen Vorlagen zusammengestellt, in seiner Gesamtheit aber immerhin relativ einzuordnen. Bislang wurde er ohne Angabe von Gründen in das 1 Jh.n.Chr. datiert,[50] andere sprechen von "dates from the first to the fifth centuries A.D. but with numerous later accretions".[51] Sucht man nach Argumenten im Text selbst, dann zeigen Hinweise auf geschriebene vedische Texte[52] in Verbindung mit dem Lehnwort *pustaka*, dass ein Datum vor dem 1 Jh.v.Chr. ausgeschlossen ist. Andererseits wurde der Text vollständig[53] in das Nāradapurāṇa (50, 16-236) übernommen. Dessen Übersetzer Tagare (22) erschliesst über die anderen, besser fassbaren *vedāṅga*-Kapitel ein Datum zwischen dem 7. und dem 9. Jh.n.Chr., für diesen Teil des Purāṇas. Wir befinden uns so in einer Zeitspanne, in der auch die wichtigsten alten musiktheoretischen Werke wie das Nāṭyaśātra oder das Dattilam entstanden.

7. Das Verhältnis von Vaidikas und Theater

Die NārŚ gebraucht dieselbe Terminologie wie diese musiktheoretischen Werke und widmet ihr fast ein Drittel des Platzes.[54] Wir können davon ausgehen, dass es in den Jahrhunderten nach der Zeitenwende zu einer Ausbildung und Verbreitung dieser musiktheoretischen Texte kam. Der Autor der NārŚ präsentiert sich uns als eine Mischung aus einem Śāstrin mit Zugang zu altem vedischem Material und einem Kenner der Musik, der Neues adaptiert und aufbereitet. Er misst der inhaltlichen Geschlossenheit des Präsentierten keinen allzu grossen Wert bei und stellt Aussagen nebeneinander, die sich nicht selten widersprechen. Besonders dankbar müssen wir ihm für die Bewahrung von Vers 2,8,30 sein, aus dem hervor-geht, dass die Begeisterung für das Theater einst ähnlich negativ bewertet wurde wie Spielleidenschaft, Schürzenjagd und Trägheit.[55] Das Theater, von dem hier so abwertend gesprochen wird, ist aber der Anlass, jene Töne erklingen zu lassen, die ich - im Gegensatz zum Sāmaveda - als profan bezeichnet habe und die der Autor der NārŚ so gut kannte.

Die Benutzung sāmavedischen Materials machte aus der unverbindlichen Kompilation einen Text, der als angebliche Śikṣā zum Sāmaveda in den Kreisen der Śāstrins weite Verbreitung fand. Praktizierende Sāmavedins jedoch scheinen immer ohne ihn ausgekommen zu sein.[56] Alte Listen des Unterrichtsstoffs der Sāmavedins kennen keine Śikṣā,[57] die drei angeblichen Śikṣās zum Sāmaveda, NārŚ, Gautamī- und Lomaśīśikṣā,[58] tauchen in keiner Beschreibung des Textgutes vedischer Śākhās auf; die beiden letzten enthalten keine Identifikationen von *svaras* im Stille der NārŚ.

Unter diesen Umständen erscheinen die profanen Töne in der angeblich sāmavedischen Śikṣā in einem neuen Licht: Möglicherweise wollte der Kompilator der NārŚ gar nicht Vedisches durch Profanes erklären, sondern gedachte, umgekehrt, Profanes durch Vedisches aufwerten. Die Gleichsetzung von vedischen *svaras* mit den Noten der Tonleiter waren für Sāmavedins ohne jegliche Relevanz. Eine wie immer geartete Identifikation des vedischen Gesangs mit profanen Tönen nutzte nur den Sängern und Musikern des *nāṭaka*, bzw. deren brahmanischen Gruppenleitern. Die latente Abwertung dieser Darbietungen durch die Orthodoxie war sogar in einem Vers der NārŚ zur Sprache gekommen. Ganz deutlich wird sie in Baudhāyanas Dharmasūtra 2.1,2,5 (Hultzsch/Bühler 13) ausgesprochen, wo die Vergehen aufgelistet werden, die zu einem Verlust der Kaste führen (*upapātakāni*). Hierzu zählen die Beschäftigung mit Medizin (*bheṣajakaraṇaṃ*), mit Dorfopfern (*grāmayajanaṃ*), mit der Bühnenkunst (*rangopajīvanaṃ*) und das Anleiten zur Schauspielerei (*nāṭyācāryatā*). Brahmanen als Musiker kennt auch die Pali-Literatur,[59] doch verwehrten ihnen die Standesgenossen die Anerkennung.[60] Wir haben damit ausreichend Nachricht vom schlechten Renommee, das brahmanische Musiker oder Musiklehrer bei ihren opfernden Standesbrüdern genossen.

Wenn der Kompilator sich durch gute Kenntnis der Musiktheorie ausweisen kann, andererseits beim vedischen Material gelegentlich Dinge verquer darstellt, dann liegt es nahe, ihn näher bei jenen Brahmanen anzusiedeln, die sich mit *nāṭyācāryatā* abgaben als bei den orthodoxen, jeder Musik abgeneigten Vaidikas.

Ein derart modernistischer Brahmane, der unter Missachtung der Wertvorstellungen der Vaidikas aus altem vedischem Material und aus dem Grundstock der aktuellen musiktheoretischen Spruchdichtung eine Śikṣā zusammenschreibt, passt viel besser zur vorliegenden NārŚ als ein prak-tizierender Sāmavedin. Über Jahre hinweg einstudiertes Fachvokabular wie die Bezeichnungen der sāmavedischen *svaras* würde kein gestandener Opferpriestern verwässern wollen durch eine

Annäherung an die Termino-logie lasziver Musikanten, die auch in der Sache durch nichts berechtigt wäre.

8. Folgerungen

1. Neben den Namen der ṛgvedischen Akzente findet sich eine vollausgebildete Reihe von Namen für die Töne der Sāmavedins zuerst im Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa und in einigen Prātiśākhyas. Fünf dieser Töne scheinen durchaus ihrer Höhe nach geordnet gewesen zu sein; zwei davon entwickeln sich aus Varianten des höchsten und tiefsten Tones heraus. Bei den Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas leben alle ihre Namen bis heute weiter, bei den Jaiminīyas bewahrte noch Bhavatrāta (7. Jh.n.Chr.?)[61] sechs der sieben alten Bezeichnungen. Wie weit sich bei einzelnen Gruppen auch die ursprünglichen Tonhöhen bzw. Intervalle erhalten haben, wird aus dem Texten heraus nie zu erschliessen sein. Die komplexen "musical phrases or motives" der Jaiminīyas dagegen müssen als Folgeentwicklungen verstan-den werden. Ihre heute 33 *svaras* umfassende Liste von Tonmodulationen in teils sonst ungeläufigen Termini ist das beste Zeugnis dieser Entwicklung.[62]

2. Mit dem Aufkommen der Musiktheorie und einer Blüte der Schauspielkunst hängt die Kompilation der NārŚ zusammen. Es ist denkbar, dass deren Autor aus seinem brahmanischen Hintergrund Material zusammentrug, um im Besitz eines, seinem Namen nach vedischen Textes eine Tätigkeit im Dienste des *nāṭaka* aufzuwerten. Der Umstand, dass er seinen Text eine Śikṣā nannte, könnte Indiz für ein relativ hohes Alter sein. Das Nāṭyaśāstra und alle vergleichbaren Werke versuchen nicht mehr, die Stilformen vedischer *śāstras* zu kopieren. Das Wissen über die technischen Details der Musik wird auch später noch als *gāndharvaveda* bezeichnet und den vier Veden als fünfter angefügt: von Musikern freilich, und nie von Opferpriestern.

3. Die Identifizierung von sāmavedischen und profanen Tönen scheint bei einigen Autoren Anklang gefunden zu haben, die aber allesamt nicht zum Sāmaveda gehören. Der Autor der MāṇŚ des AV kopierte die NārŚ, der Autor des Bhāṣikasūtra des weissen YV übernahm nur den Gedanken, nicht auch die Eigenarten des Pioniers. Ein Vers der NārŚ wird später auch in einige Handschriften der PāṇŚ des RV getragen.

4. Ungerührt von den Spekulationen, die im Dunstkreis der NārŚ gehandelt wurden, tradierten opfernde Sāmevedins ihre Gesänge weiter. Wie sich ihre *svaras* ursprünglich anhörten, wird nie zu ergründen sein. Anzeichen für relativ festliegende Tonhöhen hatten sich finden lassen; der Begriff *udūha* ist ohne solche nicht zu verstehen. Andererseits ist eine Entwicklung von einer Tonleiter hin zur freien Rezitation ohne Tonhöhen mit Hilfe von "motives and phrases" nicht vorstellbar. Wenn eine alte Rezitation nur geringfügig schlichter klang als die Rezitation der Kautumas-Rāṇāyanīyas von heute, wären sowohl Begriffe wie *udūha* erklärlich wie auch der status quo.

Die alte Terminologie der Sāmavedins brauchte nie durch eine neue ersetzt zu werden. Natürliche Entwicklungen führten im Laufe von Jahrhunderten von einfachen, ihrer relativen[63] Höhe nach geordneten *svaras* zu komplexeren Modulationen bei den Kauthumas-Rāṇāyanīyas, ein bewuszser Ausbau scheint zum Formenreichtum der Jaiminīyas geführt zu haben.

5. Es gibt keinerlei Anzeichen dafür, dass der Sāmaveda bei der Geburt des *gāndharva* Pate gestanden hat. Andererseits hatte auch die profane Musik so gut wie keinen Einfluss auf die Weise, wie der Sāmaveda gesungen wurde. Von kurzlebigen Bestrebungen abgesehen[64] blieb beim Sāmaveda alles beim Alten, sieht man von Änderungen im Detail bei den Modulationen ab. Der Versuch des Kompilators der NārŚ, im Rahmen einer syllogistischen Weltformel Brücken zu schlagen, führte zur Legende einer Dependenz der Systeme, die bis heute weiterlebt.

NOTES

1. 222ab *ity evam ṛṣibhir gītaṃ sāmavedasamudbhavam*. Dieselbe Aussage auch im NŚ 31,369 nach Manmohan Ghosh, doch kennen die anderen Editionen diesen Vers nicht.
2. SR 7,114: *ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni kriyante nānyathā yathā.114. tathā sāmasamudbhūtā jātayo vedasaṃmitāḥ*; R.K. Shringy: *Sangīta-Ratnākara of Śārṅgadeva*, I. Delhi 1978, 367.
3. Behandelt von Mukund Lath: *A Study of Dattilam*. New Delhi 1978, 145f.
4. Einige neuere Beispiele: Swami Prajnanananda: *Historical Development of Indian Music*, Calcutta 1973, 45ff.; N.A. Jairazbjoy: "Music". A.L. Basham (Hg.): *A Cultural History of India*. Oxford 1975, 213ff; Emmie te Nijenhuis, *Musicological Literature* (HIL VI, 1), Wiesbaden 1977, 3ff.; Heinz Zimmermann: "Die vedische Phase (ca. 1500 bis ca. 300 v.Chr.); Zeit des Umbruchs und der Bilanzen (ca. 400 v.Chr. bis ca. 400 n.Chr.); Aufkommen der ausservedischen Musik". In: Hans Oesch (Hg.), *Aussereuropäische Musik*, 1 (= Carl Dalhaus [Hg.]: *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, 8). Laaber 1984, 199-217.
5. BDhS 1.11.(21),7 *vāte pūtigandhe nīhāre nṛttagītavāditra-ruditasāmaśabde tāvantaṃ kālaṃ* (6: *anadhyāyaḥ*); GDhS 2.7,7 *vāṇabherī-mṛdangagartāraśabeṣu*. Die brahmanischen Listen treffen sich in vielem mit den Rezitationsreglen der Jainas, wie Nalini Balbir, "*Anadhyāya* as a Jaina topic. The precepts." *WZKS* 34 (1990), 49-77, gezeigt hat. Versteht man *gandhavva-* (S. 66, 68) als Skt. *gāndharva*, "Musik", so ist eine weitere Parallele gewonnen.

6. Manu 4,124cd *sāmavedaḥ smṛtaḥ pityas tasmāt tasyāśucir dhvaniḥ.*
7. Vgl. VāsDhŚ 13,21 *vāṇaśabde* (8: *anadhyāyaḥ*), das für alle gilt, mit VāsDhŚ 13,30 *ṛgyajuṣāṃ ca sāmaśabde vā.*
8. John Levy and Frits Staal: *The Four Vedas.* ASCH Mankind Series, AHM 4126 (Folkways FE 4126); Alain Daniélou: *The Music of India I, Vedic Recitation and Chant* (Unesco Collection). Bärenreiter BM-30-L-2006; zwei Kassetten "Chants and Recitations of the Agnicayana" zu Frits Staal (Hg.): *Agni. The Vedic ritual of the fire altar.* Berkeley 1983.
9. Wayne Howard: *Sāmavedic Chant*, New Haven 1977, 31ff.
10. A. Weber: "Ueber die Metrik der Inder". *ISt* 8.1863, 261. Anm. * vermutete "eine von hohen zu niedrigen Tönen *absteigende* Scala"; A.C. Burnell: *The Ārsheyabrāhmaṇa.* Mangalore 1876, xlii: "The seven notes are marked by the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and the last (really never used) by 7 or ∩.

    Of these the first = F and the rest E, D, C, B, A, G."; ders.: *The Samhitopanishad-brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda.* Mangalore 1877, xix.
11. Wayne Howard: *Veda recitation in Vārāṇasī*, Delhi 1986.
12. Howard *Vāraṇasī*, 228.
13. Das chronologische Verhältnis zwischen den ältesten Śikṣās und den Prātiśākhyas hat F. Kielhorn ("Remarks on the Śikshâs", *IA* 5.1876, 141-144, 193-200) klar beschrieben.
14. Howard *Vārāṇasī* 216: "The second (*atisvārya, anusvāra*) is used in only a secondary capacity and may have originally signified nazalization, as its name indicates." Fox Strangways S. 260 "lowest note of the full scale, ... clearly an 'extra' note".
15. BD 8,113cd *mandrakarṣaṇasaṃyuktam atisvāram praśaṃsati.*8, 120ab: *vikarṣeṇa tu mandrasya yukto 'tisvārya ucyate.*
16. BD 8, 120cd *sa maitrāvaruṇo jñeyo mandrasthānasamāhitaḥ.*
17. Richard Simon: *Das Puṣpasūtra mit Einleitung und Übersetzung* (AKBAW 23, 3), München 1908, 518 (Kl. Schr., Wiesbaden 1979, 506).
18. Vāraṇasī 324.
19. B.R. Sharma: *Mātrālakṣaṇa with Commentary* (Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth Series, 11), Tirupati 1969, 13.
20. Da *svāra* eine Bewegung am Ende einer Melodie bezeichnet, kann man den *atisvārya* mit der Schlussbewegung der klassischen indischen Musik vergleichen, wo ein sa kurz zum re abgesenkt wird. Auf dieses finale Absenken wird auch ChU 1.4,4 angespielt, wo zuerst ein Sāman mit *oṁ* begonnen wird (*om iti hy udgāyati*, 1) um ihn am Ende mit *oṁ* ausklingen zu lassen: *yadā vā ṛcam āpnoty om ity evātisvarati evaṁ sāmaivaṃ yajuḥ.* So ist dann auch PB 8. 9, 14 und 13. 12, 11 zu erklären.
21. Siehe S. 154.
22. So schon Weber 261 Anm. **.

23. Heutzutage ist er "an almost inaudible variety of the first note", Howard *Chant*, 106.
24. Puṣpasūtra 9, 26: *paṃcasv eva tu gāyaṃti bhūyiṣṭhāni svareṣu tu, sāmāni ṣaṭsu cānyāni saptasu dve tu kauthumāḥ*. Anders die Sāmaprakāśikā (nach Burnell xix, Anm. 2): *ekaṃ saptasvarayutaṃ vede sāma prakīrtitam 'mo ṣu tvā' (1.284), na dvitīyam iti kauthume*.
25. Puṣpasūtra 8,90 *caturthamandrātisvāryāṇāṃ svarāṇāṃ dvyantaram uccam uccam udūhaṃ*; Saṃhitopaniṣadbrāhmaṇa 3, 2.
26. Usha R. Bhise (Hg.): *Nāradīyā Śikṣā with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Śobhākara* (BORI Research Unit Series, 8), Poona 1986.
27. *yaḥ sāmagānāṃ prathamaḥ sa veṇor madhyamaḥ svaraḥ, yo dvitīyaḥ sa gāndhāras tṛtīyas tv ṛṣabhaḥ smṛtaḥ.1. caturthaḥ ṣaḍja ity āhuḥ pañcamo dhaivato bhavet, ṣaṣṭho niṣādo vijñeyaḥ saptamaḥ pañcamaḥ smṛtaḥ.2.*
28. Ich gebe zusätzlich hier wie im folgenden Entsprechungen unserer Tonleiter, doch nur zur besseren Orientierung. Die Relationen der Intervalle und die absoluten Tönhöhen sind nicht vergleichbar.
29. *bhāṣikapariśiṣṭasūtraṃ*, S. 3423-3440 der Kalyāṇa-Bombay Ausgabe des ŚB Bd. 5; Franz Kielhorn: "Die Bhâshikavṛitti des Mahâsvâmin", *ISt* 10.1868, 421f.
30. *yad vā cayane nānyo 'dhvaryyór gāyet (...) iti yajurvede 'pi sāmagānaṃ vihitam*. Auf einen anderen Fall verweist Eggeling in der Anm. zu ŚB. 10.1.1, 5.
31. Vgl. Michael Witzel: "Materialien zu den vedischen Schulen I. Über die Caraka-Śākhā", *StII* 8/9 (1982/83), 211.
32. Bhise übersetzt "In everyday usage, a combination of high and medium notes takes place".
33. Vgl. NārŚ 2.5,2 ab *svara uccaḥ svaro nīcaḥ svaraḥ svarita eva ca*; auch hier sind "hoch" und *svarita* nicht identisch.
34. Manmohan Ghosh (ed. & trans.): *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā or the Śikṣā Vedāṅga Ascribed to Pāṇini*, Calcutta 1938 [repr. Delhi 1986], 56. Verglichen wurde A. Weber: "Die Pâninîyâ Çixâ", ISt 4.1857, 345-371; Rudraprasād Avasthī: *Paṇiniyaśikṣā of Pāṇini* (Haridas Sanskrit Series, 59), Vārāṇasī 1972.
35. Tarapada Chowdhury: "Saiśirīya-Śikṣā". *Journal of Vedic Studies* 2, 197ff. (repr. Raghu Vira: *Vedic Studies*. New Delhi 1981, 403ff.).
36. *uccau niṣādagāndhārau nīcāv ṛṣabhadhaivatau, śeṣās tu svaritā jñeyāḥ ṣaḍjamadhyamapañcamāḥ*.
37. Diese sind im Bild dargestellt z.B. in Howard, *Chant*; Wayne Howard: "Music and Accentuation in Vedic Literature", *The World of Music* 24 (1982), 23-33; Rishishankar Agnihotri (Hg.): *The Sāmavedīyaruddrajapavidhi*, Vārāṇasī: Chowkhamba Vidyabhawan, 1963, 14f.

38. Weber und Ghosh (76) lesen *dhṛtaś* und übersetzen "Den svarita, wenn an die Mitt' gehalten" (365), bzw. "held at the middle of the ringfinger" (76). Avasthī liest wie viele Handschriften Ghoshs *dhṛtaṃ*.
39. Aus metrischen Gründen ist das letzte *ca* zu streichen.
40. William D. Whitney: "The Tâittirîya-Prâtiçâkhya, with its commentary, the Tribhâshyaratna", JAOS 9.1868, 1-469 (repr. Delhi 1973), 412.
41. NārŚ 2.7,8 *svaritātparāṇi yāni syur dhāryāṇy akṣarāṇi tu, sarvāni pracayasthāny upodāttam nihanyate.*
42. S. Anm. 41 und vgl. Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya 4,138; Nārś 1.7,19; Kātyayanas Vārttika 5 zu Pāṇ. 8. 2, 28.
43. Eine andere Anleihe betrifft SVB 1.1,8, widerzufinden BD 8.112-116ab ff; vgl. NārŚ 1. 7, 1f.
44. SVB 1.1,14: *kruṣṭaḥ prājāpatyo brāhmo vā vaiśvadevo vādityānāṃ prathamaḥ sādhyānāṃ dvitīyo 'gnes tṛtīyo vāyoś caturthaḥ saumo mandro mitrāvaruṇayor atisvāryah*; vgl NārŚ 1.5,12-18.
45. BD 8, 116ff:
vaiśvadevaḥ svaraḥ kruṣṭo nityaṃ yo mūrdhni tiṣṭhati. 116.
tālavyaḥ prathamaḥ sāmnāṃ svara ādityadaivataḥ,
svaro dvitīyaḥ sādhyānāṃ bhruvor deśaṃ samāśritaḥ. 117.
āśvinas tu tṛtīyo 'tra svaraḥ karṇau samāśritaḥ,
caturthas tv atra vāyavyo nāsikyaḥ svara ucyate. 118.
pañcamas tu svaraḥ proktaś cākṣuṣaḥ sūryadaivataḥ,
yas tu sāmasvaraḥ ṣaṣṭaḥ sa saumyo mandra ucyate. 119.
vikarṣeṇa tu mandrasya yukto 'tisvārya ucyate,
sa maitrāvaruṇo jñeyo mandrasthānasamāhitaḥ. 120.
46. Bhagavaddatta (Hg.), *atharvavedīyā māṇḍūkīśikṣā*, 1921, repr. New Delhi (Pāṇini Vaidika Granthamala, 8) 1982.
47. MāṇŚ 2, 1-2: *bāhyāṅguṣṭhaṃ tu kruṣṭaṃ syād anguṣṭhe madhyamaḥ svaraḥ, prādeśinyāṃ tu gāndhāro madhyamāyāṃ tu pañcamaḥ.1. anāmikāyāṃ ṣaḍjas tu kaniṣṭhāyāṃ tu dhaivataḥ, tasyādhastāt tu yo 'nyaḥ niṣāda iti taṃ viduḥ. 2.*
48. Premnidhi Shastri (Hg.): *Jaiminīya-Śrauta-Sūtra-Vṛtti of Bhavatrāta* (Śata-Piṭaka Series, 40). New Delhi 2022 vikrama, 258. Bhavatrāta spricht ausdrücklich von nur sechs Tönen und zählt danach die Reihe von *kruṣṭa* bis *mandra* auf. Der *atisvārya* scheint demnach auf die Kauthumas-Rāṇāyanīyas beschränkt zu sein.
49. Eine Ausnahme bildet die Einleitung der Rudrajapavidhi (Anm. 37), wo die profanen Namen offenbar dem besseren Verständnis von Laien dienen soll. Nach Prajñānānanda (61) soll Sāyaṇa zum Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa sagen: *yo nisādaḥ sa kruṣṭaḥ, dhaivataḥ prathamaḥ, pañcamo dvitīyaḥ, madhyamas tṛtīyaḥ, gāndhāraś caturthaḥ, ṛṣabho mandraḥ, ṣaḍjo 'tisvārya iti*, doch kann ich dieses angebliche Zitat im Text nicht finden; vgl. Sāyaṇa zu SVB 1.1,8.

50. Emmie te Nijenhuis: *Musicological Literature* (HIL VI, 1) Wiesbaden 1977, 20.
51. Lewis Rowell: "A Śikṣā for the twiceborn", *Asian Music* 9. 1977, 72.
52. NārŚ 2. 8, 19a *pustakapratyayādhītam*; 30a *pustakavādyaṃ*.
53. Dies wurde m.W. von Musikologen noch nie gesehen. Selbst Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare: *The Nārada-Purāṇa translated and annotated, pt. I*, Delhi 1980, S. 21 sagt nur: "The source of NP.'s treatment of music needs more investigation, though the *Nāradīya śikṣā* may be one." Offenbar wurde eine *schriftliche* Vorlage verarbeitet, wie etwa aus dem Fehlen von NārŚ 2.2,12 hervorgeht, das wie 2.2,13 (NārP 50, 153) mit *saṃyoge* beginnt.
54. Der Rest verteilt sich auf echt sāmavedische Regeln und allgemeine Ausspracheformen für *saṃhitapāṭha* und *padapāṭha* der anderen Schulen.
55. NārŚ 2.8,30 *dyūtaṃ pustakavādyaṃ ca nāṭakeṣu ca saktikā, striyas tandrā ca nidrā ca vidyāvighnakarāni ṣaḍ*.
56. Rowell 72: "Certainly this *śikṣā* is not valid today for its intended purpose: as a guide to the correct utterance of the hymns of the *Sāmaveda*."
57. Vgl. die Einleitung zum LŚS, wo die sechs *vidhis* aufgezählt werden als *brāhmaṇa-sūtra-ārṣeyakalpa-rksamāmnāya-ūha-upadeśa* (Asko Parpola: "Agnisvāmin's introduction to the Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra", *ALB* 31/32 (1967/68), 555, 559 mit Anm. 3), und die Liste aus der Gobhilagṛhyakarmaprakāśikā, zitiert in W. Caland: Die *Jaiminīya-saṃhitā*, Breslau, 1907, s. 13.
58. Yugalakiśora Vyāsa (ed.): *Śikṣāsaṅgrahaḥ: A collection of Śiksās* by Yājñavalkya and others (Benares Sanskrit series, 10). Benares 1893, S. 450 ff.
59. Ja I 293, 23* *yaṃ brāhmaṇo avādesi vīṇaṃ sammukhaveṭhito*.
60. JUB 1.57,1 (1.18.2,1) *tasmād u gāyatāṃ nāśnīyāt. malena hy ete jīvanti*; GDhS 2.6,5 + 18 (15,18) *na bhojayet ... -jyāvāditra-tāla-nṛtyagītaśīlān*.
61. Nach Asko Parpola: "The literature and study of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda in retrospect and prospect". *Studia Orientalia* 43. 1973, 15 wird er vom Daṇḍin der Avantisundarīkathā erwähnt.
62. Parpola, *literature*, gibt Seite 19 eine Liste der 33 *svarabhedas*, die zur Zeit der Abfassung des Dhāraṇalakṣaṇam, einem "late Jaiminīya text" von Sabhāpati (17), nur 32 umfasste und auf 16 "basic svarabhedas" (19) zurückgeht. Die Zahlen selbst haben Symbolcharakter, was ebenfalls nicht auf natürliche Entwicklung schliessen lässt. Obwohl Howard einem bestimmten wiederkehrenden Notensymbol mehr als eine Phrase zuordnen konnte, stellte Parpola bei derselben Phrase durchgängig einen "ascent from a lower to a higher" Ton fest (23).

63. Varianten in der absoluten Tonhöhe können auch innerhalb einer Brahmanengruppe beträchtlich sein; vgl. J.E.B. Gray: "An analysis of Numbudiri Ṛgvedic recitation and the nature of the Vedic accent". BOAS 22 (1959), 499 Anm. 3.
64. Fox Strangways (253) berichtet von einem Mann aus Tanjore, der "had a theory of his own as to how *Sāman* should be sung, and was seeking converts. He has evidently taken the scale of the *Nāradaśikṣā*, as if it were in the modern notation."

EMPIRICAL TIME AND THE VYŪHĀNTARA GODS OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA

S. Gupta

Professor Heesterman has always been an inspiration to all his colleagues engaged in the study of the history of Indian religions. His deep and wide knowledge of ancient and modern Indian culture has been a source of great inspiration to me and I have learnt a great deal from his writings and from informal discussions. I hope this short paper may serve as a small token for my friendly gratitude to him.

This paper sets out to show that the twelve vyūhāntara gods of the Pāñcarātra pantheon are the twelve Vedic ādityas; and that their worship reflects the old identification of Viṣṇu with the sun and hence with Time conceived as a yearly cycle.

The twelve vyūhāntara manifestations of the four vyūha gods Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who are also known as the twelve *māsadevatā* (gods of the months), are famous among the Vaiṣṇavas. T.A. Gopinatha Rao writes that in South India the Hoysala country abounds in images of these Viṣṇu manifestations and that together with another set of twelve manifestations they are collectively known as the twenty-four manifestations of Viṣṇu/Vāsudeva (*caturviṃśati-mūrtayaḥ*). He also reports that iconographically they are very alike: each possesses four arms, carries the same or almost the same Vaiṣṇava insignia, stands erect on a lotus-shaped foot-stool, and wears a royal crown and other regal ornaments.

The following chart will make their position clear.

source, vyūha	*deity*	*Śakti*	*month*
Vāsudeva	Keśava	Śrī	Mārgaśīrṣa
	Nārāyaṇa	Vāgīśharī	Pauṣa
	Mādhava	Kānti	Māgha
Saṃkarṣaṇa	Govinda	Kriyā	Phālguna
	Viṣṇu	Śānti	Caitra
	Madhusūdana	Vibhuti	Vaiśākha
Pradyumna	Trivikrama	Icchā	Jyeṣṭha
	Vāmana	Prīti	Āṣāḍha
	Śrīdhara	Rati	Śrāvaṇa
Aniruddha	Hṛṣikeśa	Māyā	Bhādrapada
	Padmanābha	Dhī	Āśvayuja
	Dāmodara	Mahimā	Kārtika[1]

Basically these gods resemble the four-armed form of Vāsudeva carrying 1. the lotus, 2. the wheel, 3. the mace and 4. the conch. My numbers indicate the position of the weapons carried by the model image of Vāsudeva in the *jāgrat* (waking) state, starting from his lower right hand and proceeding clockwise as the observer sees it. (Śāttvata Saṃhitā 5, 10-12). I can thus indicate the positions of the weapons in the hands of different *māsadevatā*. The forms are differentiated by their manner of carrying these weapons which varies in each case. The PādmaS (kriyāpāda 16, 30-36) describes their iconography in the following manner: the numbers indicate the position of the weapons in the Vaāsudeva image, the columns 2-5 stand for the lower right hand, upper right hand, upper left hand and the lower left hand respectively of the relevant god.

Keśava	1. lotus	3. conch	2. wheel	4. mace
Nārāyaṇa	3. conch	1. lotus	4. mace	2. wheel
Mādhava	4. mace	2. wheel	3. conch	1. lotus
Govinda	2. wheel	4. mace	1. lotus	3. conch
Viṣṇu	4. mace	1. lotus	3. conch	2. wheel
Madhusūdana	2. wheel	3. conch	1. lotus	4. mace
Trivikrama	1. lotus	4. mace	2. wheel	3. conch
Vāmana	3. conch	2. wheel	4. mace	1. lotus
Śrīdhara	1. lotus	2. wheel	4. mace	3. conch
Hṛṣīkeśa	4. mace	2. wheel	1. lotus	3. conch
Padmanābha	1. lotus	2. wheel	3. conch	4. mace
Dāmodara	1. lotus	3. conch	4. mace	2. wheel

Here ends the description of the twelve vyūhāntara deities.[2]

ŚS 8, 58 mentions the colour of these forms: they follow the colour of their source, the Cāturātmya deity in his jāgrat state. PS 36, 156,162 and 168 gives a more detailed description of their colour. It says the first three forms along with Vāsudeva are white; the second group of three along with Saṃkarṣaṇa are ruby red; the third group of three together with Pradyumna are golden yellow; and the fourth group of three together with Aniruddha are black.

According to the PādmaS. images of these deities should be established in temples to acquire merit and worldly riches. They can be established all twelve together or each one separately. They can also be accompanied by their consorts, mentioned above.

Let me here briefly mention another group of twelve deities. This occurs in the jñāna section of the Pādma Saṃhitā (2,26-28). This second group of twelve is made up most artificially, as follows:

Vāsudeva manifests another Vāsudeva. The latter manifests Puruṣottama who in his turn manifests Janārdana.

Saṃkarṣaṇa manifests another Saṃkarṣaṇa. The latter manifests Adhokṣaja who in his turn manifests Upendra.

Pradyumna manifests another Pradyumna. The latter manifests Nṛsiṃha who in his turn manifests Hari.

Aniruddha manifests another Aniruddha. The latter manifests Acyuta who in his turn manifests Kṛṣṇa.

PādmaS. using a JayākhyaS. expression declares that all twenty-four deities are primary manifestations of the supreme God, like lighting one lamp from another. This is totally against the view of the early Pāñcarātra āgamas like the Sāttvata and the JS. (The JS used that simile of lamps only in connection with the vyūha deities Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.)

It is interesting to see these extra twelve forms who, it seems, the PadmaS somehow connects with the twelve vyūhāntara deities who are traditionally lords of the twelve months. (C.f. Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra ādikāṇda, part 2.). Somehow the tradition of twelve forms of the vyūhāntaras became juxtaposed to twelve other forms and constituted a special group of twenty-four gods which is described in various iconographic śāstras and in some Purāṇas. T.A. Gopinatha Rao has elaborately described these with excellent charts. But to me this combination of two groups of twelve seems to be a late innovation since the two groups have nothing common.

A Śrī Vaiṣṇava brahmin honours these twelve vyūhāntara/ādityas daily during his worship of the sun (*sandhyāhnikam*). In order to become worthy of worshipping the sun-god who is for a Vaiṣṇava identified with Viṣṇu the worshipper performs the rite of investing all parts of his body with parts of the divine form being worshipped (*aṅganyāsa*). The Vaiṣṇava worshipper invests each of the twelve parts of his body with one of the twelve vyūhāntara deities using the deity's special mantra. To each of them he performs *tarpaṇa* (the rite of offering libation to the sun-god).[3] Clearly in this context all twelve vyūhāntara deities stand for the sun-god. Another use of these deities in the daily rituals of a devout Vaiṣṇava is when after his bath as a further measure of purification he marks twelve parts of his body with sacred paste. Each time he puts a mark on his body he invokes and salutes one of these deities.[4]

The identification between the vyūhāntaras and the ādityas is clearly spelled out in some of the general tantric compendia such as the Prapañcasāra (d. c. 12th century A.C.)[5], the Tantrasāra (c. 16th century A.C.) and the Śāradātilaka (c. 14th century A.C.). The Tantrasāra by Kṛṣṇānanda Tarkavāgīśa while describing the ritual worship of the Viṣṇu mantra quotes the relevant mantras for the rite of aṅganyāsa[6] of the worshipper prior to the rite of *bhūtaśuddhi*. The deities of those mantras are the twelve vyūhāntaras and each of them is identified with one of the twelve ādityas.[7] An interesting point to note is that the Tantrasāra iconographically describes the deity of the Viṣṇu mantra as a androgynous form of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī combined. The Śāradātilaka too mentions the same form. (ŚT 6, 41-43.)

In the oldest Pāñcarātra classification of the manifest forms of God Vāsudeva, there are three forms viz. para, vyūha and vibhava. They represent among other things, stages of creating the differentiated world in its pure form. The impure creation takes place only in the third stage, the em;irical stage. These manifestation consist of a mantra and a divine form (mūrti) and are made available to the initiated Vaiṣṇava devotee for religious sādhanā. The devotee can practice the sādhanā attached to the mantras and through Nārāyaṇa's grace can one attain his or her desired worldly object or may attain liberation from the endless cycle of rebirth.

The *para* is the undifferentiated state of Vāsudeva yet he is in this stage definable by his innate divine nature, i.e. his śakti. The vyūha stage is the stage of differentiated creation. The vibhavas are many and their number varies in different traditions in the Pāñcarātra system. They belong to the third stage of creation, the pragmatic level. Although the names of the twelve vyūhāntara gods are sometimes the same as some gods in the vibhava group, iconographically they are not at all similar. We have already seen that the forms of the vyūhāntaras are the same for all except for tiny variations to enable recognition. This form is modelled on the vyūha Vāsudeva in the last stage of the vyūha strata of creation. Moreover the same is also true for the three other vyūha gods on that level, viz. Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Clearly they belong together.

The vyūhāntara deities are said in most of the major Pāñcarātra scriptures to belong to the vyūha stage of cosmic creation. I shall deal here with only a few of them. The Lakṣmī Tantra (LT 11,30) following the Sāttvata Saṃhita (SS) describes these deities in the following way.

The deities starting with Keśava and ending with Dāmodara are manifest in groups of three arising out of these four branches (of the viśākha trunk, i.e. the four vyūhas in the *jāgrat* state) and are called vyūhāntara (within the vyūha) deities.

The pure creation (i.e. the divine manifestations of mantras and their deities) includes Vyūhas, Vibhavas and Vyūhāntaras (51, 14) (cf. Pādma Saṃhitā 2, 22-25). The deities are accompanied by their respective śaktis who are called Lakṣmī etc. LT further adds that the four vyūhas and these twelve deities are the presiding deities of the sixteen vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet (LT 20, 31-36).[8]

The LT elaborates on the position of these deities in the scheme of the Pāñcarātric cosmogony in the following manner (4, 25-32): "First there is only the substance (of reality); then comes the state of being; next there is the object created, and last of all there is activity. All created beings pass through these four consecutive stages". "I (i.e. Nārāyaṇa's śakti, Lakṣmī) voluntarily divide myself into four as Vāsudeva etc. (marking these four consecutive states) but also continue to infuse these four with my consciousness (*saṃvit*). In each form the gods Vāsudeva etc. divide themselves into three forms, Keśava etc. In the Pāñcarātra tradition, these latter are designated as vyūhāntara. These twelve gods are manifest to carry out the duties of the (empirical) Time".

The SS describes the position of these twelve in its cosmic scheme (7,3-10) in similar terms making it obvious that the LT modelled its description of the vyūhāntaras on the SS. It states that right after the final stage of the vyūha-evolution and the onset of the *jāgrat* state of existence of the vyūha gods each of them produces three further deities who resemble their creator in all respects. Earlier (5, 92-95) the SS describes in detail how in the fourth phase of the vyūha manifestation, i.e. in the *jāgrat* state, the four vyūha gods are to be imagined in four different colours. The colours vary according to the four consecutive yugas and the yuga-junctures. The worshipper imagines these gods prior to the rite of *nyāsa*. These gods are invested on different parts of the worshipper's body. The part of the body to receive a specific god varies according to the yuga, the year, the day, the night, and even the half-watch (*prahara*). This means that at that stage of cosmic creation the worshipper must realize the creation is now controlled by Time and its divisions. Then the text gives a detailed description of the voluntary ritual worships of these gods called *vrata*. The ways of worshipping God are following one's caste and religious duties (*dharma*), always practising generosity and performing *vratas* in which the four vyūhas and the vyūhāntaras are worshipped together with their śaktis (SS 7,7-10).

These divine manifestations along with their śaktis are deemed by the SS important enough to merit a separate description of their full programme of worship (SS ch. 8). The only other divine manifestation which received elaborate treatment in the SS, a text specialized in the worship of the four vyūha deities, is that of the lion-faced deity Nṛsiṃha. He is an old powerful Tantric deity. In the Pāñcarātra sect his cult has always been powerful and the lion-face also appears in other multi-headed Pāñcarātra divine manifestations like Śaktīśa and sometimes Viśvarūpa. The latter two were also very popular during the medieval period. These deities represent Lord Vāsudeva's sovereignty, majesty and omnipotent indomitable power.

Likewise, we may conclude, from the way they have been treated in the LT and the SS that the twelve vyūhāntara deities occupied an important cosmic position of power as they represented Time visible in the form of the year.

In the Pāñcarātra cosmogony there are five cosmic powers which aided God in his creation. These are *jñāna*, *prāṇa*, *icchā*, *kriyā* and *kāla*. The first, knowledge, the power of revelation (*saṃvit/cit*) is considered the primary means of creation and it is prominent as the śabda-śakti or śabda-brahman at the dawn of creation. This, in the vyūha system, is the realm of Para Vāsudeva, the one "beyond" the vyūha disposition.

The second is *prāṇa/spanda*, the cosmic vibration/dynamism. This comes first within the range of the vyūha states and is the realm of the Vyūha Vāsudeva. The concept of space also comes at this stage of creation. Prāṇa refers to the vital as well as the cosmic airs.

The third is the will power, god's indomitable will to create, which presupposes his omniscience. This is the realm of Saṃkarṣaṇa. The fourth is the power of action, god's irresistible potency and potentiality and the power to act, of absolute sovereignty. This is the realm of Pradyumna. The fifth and final power needed for creation is the *kāla* śakti, Time. This marks the empirical nature of the final stage of creation. It means that all created objects beyond this stage are by necessity transient. This is the realm of Aniruddha, the god of infinite brilliance and capacity. Time is symbolised by the three luminaries sun, moon and fire, generating the life-sustaining heat. These three are basically one and the same luminous heat (tejas). (PauṣkaraS. 33, 140-160.)

Aniruddha heralds the *jāgrat*, the empirical state of creation. The next cosmic divine proliferation recorded in the Pāñcarātra cosmic system is the twelve vyūhāntara deities, the gods of the months. This is connected with the śakti which is Time and which is represented by the wheel held by Vāsudeva (see above). The LT (11, 27) states that Padmanābha, who heads the list of the vibhava deities belonging to the third phase of the creation (i.e. *mantrādhvā*)[9], exists between the pure and impure creation, implying that the vyūhāntara deities are placed at the end of the vyūha phase to signify their cosmic function. Aniruddha is indeed Time, and the twelve vyūhāntara gods, the lords of the months represent the movement of that time which is identified with the ever moving year progressing through the round of six seasons and twelve months.[10]

In the ancient tradition of India, the year is identified with empirical Time, which in turn is often identified with the sun. The sun in its dialy course defines the day (and night), the basic unit of time. The shorter units are obtained by dividing the day and night into eight equal parts and then each eighth into sixty and each sixtieth into sixty again.

Time is the sun because the latter causes the change of day and night and the change of the six seasons, and sustains the creation by being the all essential source of heat. The wheel of time is the wheel of the sun's chariot. On the other hand the ritual calender in India follows the moon's cycles. The twelve months are each divided into two fortnights, those of the waxing and waning moon.

It is now well known among scholars of ancient Indian religion that the supreme God of the Vaiṣṇavas combines in himself three deities: Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and the āditya-Viṣṇu.[11] Gonda in "Aspects of early Viṣṇuism" quotes the Matsya Purāṇa to confirm that Viṣṇu was equated with the ādityas - "*viṣṇuṃ ravīṇām adhipam...*" (MP 8, 4). Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1, 8, 21, says that Viṣṇu-Keśava is the same as the Sun, the lotus-seated goddess being his radiance (26 and also Fn 5).

Gonda also comments on the name Trivikrama. This name does not only refer to the Vāmana (dwarf or little brahmin boy) manifestation of Viṣṇu. RV 1, 154, 2 speaks of Viṣṇu's three strides in which abide all beings. RV 1154, 4 says that Viṣṇu alone supports the entire universe made of three dhātus. Yāska says that the three strides indicate the progress of the sun through the night, dawn and noon when it reaches the meridian position. This is the most powerful, the highest abode which is his favourite dwelling place (RV 1, 154, 4; Gonda 55-60, FN 32). Therefore it is not unreasonable that two vyūhāntara deities should be called Vāmana and Trivikrama respectively.

The importance of the twelve vyūhāntaras lies in the fact that they are the twelve ādityas, the Vedic deities, each controlling a month and collectively controlling the year and agriculture. They are indeed the sun. The identity of Viṣṇu and the sun implies the identity of the twelve ādityas with the twelve vyūhāntaras, an identity preserved in various Vaiṣṇava rituals (see above).

The sun and the moon are both involved in the ritual worship of the vyūhāntaras. As lords of the months the latter are twelve and are related to the sun. But together with the four vyūhas, their source, they form a group of sixteen, which is equated with the group of sixteen which consists of the moon phases along with their aggregate. Thus one can safely establish the identity of these twelve vyūhāntara gods with the empirical cyclical Time at the cosmic level.

The symbolism of the wheel (or discus) the characteristic weapon of Viṣṇu has been well discussed by scholars (Gonda 91-97, Macdonell 155). The famous *Cakra maṇḍala* (the diagram of the wheel and the lotus) displays the wheel encircling the lotus diagram at its centre, possessing twelve spokes (*dvādaśāra cakra*). The Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā in chapter twenty-six describes the powerful Tantric ritual of worshipping the *mahā-sudarśana-cakra* (the great wheel *sudaraśana*). The whole diagram etched or curved on a metal plate should be surrounded by the twelve vyūhāntara deities starting with Keśava (32-57). On the other side of the plate there should be a *cakrābja maṇḍala* with a clearly executed felly (and perhaps without the square enclosure) and twenty-four spokes (12x2). This shows a close connection between Viṣṇu's wheel and the vyūhāntara deities. Pratapaditya Pal in "Vaisnava Iconography In Nepal. A Study in Art and Religion" supports this by his observation (66) that the twelve gods are represented in paintings of the *maṇḍala*. The photographs of such paintings in his book bear out this fact. The twelve deities are painted placed outside the outer square diagram of the *cakrābja maṇḍala*, or flanking the *sudarśana mūrti* or flanking the androgynous form of Vāsudeva-kamalajā mentioned in the Śāradātilaka and the Tantrasāra (cf. Viśvāmitra Saṃhita 15, 66-72; the text here describes the method of drawing the *maṇḍala*). Pratapaditya Pal states that from the fifth century A.D. the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇava system became very popular in Nepal. The Nārāyaṇa temple at Changu-narayana was erected in the fifth century A.D. and the deity there is Trivikramasvāmī. One may conclude from Gonda's identification of Trivikrama with the sun god that Changu-narayana too may represent an underlying identity between the two gods. This is supported by further information found in "The Aspects of early Visnuism", where Gonda (90) records an interesting story from the Harivaṃśa. At the start of the monsoon Viṣṇu annually goes to sleep for four months from the eleventh of the bright half of Āṣāḍha (June-July) to the eleventh of the bright half of Āśvina (or Āśvayuja i.e. September-October). During that period of Viṣṇu's inactivity, Indra, the god of rain, takes over his duty and causes the wheel of rains or the yearly cycle (*vārṣikam cakram*) to operate. This use of the term *vārṣika cakra* fits well with the concept of the cakra with twelve spokes and its connection with the twelve vyūhāntara deities referred to as the deities of the months (*māsadevatā*) (PauṣkaraS. 8, 64, Nāradīya Saṃhitā 1, 56) and the seasonal ritual connected with them (see below). The connection of the sun with the annual march of the six seasons has always been common knowledge in ancient brahmanical religion and the wheel has also been identified as a symbol for the sun's disc (cf. Mbh. 13, 14, 77; RV 5, 63, 4). The wheel was employed in various Vedic rituals as representing the sun (Macdonell 155, Gonda 97).

In the Pāñcarātra too the ritual importance of the wheel (*cakra*) as representing god's omnipotence and sovereignty is greatly emphasized. (See Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, passim and ch. 53 for the concept of Time, *kāla*.) The wheel is identified with Nārāyaṇa's divine power and indomitable potency.

The monthly worship of these twelve vyūhāntara deities on the first or the eleventh day of each fortnight is described in various Vaiṣṇava texts. This is a special Vaiṣṇava ritual which is mainly a private religious act and is called a *vrata* (vow). But it was later taken over by temple ritual and the PādmaS mentions it in connection with the temple ritual.

The Pādma Saṃhitā, *arca* section, ch. 15, describes that these gods are to be worshipped each month on five specific days viz. the eleventh and twelfth day of the two fortnights and on the full-moon day. The worshipper must take a vow to worship these gods for a fixed number of years; at the end of that period he finishes his vow with a special form of worship. The SS (7, 72-82ff) gives a much elaborate account of this vow or *vrata*. I shall now describe it.

The vratas involving the twelve vyūhāntara gods

The *vrata* is called *dvādaśa vrata* and is observed for a year. On the first day of the Caitra (March-April) bright fortnight the *vratin* performs the rite of taking the vow (*saṃkalpa*) when half the night is over. Then from next morning onwards he repeatedly worships the quadruple god in the forms of Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta and Vāsudeva i.e. the vyūhas in the order of resorption. He is allowed to eat once daily in the evening until the eleventh day when he fasts completely and keeps awake that night. Then on the next day at noon he worships Vāsudeva.

Then he worships each of the rest of the quadruple gods, one a day till the fifteenth day. Next day, the first day of the dark fortnight he starts worshipping the twelve vyūhāntara gods one each day. This time too he must fast completely only on the eleventh day and keep awake on that night. On the dark twelfth day, after worshipping Lord Dāmodara at midday he should repeat his worship of Vāsudeva and then the three other vyūhas on the three following days as in the previous fortnight. Thus he continues his *vrata* till he reaches the end of twelve months, when he completes his *vrata*.

A variant of the yearly *vrata* is the *ṣoḍaśa vrata*. This *vrata* is done in four sections (*parva*) on each quarter of the year. It starts in the month of Āṣāḍha (May-June). He begins his *vrata* on the first day of each month by worshipping the lord of the month, e.g. Vāmana in Āṣāḍha. He fasts on the eleventh day. Then on the thirteenth he worships first Puruṣa, then the other three. Next day he worships the quadruple gods from Vāsudeva down to Aniruddha. On the final day of the fortnight he worships the quadruple gods in their quiescent manifestation. Thus he worships the twelve vyūhāntaras together with the quadruple gods, the latter manifest in the three states, viz. *jāgrat, svapna* and *suṣupti*.[12]

On the first day of Āśvina (September-October) he starts the second section of the ritual by the worship of Padmanābha; but the rest of the rites remains unchanged. The third section of this *vrata* takes place on the first day of the month Pauṣa (November-December) starting with the worship of Nārāyaṇa. Similarly on the first day of Caitra the last section of the *vrata* starts with the worship of Viṣṇu. At the completion of the year he worships with special grandeur and then feeds sixteen brahmins. He then eats whatever is left over mixed with the remnant of food-offering to the deity and the remnant of the sacrificial oblation of clarified butter.

Another variant of this *vrata* is worshipping each lord of the month in the appropriate month. The *vratin* can start from any month. It differs from the previous rite in that when the worshipper reaches the stage of this ritual when he worships the quadruple vyūha gods after the twelfth day, instead of beginning with the worship of Vāsudeva or with Puruṣa as in the case of the previous case, he should start with the vyūha deity who is the source of the lord of the month in which he is performing his worship. This *vrata* can be observed for only one fortnight each month or in both fortnights (SS ch. 7).

SS 8, 47 describes the esoteric worship of these twelve deities. The *vratin* in meditation envisages the deities descending from the primal divine as a mass of light which gets absorbed by the twelve spokes of the cosmic wheel (of time?). Then from these spokes gradually they emerge in groups of three. The ritual worship is quite elaborate and it is imperative that the *vratin* is an initiated member of the sect and knows the relevant mantras. The deities are worshipped on the wheel diagram (*cakra maṇḍala*). Each month the lord of the month is worshipped both in the centre of the diagram and at its periphery, while the other eleven are worshipped on the spokes. The lord of the month is worshipped by himself in the centre but at the periphery he is worshipped together with his śakti.

Finally SS 8, 141-161, describes the *cāturmāsya vrata* (i.e. the four months of rain). This too is an elaborate rite. It requires a well-ventilated hall or pavillion for performing the sacrifice. On the prepared ground three square brick altars are erected. A sacrificial pit is constructed with a specific design on the right hand altar. On the central altar, the *vratin* draws each month a fresh wheel diagram containing a six-petalled lotus in the middle and twelve spokes extending from it to the periphery. The drawing is done with red and yellow powder (*kuṃkuma, rocanā*) and sandal paste mixed with milk to obtain the required consistency. On the left hand altar a bathing pedestal is placed. Starting from the month of Āṣāḍha the four quadruple gods surrounded by the twelve are elaborately worshipped in rotation, starting with Vāsudeva. The rites start on the evening of the tenth day of the bright fortnight, when the rite of *saṃkalpa* is observed by begging God Vāsudeva for safe completion of the ritual. The next day and night are spent in fasting and meditating on the gods without sleeping. On the twelfth day Vāsudeva is bathed, and worshipped in his full paraphernalia on the pericarp of the lotus diagram. The rest of the Vyūha gods are invoked and worshipped on the first three lotus petals of the diagram starting from the east, i.e. the front one, in the order Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradymna and Aniruddha. Then the worship of these deities is repeated but starting from Aniruddha which is the order of involution. Finally, Vāsudeva is again worshipped in the centre. Then three of the consecutive vyūhāntara deities, headed by the one who is the deity of the month in which the worship is being done are worshipped on three consecutive spokes from the twelve spokes of the diagram. The deities are accompanied by their śaktis. The relevant lord of the month is invoked on the front spoke to underscore his eminence. The *vratin* uses their specific mantras and other subsidiary mantras and follows the full ritual programme for each deity. Next month at the same *tithi* (i.e. phase of the moon) Saṃkarṣaṇa is worshipped in the centre, Vāsudeva takes Saṃkarṣaṇa's place, and Padmanābha and the following two deities take the place of Vāmana etc. occupied in the previous month. In this way two more months see the observance of the elaborate worship of Pradyumna and Aniruddha as the central deity respectively replacing the lords of the month too according to the relevant month.

Next month on the same day the *vratin* worships all four vyūha gods along with all twelve vyūhāntara gods following the full *pūja* programme. He finishes his *homa* with the rite of *purṇāhuti*.[13]

From the above it becomes quite clear that the worship of the twelve vyūhāntara gods within the cult of Viṣṇu represents an ancient tradition of worshipping Viṣṇu as the Sun and hence as the personification of Time. When the Pāñcarātra system neatly structured its cosmology around the vyūha ideology, as is recorded in texts like the SS, it retained the cult of Viṣṇu/Sun/Time along with the twelve ādityas, the deities of the months, representing the year/empirical time, i.e. the sun as controlling each month of the calendar. They are correctly grouped within the vyūha stage of primal creation and each is given a Vaiṣṇava name and a vyūha icon i.e. form. All other divine manifestations (vibhava) are assigned to below this cosmic stage as each of them appears within empirical time to save devotees, who belong to the transient creation.

The reason for the selection of these specific names of Viṣṇu - all to be found in the Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma hymn of Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana parva - we cannot know. They are repeated in the vibhava group of deities and also in the group of the ten divine descent (*daśāvatāra*) gods although in these groups they appear in quite different forms. The latter group is not mentioned in the SS. However, the nature of the vyūhāntara gods remains distinctive and also, as is evident from the esoteric *vrata* described in the SS, their close connection with the vyūha gods is self-evident.

The seasonal performance of specific sacrifices over the year is an ancient Vedic religious tradition. The seasonal sacrifice called the *cāturmāsya iṣṭi* prescribed for householders was clearly meant for the progeny and prosperity of the performer. The householder should perform one *iṣṭi* at the advent of each of the three main agricultural seasons, the spring, the rainy season and the harvest season, each time starting on a full-moon day. The ritual is completed on the fifth full moon day, counting from after the performance of the last sacrifice, by performing a sacrifice (*śunasīriya*), the name of which suggests, that it was meant for the sanctification of agricultural implements. The performance of the first sacrifice is to be on the full moon day of Phālguna (or Caitra), the second on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha (or Śrāvaṇa), the third on the full moon day of Āśvina (or Kārtika). An interesting aspect of this third sacrifice is that at the end of the *iṣṭi* the sacrificer and his male children eat the offered rice to their fill. They spend the evening and night in the sacrificial hall together and they are forbidden to utter a word about poverty or hunger. The third *iṣṭi* is followed next day by the *pitṛ yajña* and then the Tryambaka (Rudra) *homa* is performed. The oblation to Rudra in the latter *homa* is offered well outside the sacrificial hall near a rat-hole and a crossroads.[14]

The Sāttvata Saṃhitā gives a detailed account of the seasonal worship of the four vyūha gods called *cāturmāsya*, but typically the meaning of the Vedic *cāturmāsya* (sacrifice at four-monthly intervals) is here changed to the more familiar meaning of the four months of the rainy season. Perhaps the practice of the Buddhist and Jaina monastic orders played a role in this change of meaning?

The worship of the twelve ādityas has been retained in the Vaikhānasa Vaiṣṇava tradition. Marīci-saṃhitā (12, 2, 2) places these twelve ādityas in the fifth circle of Lord Viṣṇu's entourage (Colas, 231).[15]

It is said again and again in the Pāñcarātra scripture that the true devotee of Vāsudeva adores no other divinity. Only such a devotee can aspire to divine grace and salvation. As a consequence the Pāñcarātra theogony has adopted many important Vedic and Puranic deities within the Vaiṣṇava pantheon. Therefore it is no wonder that it has adopted the ādityas too. Since Viṣṇu was already assimilated with the sun god, the twelve ādityas pose no problem there and it was easy to incorporate them in Pāñcarātra cosmology.

NOTES

1. These are solar months and are named according to the position of the sun in the month relative to some constellation. Roughly the month Mārgaśīrṣa occupies the period of the later half of November and the first half of December, Pauṣa = December-January and so forth.
2. The list varies from text to text. This one is taken from the Pādma Saṃhitā, Kriyāpāda, 16, 29cd-36ab. A recent publication "The Hindu Deities Illustrated according to the Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇaśarasamuccaya", compiled by Gudrun Bühnemann and Musashi Tachikawa, published by The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, actually produces the line drawings of these twelve gods from two manuscripts of the drawing collections called the Devatacitrasamgraha. The drawings are based on a compendium on tantric rituals called the Pratiṣḥhālakṣaṇaśarasamuccaya, a Śaiva tantric text.
3. Cf. *Tilakadhāraṇavidhi* and *Sandhyāvandanavidhi*, recorded by Svami Rāmanārāyaṇācārya at the appendix to Varāhaguru's Kriyākairavacandrikā a handbook following the ritual practices followed in the PādmaS., which is edited by him. Kriyākairavacandrikā, published from Dadhicasrama, Chapra (Bihar) samvat 2013, *kakha* and *ta-ta*.
4. See Schrader, 41-42. See also Padma Purāṇa, uttara khaṇḍa 6, ch. 225, verses 46-50.
5. PS ch. 21. 1-14.

6. For the rites of *aṅganyāsa* and *bhūtaśuddhi* see André Padoux, Contributions A L'etude Du Mantraśāstra, II, in Bulletin De l'Ecole Francaise D'extreme-Orient, tome LXVII Paris 1980, and Gupta et al., Hindu Trantrism Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden 1979 139-155; also my article Yoga and Antarƒaga in Pāñcarātra, in the André Padoux Felicitation volume, edited by Dr. Teun Goudriaan.
7. Keśava is Dhātā, Nārāyaṇa is Aryaman, Mādhava is Mitra, Govinda is Varuṇa, Viṣṇu is Aṃśu(mān), Madhusūdana is Bhaga, Trivikrama is Vivavsvat, Vāmana is Indra, Srīdhara is Puṣan, Hṛṣīkeśa is Parjanya, Padmanābha is Tvaṣṭṛ and Dāmodara is Viṣṇu. PS 21. 11-12.
8. In the Śāradātilaka by Lakṣmaṇadeśika (2, 45-47ab) this is mentioned along with śaiva and śākta deities of the vowels. Later Kṛṣṇānanda Tarkavāgīśa quotes ŚT to enumerate these Vaiṣṇava forms of the deities of the Sanskrit vowels.
9. See S. Gupta, Laksmi Tantra: A Pancaratra Text, Introduction, XXVII-XXX.
10. This is symbolized in the *cakra maṇḍala* described later in this paper.
11. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar: "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems", Strassburg 1913; Hemchandra Raychaudhuri: "Materials for the study of the early history of the Vaiṣṇava sect", 2nd. edition University of Calcutta 1936; Jan Gonda: "Aspects of early Viṣṇuism", Utrecht 1954, etc.
12. On these states see my article "Yoga and Antaryaga in Pancaratra", in the forthcoming André Padoux Felicitation volume, ed. Teun Goudriaan, Sunny Press, New York State.
13. SS 6, 76-162 describes the full programme of the sacrifice. A *pūrṇāhuti* indicates the completion of a sacrifice: all the ghee remaining in the oblation pot is poured into the fire with appropriate mantras.
14. P.V. Kane, "History of Dharmaśāstra", ch. XXXI, 1091-1106, BORI Poona 1941.
15. See also the Pāñcarātra text, Viśvamitra Saṃhitā, 15, 72.

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NABHRÁJ AND THE PURCHASE OF SOMA

F.B.J. Kuiper

I. The Mantra

When in the ritual of buying the Soma the purchaser is confronted by the Soma-seller (*somavikrayín*), this situation is a replica of the mythical theft of Soma, during which the *śyená* confronts the archer Kṛśānu, the guardian of Soma. See, e.g. KS 24.6 (96, 10). Two characteristic details stand out in this ritual, viz. the contrast between light and darkness and the serpents. In the ritualized form of the myth, as told in the brāhmaṇas, three metres take the role of the *śyená* and try to steal Soma. They cannot, however, find him on account of the darkness, until the Gāyatrī lights up the darkness by means of a she-goat (MS 3.7.7: 85, 5; KS 24.6: 95, 20; KapKS 37.7: 234, 16).

Two flocks of wool are used in the ritual. The adhvaryu offers the yajamāna a flock of white wool and says (TS 1.2.7.1, 6.1.10.4):

> *asmé jyótiḥ, somavikrayíṇitámaḥ*
>
> Ours be the light, darkness be on the Soma-seller.

See ĀpŚS 10.26.11, etc. The last words are particularly important because darkness is connected with the other characteristic of the nether world, viz. the serpents. The adhvaryu now takes a flock of *black* wool, intertwines it and throws it against the forehead (Hiraṇyakeśin) of the Soma-seller, while pronouncing the words 'Darkness be on the Soma-seller'. Owing to the fact that he intertwines the wool and says *idám ahám̐ sarpā́ṇāṁ dandaśū́kānāṁ grīvā́ úpa grathnāmi* 'Hereby I intertwine the necks of the mordacious serpents', the serpents will not bite during that year (TS). As will be shown below, the Soma-seller stands for a serpent demon.

Immediately after this act the adhvaryu recites the mantra:

> *svā́na bhrā́jā́ṅghāre bámbhāre*
> *hásta súhasta kṛ́śāno (-av)*
> *eté vaḥ somakráyaṇās*
> *tā́n rakṣadhvaṁ mā́ vo dabhan*
> '*Svāna, Bhrāja* (etc.) These are your wages for Soma, guard them, let them not fail you.

This is the text presented by TS 1.2.7.1 (ĀpŚS 10.26.15), VS 4.27 (ŚBM 3.3.3.11), VSK 4.39 (ŚBK 4.3.3.11). For the first words other

Yajurvedic texts have some variants. KS 2.6 (12, 5), 24.6 (96, 5) reads *svān nabhrāḍ aṅghāre* and in KapKS 1.19 (16, 8) the manuscript has *svānabhrāj*, but in 37.7 (235, 1) it reads *svāānabhrāḍ iti*. TĀ 1.9.3 has (in an enumeration of the names of eleven Gandharvas) *svā́na bhrā́ṭ / áṅghārir bámbhāriḥ / hástaḥ súhastaḥ / kṛ́śānuḥ viśvā́vasuḥ /*, etc., the last of which is actually the only name of a Gandharva. As the accents (e.g. *kṛ́śānuḥ* for *kṛśā́nuḥ*) indicate, this list is based on the vocatives of the mantra. Note MS 1.2.12 (21, 12, in the manuscripts), KS 2.13 (17, 14) *aṅghā́riḥ, bambhā́riḥ*.

An older form of this mantra has been preserved in MS 1.2.5 (14, 11), 3.7.7 (84, 16), 3.8.10 (109, 10):

> *súvāṅ nábhrāḍ áṅghāre bámbhāré*
> *’star áhasta kṛ́śāna*
> *eté vaḥ* (etc.).

[The reading *áṅgáre* (von Schroeder, Satavalekar) in 3.7.7 is of no importance. See also Viśvabandhu, *Vedic Word Concordance* I, 49k.]

There can be no doubt that this is a less corrupt version of the mantra, with *ástar* ’archer’ instead of the meaningless *hásta*. In other words, here appears *Kṛśā́nur āstā* ’the archer K.’, well known from the Rigveda (I.155.2, IV.27.3, IX.77.2, X.64.8). The accents (as though three deities are addressed) are, accordingly, based on a misinterpretation of the text and *ástar *ahasta *Kṛ́śāna* means ’O handless archer Kṛśānu’.

The same archer, however, is also said to be footless; see *apā́d ástā* (ŚBM 1.7.7.1, 3.3.4.10, ŚBK 2.6.3.1.). Kṛśānu was, accordingly, *apā́d ahastáḥ*, just as the serpent demon (*áhi*) Vṛtra. See RV I.32.7:

> *apā́d ahastó apṛtanyad Índram*
>
> footless and handless he [Vṛtra] fought against Indra

and III.30.8:

> *sahádānum puruhūta kṣiyántam*
> *ahastám Indra sám piṇak kúṇārum*
> *abhí vṛtráṁ várdhamānam píyārum*
> *apā́dam Indra tavásā jaghantha*
>
> The handless ..., who dwelled with Dānu, thou hast crushed, O Indra, invoked by many; Thou hast struck with force, O Indra, the footless evil-minded Vṛtra, who was growing.

Note ŚBM 1.6.3.9, ŚBK 2.6.1.5 [about Vṛtra] *átha yád apā́d samábhavat, tásmād áhiḥ* ’Since he sprang forth footless, therefore he was a serpent’.

In the myth of the theft of Soma, accordingly, Kṛśānu, the 'guardian' of Soma, is in all respects a double of the serpent demon Vṛtra. However, Kṛśānu functions as such only in the *śyená*-myth, which is one of the four versions of the myth in which we are told how Soma was delivered from the repressive power of the primordial world (see Kuiper 1979, 103). In another version (TS 2.5.2.3) Agni and Soma are said to have been imprisoned in the primordial mountain (cf. RV IV.27.1 *śatám mā púra ā́yasīr arakṣan*) and they pray Indra not to throw his *vajra*, because they are in it (*āvám antáḥ svaḥ*). KB 3.7.18, 15.3.5 paraphrases this by *Agnīṣomau vā antar Vṛtra āstām*. The primordial world is here more or less identical with its power of resistance (*vṛtrá*).

Kṛśānu is clearly a homologue of the *áhi Vṛtrá*.

II. The guardians of Soma (*somarákṣayaḥ, somarakṣ(ak)āḥ, somapālā́ḥ*)

The mantra is composed of a prose formula and an anuṣṭubh line (*eté vaḥ somakráyaṇās*, etc.). The formula is (in the oldest form in which it has been handed down) *súvāṅ nábhrāḍ áṅghāre bámbhāré 'star áhasta Kṛ́śāno*. The accentuation characterizes the vocatives as the names of seven deities, and this was the opinion of the author of TĀ 1.9.3 and the later ritualists. This was in any case incorrect as far as the last three words are concerned, which show that also the accentuation of MS is based on this misinterpretation. They do not teach us, however, how the author of the mantra, at the time of the genesis of the Yajurveda, understood the names: even if he rightly read *ástar ahasta Kṛśāno*, the preceding words, if actually names, would have justified his taking them as addressing a group of deities: *eté vaḥ* ... . (That the anuṣṭubh line is a transformation of *eté *te somakráyaṇās, tā́n *rakṣasva mā́ *tvā dabhan* would be no more than a wild guess.)

The basic question is, accordingly, whether *súvāṅ nábhrāḍ áṅghāre bámbhāre* were real names or, like *ástar áhasta*, originally mere epithets of Krśānu. As for the first of them, *súvāṅ*, this has little chance of being a proper name. At first sight it may seem curious that *suvā́c* 'sounding or speaking auspiciously' should be the name or epithet of a demoniacal being but *suvā́c* is particularly used *maṅgalārtham*, in contrast to *durvāc*. See, for instance, TS 6.2.9.1

> *váruṇo vā eṣá durvā́g ubhayáto baddhó yád ákṣaḥ. sá yád utsárjed*
> *yájamānasya gṛhā́n abhyútsarjet: "suvā́g deva dúryām̐ ā́ vadé"*
> *'ty āha. gṛhā́ vaí dúryāḥ. śā́ntyai.*

The axle which is tied on both sides is Varuṇa of evil speech. If it were to creak, it would creak against the house of the *yajamāna*. He says "O god, address the dwelling with auspicious

> speech". The dwelling is the house. (This is) for atonement (tr. Keith). Cf. also MS 3.8.7 (104,2).

Just because the Soma-seller represents Varuṇa's dangerous world, the first term with which he is addressed must be *suvā́k*: 'for atonement'.

If *súvāṅ* is an epithet, it can belong to *nábhrāḍ* (which would reduce the number of Soma guardians to four), or to Kṛśānu (which would turn all 'names', except Kṛśānu, into mere epithets). The authors of our texts were clearly at a loss as to how to explain the exact mythological function of the 'guardians'. See, e.g., MS 3.7.7 (84,16)

> *súvāṅ nábhrāḍ áṅgāre* [3.8.10 *áṅghāre*] *bámbhārā íty eté vaí devā́nām̐ somarákṣaya, etébhyo vā́ádhi chándām̐si sómam ā́haran*

> These are the Soma-guardians *of the gods*, from them the metres brought the Soma.

Since there was no longer a fixed tradition about what the 'names' of the mantra referred to, each text proposes its own guess. Thus KS 24.6 (96,6) confuses them with the Gandharvas, who in fact belong to a different stage of the ritual: *ete vā etad* [KapKS *etaṁ*] *gandharvā agopāyann amuṣmiṁl loke*, whereas KapKS 37.7 (235,1) calls them *devāḥ*. The same error is found in the Kāṇvīya Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. While ŚBM 3.3.3.11 merely states

> *íti dhíṣṇyānāṁ vā́ eté bhā́janenai, 'tā́ni vaí dhíṣṇyānāṁ nā́māni, tā́ny evaì 'bhya etád ánvadikṣat*

> These are instead of the hearth-mounds. These are, indeed, the names of the hearth-mounds. It is these very (names) that he hereby assigned to them,

ŚBK 4.3.3.11 elaborates it considerably:

> *ity etéṣām̐ ha vā́ eté bhā́janena yá eté gandharvā́ḥ somapālā́ dhíṣṇyā, etā́ny u vaí téṣāṁ nā́māni. tébhya evaì 'nān etád ánudiśati. tátho téṣām anṛṇó bhavati.*

> Instead of them are these Gandharvas, the guardians of Soma, (that is) the hearth-mounds. These are their names. It is to them that he thereby assigns them and thus becomes debtless towards them.

Cf. also JB 1.287:

> *atha he 'ndrasya tridive Soma āsa. taṁ hā 'gnayo gandharvā jugupur, eta eva dhiṣṇyāḥ. ta u evā 'śīviṣāḥ.*

Uvaṭa ad VS 4.27 takes them as the names of seven (out of the seventeen) objects that constitute the purchase-price, but Mahīdhara represents the general opinion of the brāhmaṇas: *svānādayaḥ sapta somarakṣakā devaviśeṣāḥ*. TĀ 1.9.3 (quoted above) extends the list to eleven names of Gandharvas. The Taittirīya Saṁhitā is, curiously, the only one to preserve a less distorted tradition, although here, too, the real function of the guardians is no longer known (6.1.10.4-5):

> *svā́na / bhrā́jé 'ty āhai 'té vā́ amúṣmiṁ loké sómam arakṣan, tébhyó 'dhi sómam ā́haran. yád etébhyaḥ somakráyanān nā́ 'nudiśéd ákrīto 'sya sómaḥ syān, nā́ 'syai 'tè 'múṣmiṁ loké sómaṁ rakṣeyur.*
>
> 'O Svāna, O Bhrāja' he says. They, indeed, guarded Soma in yonder world. From them they brought Soma. If he would not indicate to them the objects that serve as the price of Soma, he would not have purchased the Soma *and they would not guard the Soma for him in yonder world*[!]'. [Incorrect, Caland ad ĀpŚS 10.26.15].

The seven 'guardians', accordingly, are based on a corrupt version of the formula. The mantra as a whole was pronounced while the purchaser looked the Soma-seller straight in the face; see KātyŚS 7.8.24 *svāna bhrājeti japati somavikrayiṇam īkṣamāṇaḥ*. Since the Soma-seller in the ritual stands for Kṛśānu of the myth, and since in the Rigveda Kṛśānu (and in the Suparṇādhyāya the footless Bhauvana) is the only guardian, it is reasonable to suppose that in the original form of the ritual Kṛśānu was the only one who was addressed, and that not only *ástar áhasta* but also *súvāṅ nábhrāḍ áṅghāre bámbhāre* were mere epithets of the archer, who could be called a 'guardian' of Soma to the extent that he personified, like the *áhi Vṛtrá*, the repressive power of the primordial world.

III. *nabhrā́ṭ*

Since *áṅghāre* and *bámbhāre* are entirely obscure, the only word that can help us to decide this question is *nábhrāṭ*. Although this reading is found in only two of von Schroeder's manuscripts (ad MS 1.2.5: 14,11) its correctness is warranted by KS, KapKS (once) and Pāṇini 6.3.75 (who analyzes it as *na+bhrāj*). Since it obviously consists of *nabh* + *rāj*, the problem is what meaning should be assigned to *nabh*. The interpretation as 'im Gewölk, im Luftraum herrschend' (von Schroeder 1881, XVI) was based on the assumption that it was the name of 'one of the celestial guardians of Soma'. Although Geldner was right in stating that *nabh* 'cloud' could have existed by the side of *nábhas* (note on his translation of RV I.174.8; see also Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930, 241), in fact the word *nabh*, twice attested in the Rigveda, has a different meaning. See I.174.8

sánā tā́ ta Indra návyā ā́guḥ
sáho nábhó 'viraṇāya pūrvī́ḥ
bhinát púro ná bhído ádevīr
nanámo vádhar ádevasya pīyóḥ

> These are thine old (exploits). New ones have come: conquer the many *nabhs* so that displeasure may end (?); force open the ungodly apertures, as if they were fortresses; fend off the weapon of the ungodly adversary.

[For *návyā* see Oldenberg 1909, 174. Geldner: 'neue (Wolken)', Renou 1969, 51: 'de nouveaux (hymnes)'; for *nábho* Geldner and Lüders 1951, 693, have 'Wolken', Renou '(hymnes) éclatants' (but *nábho* is an accusative); for *sáho* see Geldner ('überwinde'), Lüders ('errege'), Oldenberg ('Siege').]

and IX.74.6cd

cátasro nā́bho níhitā avó divó
havír bharanty amṛtaṁ ghṛtaścútaḥ

> Four *nabhs* have been placed under the heaven; sprinkling *ghee*, they bear the nectar as an oblation.

[*nā́bho* is not a *hapax legomenon* (Lüders 1951, 285); for *avó divó* see Kuiper 1972, 148 n. 2.]

In the Indra hymn (I.174) the god is urged to repeat his demiurgical act of opening the primordial hill. The poets, when referring to this act, often use the verbs *bhid-* 'to split, cleave, break, pierce', *tṛd-* 'to cleave, pierce', *dṛ-* 'to burst, break asunder, split open' and either a word denoting 'mountain, rock' (*ádri, girí, párvata, áśman, vrajá*) or a word for 'hole, well', e.g., II.15.3 *khā́ny atṛṇan nadī́nām*, VII.82.3 *ánv apā́ṁ khā́ny atṛntam ójasā*, IX.110.5 *abhy àbhí àhí hí śrávasā tatárdithó 'tsam*, V.32.1 *ádardar útsam ásrjo ví khā́ni*, II.24.4 *áśmāsyam avatám ... abhí yám ójasā́ 'tṛṇat*. Note also *ápa-vṛ-* 'to open' in I.11.5 *tváṁ valásya gómató 'pāvar adrivo bílam* and I.32.11 *apā́m bílam ápihitaṁ yád ā́sīd vṛtráṁ jaghanvā́m̐ ápa tád vavāra* and the parallelism with the forcing open of inimical towns, e.g. II.24.2 *yó nántvāny ánaman ny ójaso ’tā́ ’dardar manyúnā śámbarāṇi ví* ’who ... in rage forced open the (fortresses of) the Śambaras’.

Therefore, the *hapax legomenon bhíd* in *bhinát* ... *bhído ádevīr* ’split open the apertures which belong to the non-devas’ is probably another term for the same notion of the four holes in the central (earlier: primordial) mountain, from which rivers stream forth in four directions.

The same is apparently true of *nabh*. The idea that *nábho* (in I.174.8 *sáho nábho*) means ’clouds’, which stems from 19th century ideas about Vedic mythology, was still defended by Geldner, but for the second passage (IX.74.6) Roth (PW) already gave ’Oeffnung, Ritze; Mündung’ (pw: ’etwa Oeffnung oder Quell’) as the meaning of *nā́bho*, which was accepted by Oldenberg and Lüders. *nábh* is clearly the root noun to *nabh-*’to burst, be torn or rent asunder’; cf. IV.19.7 *nabhanú* ’sich spaltend’ and V.59.7 *nabhanū́m̐r* ’Berggeklüfte’ (as proposed by Oldenberg). The *nā́bho* were, indeed ’Berstungen’, but not (as Oldenberg thought) ’feindlicher Mächte’. The number four in IX.74.6 leaves little doubt that the word refers to the cosmic symbolism of the four holes in the cosmic mountain. Cf. Śaun. 18.4.30 *kóśaṁ duhanti kaláśaṁ cáturbilam*.

nabh-rā́j accordingly means ’ruling over the (four) holes, lord of the apertures’, and this was the very function of Kṛśānu. A parallel is the epithet *samrā́j* in the yajus with which the adhvaryu addresses the *āhavanīya* (MS 1.2.12: 21,13 etc.): *samrā́ḍ asi Kṛśā́nuḥ*. See ĀpŚS 11.14.10.

It will perhaps be objected that at the moment of the theft of Soma there were not yet holes in the mountain, because the *śyená* stole Soma before Indra’s *vṛtrahátya*. See, e.g., RV II.15.3 *vájreṇa khā́ny atṛṇan nadī́nām*. The nether world, however, which, as the counterpart of the upper world, arose as the result of Indra’s act, continues the repressive power of the primordial world. The poets’ thoughts are often vacillating between the primordial world *in illo tempore* and the actuality of Varuṇa’s nether world, which still betrays its originating in the primeval chaos. A clear example is Varuṇa’s power of detaining the water springing from wells (hence *varuṇagṛhītá* ’afflicted with dropsy’), which is identical with Vṛtra’s power in the undivided primordial world.

IV. Conclusion

In the older (Rigvedic) version of the *śyená* myth there was only one guardian, viz. a serpent demon who had a Vṛtra-like character and who opposed the theft of Soma (just as there was only one Gandharva, named Viśvāvasu). Since in this myth the only one who could be called *nabhrā́j* was Kṛśānu, it would seem probable that in the mantra *nábhrāḍ* (and consequently *áṅghāre* and *bámbhāre*) originally were mere epithets of Kṛśānu. The nature of the evidence does not allow a strict proof, but if this is correct, the final conclusion must be that the priest who, during the genesis of the Yajurvedic corpus, composed the mantra with the anuṣṭubh line *eté vaḥ somakráyaṇās tā́n rakṣadhvaṁ mā́ vo dabhan* was no longer fully acquinted with the older myth.

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THE RĀJASŪYA
A Paradigm of Early State Formation?

H. Kulke

In his oft-quoted paper "The Conumdrum of the King's Authority"[1] Heesterman admits that at a first glance the rituals of the royal *rājasūya* consecration give "the impression of a rather garbled scenario". But he points out that "to some extent it is possible to overcome this difficulty by paying attention to the 'boxing device' of the ritual which tends to embed an important episode in the middle of another rite". By this method he is able to discern in the rituals a sequence of "unction, war or raiding expedition, and inthronization as a cycle connecting *grāma* and *araṇya*".

The present paper[2] tries to work out another "historical" development embedded in the *rājasūya* rituals i.e. the process of pristine state formation in Late Vedic North India. It is a matter of course that the grand royal consecration ritual of the *rājasūya* itself represents an important stage in this process of emerging kingship and its legitimation. However, if my understanding of the *rājasūya* texts, particularly of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and their historical context is correct, they pertain not only to legitimation problems etc. of an allegedly already fairly well established institution of kingship. These texts may also reflect - or even pertain to still existing - early stages of hierarchical structures and political authority in Vedic India.

Elsewhere[3] I proposed as the first and decisive step towards the emergence of hierarchical structures of future pristine state formation in Late Vedic India the emergence of villages (*grāma*) and their control by *kṣatriyas* and *rājanyas* as a new rural elite. This protracted process certainly had already begun in Northwestern India during the Late Rigvedic period but it accelerated considerable since the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Major causes of this social change were the migration of Aryan people into the Ganga-Yamuna Doab and the eastern Gangetic valley and their subsequent settlement in *grāmas*. The renewed migration led to further disintegtration of the Rigvedic tribes (*jana*) and their ethnic identity on the one hand and to the emergence of the *grāma*-treks as a new type of small but mobile and autonomous social groups on the other. The subsequent settling down of these groups is indicated by the semantic change of the word *grāma*. Whereas in the early Vedic literature *grāma* originally referred to a "trek" of migrating Aryans, it was during the following period of the Brāhmaṇas that *grāma* began to refer more and more frequently to villages, the "settled treks", as pointed out by W. Rau.[4] This semantic change of the word *grāma* was accompanied by a change of leadership of these *grāmas*. The early grāmas were led by the *grāmaṇis* the "trek leaders" who always belonged to the *viś* population of the grāma. The later development witnessed the emergence of the *grāmin,* the "village owner", who appears to have always come from the *rājanyas* or *kṣatriyas*.

Their relationship with the *grāmas* and their *viś* polulation is still uncertain. In her book "From Lineage to State" R. Thapar interprets *viś* as a clan and assumes a bifurcation of the early Rigvedic *viś* into "senior lineages of the *rājanyas* and the lesser, junior or cadet lineages which continued to be called *viś*".[5] This clan model indeed offers a very plausible explanation wich would help us to understand structural changes in Late Vedic society, particularly the new social stratification during the Brāhmaṇa period. However, the contemporary sources are not sufficiently clear to prove finally the existence of a lineage-clan structure of the early Gangetic society. To my understanding the *viś* population of the grāmas emerged as a new and economically dominant social group during the Late Vedic migration period. Its social nucleus consisted of a group of relatives (*sajāta*). During the migration and particularly in the settled *grāmas* it attracted and subjugated other people, such as other migrants, prisoners of war and (particularly in the settled vilages) indigenous workers and craftsmen. All of them appear to have merged into the *viś*, the village population.

The *rājanyas* and *kṣatriyas* originally may have belonged to the *sajāta* group of the *viś* but their higher status may have been based as much on their military prowess and booty as on their - assumed- affiliation to a senior lineage. Whatever might have been their original position in the population of the early *grāma* treks, their rise to power as "lord of the village" (*grāmapati*) or "owner of the village" (*grāmin*) may have been at least partly a consequence of the beginning settlement of the *grāma*. With the receding of constant warfare and raids after the migration period they not only lost a major source of income. Perhaps even graver was their deprivation of a major source of their social status, that is the distribution of booty. As an aftermath of their "demobilization" in the settled *grāmas*, these warriors might have had to look for new additional sources of income which allowed them to maintain their higher status. In an agrarian society this additional income could come only (or at least partly) from the agrarian surplus of the villages.

It was this situation in which *rājanyas* and *kṣatriyas* began to develop a peculiar "longing for a village" (*grāmakāma*). We are well-informed about this new social situation through a large number of "wish offerings" (*kāmyeṣṭi*) of the Brāhmaṇas and Saṃhitās.[6] These *kāmyeṣṭis* describe rituals which had to be performed by *grāmakāmas* who wished to subdue or regain a village and its population. In this regard it is particularly worth mentioning that the aim of many of these *grāmakāma-kāmyeṣṭis* was the subjugation of the own relatives (*sajāta*). From this evidence it becomes clear that the rise of a local chief always had to begin with the subordination of the relatives in their own village. The *kāmyeṣṭis* therefore constitute a most important source for our study of social change in Late Vedic India as they clearly indicate social tensions and even struggles. They stemmed from *grāmakāma*, the desire of a *rājanya* or *kṣatriya* to own a village on the one hand and the desire of the relatives (*sajāta*) and villagers (*viś*) to get rid of their self-appointed village owner (*grāmin*) on the other hand. The *kāmyeṣṭis* furnish evidence of the risk of a *grāmakāma* was incuring by his desire. How else has one to understand the great number of special *kāmyeṣṭis* that were prescribed for *grāmins* who wanted to regain their villages from which they had been ousted by their own *sajāta* or *viś*? The *kamyeṣṭis* thus are bearing witness of the still very uncertain social position of the *rājanyas* and the *kṣatriyas* as a newly emerging elite of Late Vedic India. But, at the same time, these *kāmyeṣṭis* also testify the beginning of a hitherto unknown social and economic hierarchization of the Vedic society which slowly fell apart into two classes, viz. the Kṣatriyas and Brahmaṇas as the "eater" (*attṛ*) and the *viś* population of the villages as food (*ādya, anna*).[7]

Incipient agrarian extension, "grāmaization" and, conected with both, hierarchization of the Vedic society formed the basis of the historically most seminal social change of Late Vedic North India, that is the beginning of early state formation. This development, too, is reflected in Vedic ritual texts. If we are following Heesterman's advice to pay attention to the "boxing device", the *rājasūya*, one of his grand themes[8] appears to reveal interesting pieces of an evolutionary model of pristine state formation. It depicts in an almost Weberian "idealtypischer Weise" the rise of a patriarchal householder (*gṛhapati*) of the emerging elite (*rājanya, kṣatriya*). After having established himself as the uncontested chief of a village (*grāmpati, grāmin*) and its *viś* population, he subdued several vilages and their hinterland with its *jana*[9] population thus becoming a *svarāja*, viz. a "self-ruler" or autocrat, of a *rāṣtra* chiefdom. In the final stage of early state formation the chieftains (*rājā*) tried to subdue other rājās in order to become an overlord of these rājās (*rājñām adhirāja*). These different stages of early state formation can be, at least partly, recognized in the Vedic royal consecration rituals.

Although the *rājasūya* ceremony[10] focusses on the second and third stages of early state formation, the texts also reveal that these early rulers still had to tackle similar problems which had already marred the local *grāmakāma* in his desire to subdue a village. The *kāmyeṣṭis* have shown us that in the early phase the *viś* population still had been strong enough to oust a *grāmin*. Even though the newly emerging rājās appear to have been strong enough to withstand these pressures, they faced nevertheless similar problems. In their case, however, the *viś* population apparently chose another means to defy their subjugation by an unwanted *rājā*. They began to migrate again. After all, the memory of the great migration was certainly still alive. To my understanding of the *rājasūya* texts, large parts of the ceremony appear to have served the very purpose to stop the population from running away and to accept the "royal" *sūamāna*, the sacrificer, as their ruler. In this connection, too, it has to be pointed out that particularly the ruler's own dignitaries and relatives had to be courted not to abandon but to support him loyally. The famous *ratnīnāṃ havīṃṣi*, the offerings which the consecrated rāja offered to the not-yet-so-great-grandees of his "court" (which have caused much ink to flow[11]), appear to have served exactly this specific purpose. Thus we are informed by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: "Then as to why he performs the oblations of the Ratnins: it is their king he becomes; it is for them that he thereby is consecrated, and it is them he makes his own faithful followers" (5.3.1.12). It is significant that the literal meaning of this desired "faithfulness" is in fact "not going away" (*anapakrāmin*). This purpose becomes even more obvious from the sprinkling ceremony when the consecrated rājā is sprinkled by water from a pond - which, in contrast to flowing water, does not flow away. "With that (water) he (the priest) sprinkles: he thereby makes the *viś* steady and faithful to him (the king)" (5.3.4.14). Here again the literal sense is very clear: The *viś* should remain "immovable" (*sthāvara*) and "not going away" (*anapakrāmin*).

From anthropologists we know that fission (and fusion) was a major characteristic of tribal chiefdoms though it continued to harass even more developed polities.[12] Fissiparous tendencies appear to have been prevalent specifically among the relatives of the rājā and his dignitaries, most of whom might have belonged to the former. This is evident from the above quotations from the *ratnīn* ceremony and the sprinkling ceremony. In the latter, *viś* is clearly referred to in the singular. In the context of the *rājasūya* ceremonies the (one) *viś* appears to have always meant the (own) *viś* of the rājā and not "the people" in general. Whenever *viś* occurs in the human context in the plural[13], it referred to the many (other) *viś* which the rājā wanted to control. The reason for taking special care of the relatives may not have been restricted to their fissiparous ambitions. Pristine state formation, particularly in sedentary and agrarian societies, emerged from patriarchal households. Economically, chiefdoms and early states were still largely depending on their own *oikos*, although booty and, in some cases, trade will have provided additional means. The key-position of the own social group for the rise of a chief becomes very clear from a passage from the chariot drive ceremony of rājasūya where it is clearly stated:

"Verily, it is through the *viś* (sg.) that the *kṣatriya* wins what he desires to win" (5.4.3.8).

Initially, however, the rājā's position vis-à-vis his relatives was a very peculiar one as he had to subordinate them and, at the same time, to win their loyalty and to gain their support for his far-reaching plans. This double strategy of the rājā is still perceivable from his ritual performances during the chariot drive. In the process of this ceremony he had to stop his chariot in the midst of the cows of his relatives (*sva, sg.*). "Now as to why he stops admidst the cows of his relatives (*sva, sg.*) - whatever is tending away from a man, be it either fame, or anything else, that passes over to his relative (*sva*); that energy, or vigour, he now takes again from his relative to himself: that is why he stops admidst the cows of his relatives" (5.4.3.11). How much care and adroitness is required by the rājā in this tricky situation is evident from the next verse. "In return he restores to him just as many (cows) or more. For assuredly he, the sacrificer, is not capable of a cruel (*krūra*) deed but cruelly indeed he acts when he says: 'I overpower them, I seize them'; and thus it is done by him without cruelty: this is why, in return, he restores to him as many (cows) or more" (5.4.3.12).

The meaning of *sva* in this context poses some difficulties. Whereas Eggeling always translates it with "relative", W. Rau maintains not without reason that *sva* in this Vedic context referred to one's equal ("Standgenosse").[14] Without going into details I would instead suggest in our context to translate *sva*, particularly its singular collectivum, as the patriarchal household, with all its people, goods and chattels. It would thus be related to *gārhapata*, the position of a house-lord, which is referred to in one of the next verses. Here we learn that the position of *gārhapata* means property which renders his kingship (*rājya*) free (*vimucyate*, 5.4.3.15). The next two verses contain instructions of how to overcome the *kṣatra* (which stands here for "nobility") and the *viś* (sg.) in order to liberate the "kingship" (*rājya*) from their influence and competition. Notwithstanding the fact that these rituals had a symbolical meaning which transformed these local needs into a cosmic order, their social parameters and paradigms were still deeply rooted in a local world where these pristine processes of early political development took place.

However, the rājās who performed the *rājasūya* ceremonies already aimed also at an extension of their patriarchal authority into the hinterland of their own local "Stammland". The only way to reach this aim was the establishment and successful maintenance of control over neighbouring villages. The question of how this control was established is one of the most crucial problems of pristine state formation in Late Vedic India. Raids and warfare certainly played an important role in the initial phase but might not have prevented villagers from "running away".

In this regard Romila Thapar's lineage model would be particularly helpful as it could explain the merger of several "lineage villages" under the leadership of the clan elder. The *rājasūya* texts contain an interesting passage which may hint at such an explanation of this crucial question. During the *abhiṣeka* or sprinkling ceremony, the priest takes overflowing (*parivāhiṇi*) water that flows off the main current. "With that (water) he sprinkles. Now that (flow of water), after separating (*apacchid*) itself from that main (current), comes to be that again; and so there is in his kingdom (*rāṣṭra*) even one belonging to some other kingdom, and even that man from another kingdom he absorbs: thus he (the priest) bestows abundance (*bhūman*) upon him (the king), and it is with abundance that he thus consecrates him" (5.3.4.9). If we interpret *bhūman* not only in the more general sense as "abundance" but as "earth" or even "territory", the intrinsic historical meaning or background of this ritual may become quite clear: A part of the main group (*viś*) which, after having split and moved away, became reunited again with the main group (e.g. through marriage). Thus the territory of the rājā would have been extended and its population enlarged as it included persons who previously had "belonged to some other kingdom". This story may in fact refer to the process of fission and fusion in a segmentary lineage society, an interpretation which, however, needs further substantiation.

Whatever may have been the means and ways of extending patriarchal authority into neighbouring regions of competing *grāmins* and chiefs, its accomplishment was the essential prerequisite for achieving "great power" (*mahā kṣatra*) and "great man-rule" (*mahā janarājya*) (5.3.3.12). To safeguard and legitimize this aim must have been the major purpose of the grand *rājasūya* ceremony with its large number of complicated rituals. In this context it is significant that, after having sprinkled the rājā with "overflowing water" through which the rājā absorbed men from another *rāṣṭra*, the priest had to sprinkle the water of the "Lord of the Rivers" (*nadīpati*) (5.3.4.10) or ocean which makes the rājā the "lord of the (many) *viś* (*viśam*)" (5.3.4.10). In the next verse the rājā is sprinkled by a whirlpool water that transforms him into "the *garbha* of the (many) *viś*".[15] There can be no doubt that this verse refers to an act of ritual procreation that unites the rājā finally also with those *viś*, which had come only recently under his control. The sequence of these three differrent sprinkling rituals - starting with the overflowing water through which the rājā absorbs other people, followed by water of the "lord of the rivers" (*nadīpati*) through which he becomes the legitimate lord (*pati*) of the (many) *viś* and finally in the *niveṣya* water ritual which transforms the rājā into the *garbha* of these *viś* - makes the existence of an underlying evolutionary pattern of these rituals quite likely, depicting subsequent stages of pristine political development in Vedic India.

The *rājasūya* continues with the rājā's consecration by water from a sunny spot and some rainwater which has been touched by the sun. These waters associate the rājā with Varuṇa and purify him by an impressive synbolism. But here, too, we are not concerned with this symbolism (5.3.4.12-13).[16] More important for our present delineation is the fact that these two verses with their very high symbolic meaning are followed by the already quoted verse which describes the rājā's consecration by the water from a pond which makes the (one) *viś* "fixed and not moving away" (*sthāvarām anapakramiṇīm*) (5.3.4.14). What appears like an anticlimax, bringing the king down from Varuṇa's cosmic level to his own still unreliable local *viś*, is more likely a very realistic depiction of the crucial problem faced by these would-be Mahārājas: Before finally "taking off", they had to reassure themselves again of the loyalty of their own people (*viś*) which formed the most essential prerequisite of their further rise to power. After this "reassurance contract" with his own people the rājā is consecrated with a number of highly esteemed liquids: honey, embryonic water of a calving cow, milk and clarified butter. The last two of these liquids and "givers of realm" are described as "man-supporting" (*janabhṛt*) and as "all-supporting" (*viśvabhṛt*) respectively. Finally the rājā is consecrated with sun motes (*marīci*) collected in the hollow of the hands and mixed with water. "For those sun-motes are indeed self-ruling (*svarāja*) waters, since they are flowing, as it were, and, not yielding to one another's superiority, keep being now higher now lower: he thus thereby bestows self-ruling power (*svarājya*) upon him" (5.3.4.21).

The consecration by milk and clarified butter and finally by sun-motes not only forms the conclusion of the *abhiṣeka* or sprinkling ceremony with 17 different liquids, but contains its apex. It provided the highest legitimation to the *sūyamana* as he is invoked as supporter of *jana* population and of *viśva*, that is everything in the sphere of his extended authority. Consecrated by the sun-motes he gained self-ruling power (*svarājya*) and thus becomes an "autocrat" (*svarāja*) in a literal sense, "not yielding to another's superiority" (*atiṣṭhā*)", the greatest desire of all *kṣatriyas*.

But *svarājya* was not yet identical with imperial or even with the idea of universal rule as manifested in the later *cakravartin* concept. From the *rājasūya* rituals of the Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa one gains the impression that *svarājya* still pertained to an extended patriarchal rule primarily based on its own *viś* and on the control of adjacent villages. Its fate was still uncertain or, in the words of our text, "high and low" (*uttaradhara*).

However, the *rājasūya* ceremony also strove for the achievement of a still higher level of political authority uniting several of these self-running units under one overlordship. This can be inferred from at least one passage of the text. After having been consecrated by the priest with Soma's glory, Agni's lustre, Sūrya's splendour, and Indra's energy, the priest proclaims: "Be thou the chieftain of chiefs, be thou overlord of kings (*kṣatrānām kṣatrapati rājñāmadhipati*; 5.4.2.2). The literal translation of the first title may be disputable as *kṣatra* refers both to "power" and its upholders, the *kṣatriyas*. But to my understanding Eggeling's translation conveys the correct intrinsic meaning as both titles appear to refer to two different levels of authority: The former to the more local level of *kṣatriya* chiefs and the latter to royal authority of early kingship. Both titles testify to the existence of a new institution of overlordship in a pyramidically structured hierarchy. *Rājñāmadhipati* thus can be regarded as an anticipation of the later imperial title *mahārājādhirāja*. But the Vedic title, particularly its second part (*adhipati*), still gives expression to the primus inter pares character of Late Vedic kingship rather than to the position of a "supreme king of kings", as translated by Eggeling.

This position of the Late Vedic "overlord of kings" might have formed the background of another new title which occurs in the text only towards the end of the *abhiṣeka* ceremony, that is *sāmrājya*. During the later development of Hindu kingship *sāmrājya* clearly meant imperial authority which however did not yet exist in Vedic India. In its original Vedic context *sāmrājya* therefore may have well alluded to the peculiar position of an overlord who was able to bring together (*sam*) several rājās under his authority. Nevertheless, the context of this passage indicates that further social stratification may have already been linked with this new political development. The passage which contains the reference to *sāmrājya* begins with a verse that explains the king's right to sit on a chair (*āsandī*) whereas the people had to sit below him (5.4.4.1). It is significant that just in this context the usual word *viś* is exchanged for *prajā* which means "people" in general but has the clear connotation of "subjects".

The rituals are silent about how this position of an overlord was achieved. However, the texts allow us to infer that in Late Vedic India it occured only very rarely even though its achievement will have been the ultimate aim of a rājā. The frequent call upon the *viś* to accept the *sūyamāna* as their rājā and the many invocations of the various waters, by which he is consecrated, to act as a "giver of the *rāṣṭra* (*rāṣṭradā*) (e.g. 5.3.4.1 ff) show that the legitimation of *rājya* rather than *sāmrājya* was the main purpose of the *rājasūya* rituals. Furthermore, after having been declared as "chieftain of chiefs" and "overlord of kings" (5.4.2.2) the gods are invoked to make him "unrivalled" and "without an enemy" (5.4.2.3) and a few verses later the king himself prays that his son may perpetuate his vigour (*vīrya*, 5.4.2.8). From this evidence we may infer hypothetically that the institution of royal overlordship and its inheritability were still precarious.

If we follow Heesterman's "boxing device" we may discover still another interesting episode. After having been invoked as the overlord, the *sūyamāna* looks down to the earth and mutters: 'O mother Earth, injure me not, nor I thee!' For the Earth was once afraid of Varuṇa; when he had been consecrated, thinking, 'Something great surely has he become now that he has been consecrated: I fear lest he may rend me asunder!' And Varuṇa also was afraid of the Earth, thinking, 'I fear lest she may shake me off!' Hence by that (formula) he (the king) entered into a friendly relation with her; for a mother does not injure her son, nor does a son injure his mother" (5.4.3.22). This is certainly a most fascinating story full of symbolism. But in our context suffice it to say that the inclusion of this myth into the consecration ceremony may well reveal a fear of a hitherto rather unusual or untried stage of political evolution.

In a traditional society rituals might well have been an expression of political action rather than a substitute of it. It was through these rituals that the sacrificer tried to influence very directly his own position and - mostly in a negative way - that of others. Usually we equate "ritualism" with social stagnation and a society dominated by ritualism therefore seemingly was bound to stagnate and remain unchanging as e.g. C. Geertz' theatre state in 19th century Bali.[17] However, in regard to Vedic India we have to keep in mind that socially and politically most important processes, e.g. the beginnings of settledness, agrarian extension and early state formation - that is, the transformation from a pastoral and nomadic society to an agriculturally based early statehood - took place during the so-called Brāhmaṇa period which is regarded as a period of ritualism par excellence. Vedic rituals therefore apparently did not hinder social and political development. On the contrary, it is even more likely that they not only reflected but sometimes even influenced socio-political developments through their impact on "public" opinion.[18] Therefore it should not at all be surprising that these rituals also contain references which allow us to reconstruct socio-political processes which otherwise would have remained undocumented.

NOTES

1. J.C. Heesterman, The Conumdrum of the King's Authority, in: *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. by J.F. Richards, University of Wisconsin, Madison 1978, pp. 1-27.
2. A revised version of a lecture held at the Instituut Kern in March 1985. I am grateful to Prof. J.C. Heesterman and to Prof. M. Witzel for their invitation and comments.
3. H. Kulke, Grāmakāma- 'das Verlangen nach einem Dorf'. Überlegungen zum Beginn frühstaatlicher Entwicklung im vedischen Indien, in: *Saeculum*, 42 (1991) 111-128.
4. W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 51 ff.
5. R. Thapar, *From Lineage to State. Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley*, Bombay 1984, p. 30. For *viś* see also S. Zimmer, *Viśāmpati* und *viśpati*, in: Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, 44 (1985) 291-304 and H. Scharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition*, Leiden, 1989.
6. W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei. Darstellung des altindischen Wunschopfers*, Amsterdam 1908 (reprint 1968).
7. R. Gelb, Food and Eater in Natural Philosophy of Early India, in: *Journal of Oriental Research* (Baroda), 25 (1976) 223-235.
8. J.C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration. The Rājasūya Described According to the Yajus Texts and Annoted*, 's-Gravenhage 1957.
9. W. Rau points out that during the Brāhmaṇa period *jana* does not any longer have its original meaning of tribe "sondern bezeichnet den Menschen schlechthin, besonders den fremden Menschen und als Kollektivum im sing. die Fremde, die Ferne" (op.cit., p. 64). In the context of early states in India it may have begun to refer to the population outside the "royal" patriarchal nuclear area, thus in a way anticipating the later *jānapada* population of the countryside.
10. The following delineations are primarily based on the rājasūya text of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ed. by A. Weber (1855) and its translation by J. Eggeling (1894, repr. 1963).
11. J.C. Heesterman (Rājasūya, p. 53) is of the opinion that "we must refrain from considering their names (of the ratnins) as clues giving information on the actual organization of the royal government". To my interpretation the list of *ratnins* gives a quite realistic picture of the little "royal" courts of Late Vedic rulers.
12. R. Cohen, State Origins: A Reappraisal, in: *The Early State*, ed. by H.J.M. Claessen and P. Skalnik, The Hague 1978, p. 31-75.
13. In the case of the Maruts, the divine *viś*, the term occurs always in plural.
14. Rau, op.cit., p. 71 ff.

15. *garbha* is usually understood as embryo (Eggeling and Heesterman, op.cit., p. 87). To my understanding, *garbha* in this context may also mean "womb, uterus". The rājā would thus be invoked as the origin or mythical ancestor of the (many) *viś*, a concept which would suit very well R. Thapar's lineage model.
16. See J.C. Heesterman, op.cit., pp. 79-90.
17. Clifford Geertz, Negara. *The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*, Princeton 1980.
18. On a very different level of social communication and political awareness the political impact of an organized mass demonstration in our ages may well be compared with the socio-political role of a grand Vedic ritual, e.g. the great horse sacrifice.

THE "SARVATOBHADRA" TEMPLE OF THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARAPURĀṆA AND THE VIṢṆU TEMPLE AT DEOGARH

A. Lubotsky

> "Where in reality the Sarvatobhadra of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' was built and when, cannot be said as yet".
> Stella Kramrisch, 'The Hindu Temple', p. 421.

In the winter of 1977-1978, as a third-year student of Indology in Leiden, I wrote a term paper on the temples described in the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa. Now, thirteen years later, I would like to present this paper, thoroughly revised, to Prof. Heesterman once again.

1. In spite of the fact that we find many descriptions of temples in the Sanskrit literature, it appeared hardly possible to identify the different varieties described in the texts with the remains of actual temples and this is quite understandable. For a successful identification, the following requirements must be met:

1) the description must not be too fragmentary;
2) the text must contain the description of a real temple and not a fantasy of the author;
3) the state of preservation of the archaeological remains must allow identification;
4) the chronology of the text and the chronology of the remains of the temple must correlate.

It does not often occur that all these requirements can be met. The archaeological remains are too scanty and often too damaged while the descriptions of the temples found in the texts are in general too fragmentary, usually only containing the norm for the main proportions of the temple and a classification of different types, which is not enough for a successful identification. Nevertheless, sometimes an identification seems possible and in the present article I shall try to show that the temple described in the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa under the name 'Sarvatobhadra' is in reality the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh.

2. The third khaṇḍa of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (henceforth, the abbreviation VDh will be used for the third khaṇḍa of this text) consists of short treatises on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, metrics, poetics, dancing, singing, music, painting, iconography and architecture. These treatises are composed as a dialogue between the king Vajra, who poses the questions, and the mythical sage Mārkaṇḍeya, who gives the answers in the form of prescriptions. The temple architecture is dealt with in

three chapters: chapter 86 "Prāsādalakṣaṇam" ('The characteristics of the temples') presents the classification of a hundred temples; chapter 87 "Sarvatobhadraprāsādalakṣaṇam" ('The characteristics of the Sarvatobhadra temple') is dedicated to the description of the so-called "Sarvatobhadra" temple; and, finally, chapter 88 "Sāmānyaprāsādalakṣaṇam" ('General characteristics of the temples') gives general information about temple proportions. The iconography is dealt with in chapters 44-85.

The only temple which is described in great detail is the Sarvatobhadra temple[1], dedicated to the four emanations of Viṣṇu (see below, section 6.1.). Requirement 1) from section 1. above does not present any problems: the author of the VDh meticulously describes the form of this temple and registers the iconography of the shrines.

3. As to requirement 2), there are several indications that the author described a real temple. The description of the Sarvatobhadra temple is concluded by a lengthy eulogy (87.43-63) to the merits one gets when he builds this temple, worships gods there or even merely sees it. Here are some extracts: "One who builds such a temple in accordance with the prescriptions and always worships[2] all gods is known as Cakravartin (the sovereign of the world) in the beginning of the Tretāyuga, he resides in the heaven as long as he wishes and then he attains communion with Viṣṇu. The man who has once worshipped all gods in this temple with all kinds of offers will certainly get the benefit of the gift of the three worlds and without any doubt will attain whatever he desires. As soon as the very beautiful temple with its Cakras and Patākas becomes visible, the calamities disappear. Undoubtedly, anyone who enters it is not susceptible to disease, sudden death, calamity. Demons have no power over him ... The king in whose dominion this temple is built remains in the heaven of Indra and rejoices for a long time ... No harm should be done to this divine object. The king or his representative who does this goes to the terrible hell together with his sons, cattle and relatives and his position in this world will certainly vanish ...".

The temple is so precisely described and its merits are so eloquently praised that one gets the impression that the author saw the Sarvatobhadra temple himself. The special importance of this particular temple for the author of the VDh also emerges from the fact that he did not include this temple in the classification of hundred temples, but described it in a separate chapter. He definitely wanted to indicate that the Sarvatobhadra temple is something unique.

As all treatises in the VDh are presented in the form of prescriptions, it need not surprise us that the description of the Sarvatobhadra temple looks as if it were an instruction on how to build it. It is noteworthy, however, that Mārkaṇḍeya hardly allows any alternatives in this instruction. Once (87.17-18) he says that the image of Vāsudeva in the main shrine should face the east or the west and no other direction, but then he adds: *vāsudevadiśaṃ cātra pūrvāṃ rājan prakalpayet // tasyāś caivānusāreṇa diśaḥ syāt parikalpanā* 'O king, one should consider the direction of Vāsudeva to be the east. The order [of the deities] should be in conformity with this direction'. And, indeed, in the following placement of the deities Vāsudeva occupies the east while the place of the other gods is given in relation to Vāsudeva's position. If the prototype of the Sarvatobhadra temple faced the east, this reservation would not be necessary. Therefore, it seems probable that in the real temple Vāsudeva stood with his face not to the east as one would expect, but to the west.

The only other free choice in Mārkaṇḍeya's instruction is given for the iconography of another temple, which should be built in the courtyard of the main temple. In the niches of the enclosure around this temple one should put manifestations of Viṣṇu or all classes of gods in the proper order (see below, section 6.9.). Here, too, it seems plausible to assume that the author expected the placement of manifestations of Viṣṇu in a Viṣṇu temple, but, in reality, he found different classes of gods installed in the niches.

In view of these considerations we may assume that while describing his Sarvatobhadra temple the author of the VDh had a real temple in mind, a temple which he himself saw and admired.

4. Both requirements concerning the text being met, we can turn to the archaeological remains of the temple which I believe to be the prototype of the Sarvatobhadra temple of the VDh. In the secondary literature this temple is usually called the Gupta temple or the Daśāvatāra temple ("The temple of ten avatāras of Viṣṇu", which is an unfortunate name) at Deogarh (Jhānsi District, Uttar Pradesh). The first scientific description of this temple is Cunningham's report (1880: 104ff), where he described the remnants and proposed a reconstruction of the ground plan. He recognized that this temple was built during the Gupta period and was dedicated to Viṣṇu. In 1917-18, Daya Ram Sahni excavated the platform of the temple and found the remains of four shrines in the corners of the platform. In 1952, Vats published a complete description of the remains of the temple, providing measurements, drawings of the elevation of the ground plan, a description of its iconography and an isometric projection of the reconstructed temple.

It is clear that requirement 3) is also fulfilled, as the remains of this temple are sufficient to allow identification.

5. The date of the VDh and of the Deogarh temple (requirement 4) cannot be determined with certainty, but the limits are clear. Priyabala Shah gives as the most probable date for the VDh the period between ca. 450 and 650 A.D. (1958: XXVI).[1] Stella Kramrisch believes that "the chapters of the Vishṇudharmottara dealing with painting must have been

compiled in the seventh century, contemporary with the latest paintings of Ajanta" (1928: 5). Gail (1977: 159ff.) assumes that the first two khaṇḍas of the Viṣṇudharmottara were compiled around 600, whereas the third khaṇḍa is of a later date. Pal (1981: 14 and fn. 9) also dates the Viṣṇudharmottara with the seventh century.

The exact date of the Deogarh temple has also been disputed. Cunningham (1880: 110) thought that it could not be placed earlier than A.D. 600 or later than 700, but other investigators presumed an earlier date: Brown (1976: pl. XLI) dated the temple at circa 500 A.D. and Vats (1952: 10f.) ascribed it to the early part of the sixth century A.D. Recently, Joanna Williams (1982: 132) suggested that there were two campaigns in the carving, which is indicated by "the unusually large number of unfinished portions in the sculpture of the temple": the first at about 500, the second roughly 520 to 550. Anyhow, it seems safe to assume that the temple was completed in the first half of the sixth century A.D. (cf. Williams 1982: 132 fn. 98 for an overview of different opinions).

It is therefore clear that, as far as the chronology is concerned, the Deogarh temple could be the prototype of the Sarvartobhadra temple of the VDh. It seems reasonable to assume that the Deogarh temple for many centuries remained in high esteem in North India.

6. Now we may try to compare the description of the Sarvatobhadra temple in the VDh with the actual remains or the proposed reconstructions of the Deogarh temple. Chapter 87 of the VDh, where the Sarvatobhadra temple is described, does not provide any proportions as these are treated in chapter 88, which deals with characteristics and proportions valid for all temples. If not otherwise stated, the text of the VDh is given in accordance with the edition of Priyabala Shah.

6.1. The dedication.

Sarvatobhadra. The main shrine is dedicated to the four aspects of Viṣṇu as follows from the first śloka of the chapter, viz.

87.1 *prāsādam atha vakṣyāmi sarvatobhadrasaṃjñitam*
caturātmā harir yatra kartavyo jagatīpate

> "I shall tell you now about the temple, known as "Sarvatobhadra", where Hari in his four-fold aspect should be placed, o king".

The term *caturātmā* is most probably used here in the sense of the more usual *caturvyūha* 'of four aspects, emanations', the doctrine of the quadripartite divine nature of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in its classical form.

The VDh (87.14-39) gives the iconographical program of the whole temple, precisely indicating which shrine should be dedicated to which deity and which images should be placed on the panels around the platform. As chapters 44-85 provide vast information about the iconography of every deity and his attributes, we can get some impression of the essential iconographical points of the Sarvatobhadra temple. A detailed study of the iconography of the Sarvatobhadra temple and a comparison with that of the Deogarh temple must, however, be reserved for another occasion.

Deogarh. There can be no doubt that the Deogarh temple is dedicated to Viṣṇu. This is indicated by a relief above the doorway (the so-called *lalāṭabimba*), which depicts Viṣṇu sitting on the serpent Ananta with Lakṣmī carressing his foot and with two manifestations of Viṣṇu, Narasiṃha (Man-Lion) and Vāmana (dwarf), to his right and left, respectively. The reliefs in broad and deep niches on the other three sides represent Viṣṇu as a warrior liberating the King of the Elephants (*gajendramokṣa*) at the north, Viṣṇu in the form of two sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa at the east, and Viṣṇu sleeping on the serpent Ananta (the so-called *anantaśayana*), engaged in the act of creation, at the south.

It seems probable to me that the four sides of the temple are dedicated to the four aspects of Viṣṇu: the entrance to Vāsudeva, the Gajendramokṣa side to Saṃkarṣaṇa, the destructive aspect of Viṣṇu, the Naranārāyaṇa side to Pradyumna, the preserving aspect of Viṣṇu, and the Anantaśayana side to Aniruddha, the creative aspect of Viṣṇu. I hope to discuss the details elsewhere.

6.2. The orientation.

Sarvatobhadra. As already indicated above (section 3.), the VDh allows two alternatives for the orientation of the Sarvatobhadra temple: "the image of Vāsudeva should face the east or the west and no other direction. One should consider the direction of Vāsudeva as the east. The order [of the deities] should be in conformity with this direction". If the prototype had faced the east, this reservation would have been unnecessary, which seems to indicate that the prescribed orientation was the east, but, in reality, the temple faced the west.

Deogarh. The Deogarh temple faces the west, but not exactly. It is slightly turned towards the south in such a way that the last rays of the setting sun could shine on the image in the main shrine (see fig. 1). The orientation to the west was not unusual for temples with a "dark" shrine (cf. Kramrisch 1946: 272). It is important that the so-called "Varāha" temple (see below, section 6.7.), is oriented to the east, and its reliefs, being practically identical to the reliefs of our temple are also facing the opposite directions. The temple is turned, as it were, 180 degrees, which is in conformity with the prescription of the VDh: the direction of Vāsudeva is the east, and the placement of the other gods depends on it.

6.3. The platform.

Sarvatobhadra. According to the VDh, the platform or the plinth of the Sarvatobhadra temple must be square (87.2a *caturasrā*). From chapter 88 we further learn that the temple platforms should be very high:

88.6cd *tṛtīyam aṃśaṃ vasudhā tṛtīyāṃśaḥ kaṭir bhavet*
88.7ab *mañjarī ca tṛtīyāṃśaḥ prāsādasya mahābhuja*

> "The platform (*vasudhā*) should make up one third of [the total height of] the temple, the outer wall (*kaṭi*) one third and the *mañjarī* (a type of superstructure) one third, o king".

As the Sarvatobhadra temple does not have a *mañjarī* superstructure, but a spire-like *śikhara* (see below, section 6.8.), the division of height in three equal pieces is irrelevant. Still, the platform and the outer wall are probably of the same height.

This prescription concerning the division of the temple height in three equal segments may be taken over from another treatise on the architecture, as it is also mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (VarBṛS LVI.11) written by Varāhamihira in the first half of the sixth century A.D. (for the date cf. Kern 1865: 4).

The width of the platform is three times the width of the temple, cf.

88.9ab *vasudhāsañcaro rājan kaṭyaṃśadvitayena tu*

> "O king, the area for walking (*sañcara*) of the platform [measures] two parts of the outer wall (*kaṭi*)".[3]

I take *sañcara* to mean 'the ambulatory, the area for walking', i.e. the length (=width) of the platform minus the length (=width) of the temple. Therefore, the length/width of the platform is three times the length/width of the *kaṭi*.

The platform must be surrounded by an enclosure:

87.3 *eṣāṃ pṛṣṭhe jagatyūrdhvaṃ prākāraṃ viniveśayet*
sarvatra mekhalākāraṃ tatrāpi viniveśayet

> "Behind them (the shrines on the platform, see below), perpendicular to the platform one should make an enclosure (*prākāra*). One should make there on every side a kind of a girdle (*mekhalā*)".

We can learn even more particulars about this enclosure if we look at the classification of the hundred temples in chapter 86. The Sarvatobhadra temple belonged to the group of the so-called *maṇḍapa*-temples, i.e. temples with porticoes, for which see below, section 8. The main temple of this group is called Rājarāja, and the text says about its platform:

86.106ab *prākāre jānudaghnāḍhyā yasyaikājagatī bhavet*
c *prāsādatryaṁśatulyā tu ...*
"There should be only one vast platform, reaching up to the knee in [its] enclosure and equal to one third of the temple".

The meaning of *prākāre jānudaghnā* seems to be that the enclosure must reach up to the knee when one stands on the platform. This passage has been misunderstood both by Priyabala Shah and Stella Kramrisch. Priyabala Shah (1961: 204) translates: "Rājarāja temple ... should be in an enclosure. One Jagatī of the main temple reaches upto the knee and is equal to one-third of the temple", which is of course nonsense. Stella Kramrisch (1946: 417) assumes that there were two platforms: "It has one lower and wider Jagatī which is as high as the knee, below, and in addition to, the Jagatī proper, whose height is one-third of the Prāsāda". The text, however, explicitly states that this group of temples has only one platform, in contrast to the previous group with more platforms, which renders this interpretation impossible.

Deogarh. "The plinth (=platform, AL) ... measures 55'6" square ... Though very much ruined, the plinth must, no doubt, have risen to the level of the doorstep of the shrine which is about 9 feet above the moonstones at the bottom of the flights of the steps. Over this, the parapet would have risen to another 2 feet as shown in the conjectural restoration (cf. fig. 2, AL). Numerous pieces of its coping are stacked in the compound ... The vertical height of the terrace at the bottom of the door-sill of the sanctum would thus work to about 9'10" above the moonstones and along the parapet to some 9'7" by allowing a slope of 3"". (Vats 1952: 5).

It is clear that the platform was very high and on Vats' isometric projection the height of the platform is equal to the height of the outer wall. The enclosure mentioned by the VDh corresponds with the parapet in Deogarh. "As the parapet round the plinth also accomodated a smaller series of panels about 1'2" high it must have arisen above the terrace by the height of the coping which is 1'6"" (Vats, ib.). This 1'6" (ca. 45 cm) is exactly what is meant by the VDh as "reaching up to the knee".

As far as the area of the platform is concerned, it has already been noticed by Cunningham that "the whole occupies 9 equal squares, of which the temple itself forms the middle square, while the remaining 8 squares form a terrace" (1880: 105). The outer wall of the temple measures 18'6" x 18'6", so that the length/width of the *kaṭi* is exactly one third of that of the platform (55'6").

6.4. The staircases.

Sarvatobhadra.

87.4cd *catuṣṣu dikṣu sopānaṃ mekhalāyāṃ niveśayet*
87.5ab *sopānas tryaṃśavistāro mekhalāyāḥ prakīrtitaḥ*

> "On the four sides a staircase [leading] to the girdle must be made. The width of the staircase is proclaimed to be one third of that of the girdle".[4]

The fact that the staircase must lead to the girdle indicates that the staircase must begin outside the platform. It seems probable that the girdle was erected not only along the platform, but also along both sides of the staircase. The staircase must therefore be rather broad. This is corroborated by a passage from chapter 88

88.9cd *aṣṭamena tathā hīno madhye sopāna iṣyate*

> "The staircase should be placed in the middle and be 1/8 less [in width than the *kaṭi*]".

This prescription about the width of the staircase corresponds to another passage in the VDh, viz. 86.6cd *kaṭimūlāṣṭhabhāgonaḥ*[5] *sopānavistaro bhavet* "The width of the staircase should be 1/8 less than the bottom of the *kaṭi*".

Further information about the staircase is given in

88.10 *samasaṃkhyaṃ*[6] *tu kartavyaṃ sopānaṃ nityam eva tu*
nātyarthaṃ saṃkaṭaṃ kāryaṃ na vistīrṇaṃ tathaiva ca

> "The staircase should always consist of the same number [of steps]. They should be neither too dense, nor expanded".

The meaning of this śloka seems to be that the staircase becomes *saṃkaṭā-* 'narrow, dense' when there are too many steps, while it becomes *vistīrṇa-* 'expanded, large, broad' when there are too few steps.

Deogarh. Four broad staircases, beginning outside the platform, lead to the temple. All staircases have half-round bases, the so-called moonstones, which are not mentioned by the VDh. Vats does not provide the measurements of the staircases, while on the plan of the temple drawn by Cunningham the width of the staircases is given as 15'6". It is less than 7/8 of the width of the temple (7/8 from 18'6" is ca. 16'2"), but Cunningham's figure is probably incorrect. At that time the platform had not yet been excavated, and he could not exactly measure the staircase. According to the ground plan of Vats, the width of the staircase must be ca. 16'6"-17', which is a satisfactory approximation of the VDh norm.

As to the proportion of the width of the staircase to the parapet, I could only try to determine it on the basis of the ground plan given by Vats (his pl. II). I arrived at ca. 50' for the length of the parapet on one side, which would be exactly three times the width of the staircase, if it were 16'8". Here, too, the approximation seems acceptable.

6.5. The shrines on and around the platform.
Sarvatobhadra. In addition to the main temple, there are thirty six minor shrines on and around the platform: twenty four on the platform (six on each side), four in the corners of the platform, and eight at the bottom of the staircases (two shrines at every staircase). First, the description of the shrines on the platform is given:

87.2cd *tasyāṃ garbhagṛhāḥ kāryā viṃśatiś caturuttarāḥ*
4ab *prāsādakā mahārāja caturviṃśatir eva ca*
5cd *sopānobhayato rājan prāsādās te trayas trayaḥ*
6 *bhavanti mekhalāpṛṣṭhe*[7] *tad ādau garbhamandiram*
vimekhalaṃ tu sāmānyaṃ madhye teṣāṃ vimaṇḍapam
7 *himavatsamjñitau kāryau tasya pārśve vimekhalau*

> "Twenty four *garbhargṛhas* (shrines, cellas) should be placed on it (on the platform). O great king, one should also erect twenty four small temples [around the shrines]. To the left and to the right of every staircase, o king, there are three temples against the girdle: in the middle first a temple of the "Sāmānya" type without a girdle and without porticoes (*maṇḍapa*) and at its both sides two "Himavān" temples without a girdle".

There are thus six temples at every side of the platform: three to the left and three to the right of every staircase. Of these three temples, the one in the middle is of the Sāmānya type and is flanked by two Himavān temples. These types are mentioned among the hundred varieties in chapter 86.

The other shrines must be put as follows:

87.7cd *sopānamūle prāsāde*[8] *dve dve kārye manorame*
8 *daṃṣṭrādevakulākhye*[9] *te sāmānyākhye vimaṇḍape*
tathaiva jagatīpṛṣṭhe koṇe devakulaṃ nyaset

> "At the bottom of every staircase two beautiful temples should be built. These so-called tusk-temples [should be] of the Sāmānya type without *maṇḍapas*. Moreover, one should put a temple in the corner[s], against the platform".

Deogarh. As the platform is very ruined (see above, section 6.3.), there are no traces of the shrines on the platform. There are likewise no traces of the "tusk-temples" on either side of the staircases, but one can still see that the steps were flanked by rather broad walls, which could contain small shrines.

As to the corner shrines, "excavation of the plinth carried out by Daya Ram Sahni revealed at each corner the existence of a small square shrine so that together with the central cella this temple constitutes the earliest example in northern India of the *pañcāyatana* type" (Vats 1952: 5). Two shrines are facing the west, and two are facing the east.

6.6. The main temple. The door and the shrine.

Sarvatobhadra. In the description of this temple no proportions are given so for that purpose we must consult chapter 88, where we find the following figures about the door:

88.2 *dvāraṃ ca madhyamaṃ tasya samadiksthaṃ praśasyate*
dvāraṃ vistarataḥ kāryaṃ bhūpala dviguṇocchrayam
5 *dvāramānāṣṭabhāgonāṃ*[10] *pratimāṃ tu sapiṇḍikām*
dvau bhāgau pratimā tatra tṛtīyāṃśaś ca piṇḍikā
7cd *garbhapādena*[11] *vistīrṇaṃ tathā dvāraṃ praśasyate*

> "It is commendable to place the central door of the temple in one of the cardinal points. The height of the door should be made double its width o king. [One should make] the image together with the pedestal on 1/8 lower than the height of the door. The image [should be] two parts [of the whole] and the pedestal a third part. It is commmendable to make the width of the door equal to 1/4 of [the width of] the shrine".

The same proportions are given in the description of the "Himavān" temple, the first temple of the hundred varieties:

86.9 *dvārocchrāyaś ca kartavyo devāś cāṣṭāṃśasaṃyutāḥ*
vistāraṃ dviguṇaṃ cātra dvārocchrāyaṃ tu kārayet[12]

> "The height of the door should be [that of] the deities increased by 1/8. One should make the height of the door double [its] width".

The proportions of the shrine can be found in

88.8 *bhittir garbhāṣṭabhāgonā tathā kāryā vijānatā*
prāsādocchrāyabhāgena caturthena ca śasyate

> "The [thickness of the] inner wall (*bhitti*) should be made by a wise man 1/8 less than [the width of] the shrine, and [its height] is proclaimed to be 1/4 of the height of the temple".

The meaning of *bhitti* ('inner wall, the wall of the shrine') follows from VarBṛS 56.12ab *vistārārdhaṃ bhaved garbho bhittayo 'nyāḥ samantataḥ* 'The shrine should be 1/2 of the width [of the temple] and should have separate walls all around'. If our passage describes the section of the temple and thus the thickness of both walls is meant (which seems quite probable to me, otherwise the walls would be too thick), the proportions are slightly different from those of the VarBṛS, the shrine being 8/15 of the width of the temple (G being the width of the *garbha*, we have the following equation: 7/8G + 1G = the width of the *kaṭi*, or G = 8/15 *kaṭi*).

Deogarh. The door of the Deogarh temple faces west and measures 6'11" x 3'4 1/2", i.e. its height is almost double its width, which corresponds with the norm of the VDh. The image is missing, so that its proportions cannot be verified. The shrine is square and measures 9'9" x 9'9". The width of the shrine is a little bit more than 8/15 of the width of the temple (ca. 18'4" instead of 18'6"), but the difference seems negligible.

The only serious deviation from the norm of the VDh is the correlation between the width of the door and the width of the shrine. The text states that width of the door should be 1/4 of the width of the shrine, but in reality it is 1/3. It is probable, however, that the door was made of wood[13] and consequently had a wooden frame. The door opening was then smaller and could have been 1/4 of the width of the shrine.

Vats does not give the height of the shrine, but from the section of the temple on his pl. III one arrives at approximately 13'6". According to the norm of the VDh, the height of the temple must be 4 x 13'6" = 44'. "Unfortunately, the summit is too ruined for its detailed shape to be made out, although its height when entire could not have been less than 40 feet" (Brown 1976: 50). In the isometric projection of Vats the total height of the temple is appr. 45'.

6.7. The main temple. The porticoes.

Sarvatobhadra. According to the description of the VDh, the temple had four *maṇḍapas*, which is in this text a term for a (small) entrance hall, a portico:

87.9 *prāsādo madhyamaś cātra kartavyo maṇḍapānvitaḥ*
catvāro maṇḍapāś cātra kāryāḥ śikharasaṃsthitāḥ[14]
10 *madhyaprāsādakoṇeṣu tathā maṇḍapasandhiṣu*
dvidvigarbhagṛhān ramyān prāsādān niveśayet
11 *ekaikam maṇḍapaṃ cātra dvāratritayabhūṣitam*
caturthe ca tathā dvāre devagarbhagṛhaṃ bhavet

12ab *maṇḍapasya ca ye dvārāḥ kāryās te stambhabhūṣitāḥ*

> "The central temple should be built with *maṇḍapas*. There should be four *maṇḍapas* with *śikharas* (curvilinear superstructure). In the corners of the central temple, in the junction of the *maṇḍapas* one should build four beautiful temples with two shrines each. Every *maṇḍapa* should be adorned with three doors. In the fourth door there should be a *devagarbhagṛha*. The doors of the *maṇḍapa* should be adorned with pillars".

It follows from the description that the *maṇḍapas* are attached to the four sides of the temple. The meaning of *devagarbhagṛha* is unclear. It seems to be a technical term and not simply 'a shrine of the god', which does not make sense in this context. Possibly, *devagarbhagṛha* is an equivalent of *devakoṣṭha* 'a niche with an image of a deity'.

Deogarh. The question whether or not the Deogarh temple had porticoes has always been a matter of controversy. Already Cunningham (1880: 105f) suggested that on each of the four sides of the temple there was "a portico or veranda supported on four large pillars. Two of these pillars still remain complete, but fallen, and there are portions of two others of the same design lying on the edge of the terrace ... High up on each wall there are the remains of four beams or architraves, which once projected from the building for the purpose of supporting a flat canopy over the sculpture in the niche below. A piece of one of these beams, between 3 and 4 feet long, still projects on the east side, and still carries a portion of its roofing-slab ... It seems highly probably, therefore, that they must have supported the ends of the beams which projected from the four sides of the building. But this probability becomes almost a certainty when we find that the pillars are of exactly the same height as the pilasters of the niches containing the sculptures before which they were placed".

Cunningham's reconstruction was accepted by Brown (1976: 50), but Vats (1952: 6f) disagreed with it: "There are only two pillars ... but the third is fragmentary ... Had there been a porch on each side one would expect at least 8 pillars, a number of lintels, capitals and bases of pillars". He rather assumed that "the cantilever beams were strong enough by themelves to have adequately supported a 5' wide projecting canopy which would certainly have served the primary object of protecting the icons and the reliefs, while at the same time allowing the doorway and the great panels to remain in full view from below the plinth".

Important evidence in favour of the portico has been brought up by Banerjee (1963), who pointed to many similarities between our temple and another Gupta temple at Deogarh, the so-called "Varāha" temple, dedicated to the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu. This Varāha temple is built on a large platform, its *kaṭi* is square (18'4" x 18'4") and has central projections at three sides. There is only one staircase, but it is very broad and has the same moonstone at the bottom, as in our temple. Moreover, the reliefs on all sides are almost identical with the reliefs of our temple. The doorway faces east, and in front of the doorway there are the remains of a portico, originally supported by two pillars. Banerjee (ib.: 42ff) argued for an early date of the Varāha temple and assumed that this temple served as a model for the more elaborate and delicate later variant. The date of the Varāha temple has been disputed (cf. Banerjee: 43), but even if the Varāha temple is of a later date, which I doubt[15], this would not change the argument to any great extent. Both temples clearly belong to the same period (cf. Viennot 1976: 246), and whether the Varāha temple is a model or a copy of our temple, the portico in the Varāha temple strongly suggests the previous existence of porticoes in the other temple, too.

According to Banerjee (ib.: 40), further evidence is that "the idea of a *maṇḍapa* on all the four sides around the miniature *śikhara* shrine ... over the *garbha-gṛiha* is clearly indicated in the later Kuraiya Bir temple, near Deogarh, situated two miles away on the forest road to Saipura *en route* to Lalitpur".

The description of the VDh points to the reconstruction of the four porticoes with two pillars each: for the door in the middle two pillars are needed, while the two side doors were formed by the same two pillars and the pilasters in the niches, if we assume that the author of the text made no difference between pillars and pilasters. As noticed by Cunningham, the four pillars "found on the platform are all square in section, and of the same style of ornamentation as the pilasters at the sides of the niches" (1880: 106). Moreover, the scenes depicted on the pillars allow to determine their original place. Vats' pillar No. 1 with four scenes showing a male with two females (Vats 1952: 27f. and plates XII-XIV) must have stood before the Gajendramokṣa niche, the pilasters of which are adorned with similar scenes. All scenes on the medaillons of pillar No. 2 (Vats 1952: 29) take place in a grove or under a tree, which points to the realm of ascetics. On one of the sides we see the same two bearded ascetics as on the Naranārāyaṇa niche and it seems probable that this pillar belongs there. The round pillars possibly stood before the entrance, so that more sun could get into the shrine.

The text says that "in the fourth door (of the *maṇḍapa*) there should be a *devagarbhagṛha*". If we assume that *devagarbhagṛha* is a term for a niche, the niches of the Deogarh temple exactly correspond to the description of the VDh. Note that the niches of the Deogarh temple are made in the form of a door, adorned with door-posts and lintels.

The only discrepancy between the text and the remains of the Deogarh temple is the total absence of any traces of the "junction" temples. However, as Joanna Williams remarked (1982: 131, fn. 96 and p. 136), "there are several round columns in the godown, as well as enough other fragments to suggest the existence of a second sixth-century shrine". There are thus reasons to believe that more small temples stood on the platform. The previous existence of the "junction" shrines may account for the fact that the temple walls at the corners are plain, without any decoration.

6.8. The main temple. The superstructure.

Sarvatobhadra. The author of the VDh reports that the superstructure of the main shrine and of the *maṇḍapas* has the form of a *śikhara*. This is the term for a specific curvilinear spire, ending with a round cogged ring stone, the *āmalaka*, and a pinnacle. The *śikharas* are richly adorned with *kuharas*, "round niches in which an image is carved" (Kramrisch 1946: 416 fn. 7), and with *gavākṣas*, "attic windows forming a tracery which is cast like a net (jāla) over them" (Kramrisch ib.: 214). The *śikhara* of the temple is described as follows:

87.12cd *prāsādasyāsya śikharā bhavanty evaṃ navaiva tu*
87.13 *ucchritaṃ navamaṃ śṛṅgaṃ tulyaṃ syāc chikharāṣṭakam*
madhyamaṃ śikharaṃ tatra kāryaṃ śikharavarjitam
87.14 *rūpakair vividhair yuktaṃ na muṇḍaṃ na ca śūlavat*
aṣṭau tu śikharās tatra kartavyāḥ kuharānvitaḥ
87.15 *jālāgavākṣakopetaiḥ kuharaiḥ nṛpa bhūṣitāḥ*
sarvatra śikharāḥ karyāḥ śubhāmalakasārakāḥ
87.16 *sacakrāḥ sapatākāś ca sadhvajāś ca narādhipa*
khe'bhiśakta[16] *ivābhāti prāsādo 'yaṃ samucchritaḥ*

> "This temple has nine *śikharas*. The ninth pinnacle should be high, the eight [others] should be alike. The middle *śikhara* should be made without [further] *śikharas*. It should be decorated with various images and be not [blunt like a] bald head and not [sharp] like a spear. The eight *śikharas* should be made with *kuharas*. O king, the *śikharas* on all sides should be adorned with *kuharas* furnished with *jālagavākṣakas*, and with beautiful *āmalakas*, with wheels, flags and banners. This temple rising high looks like reaching for the sky".

Deogarh. "Of the early *śikhara* type the only lithic example extant in Northern India is the Gupta temple at Deogarh ... In essence, the Gupta temple appears to have been a straight-edged pyramid built in recessing tiers, the large projection in the centre of each side, which accomodates a broad but deeply recessed niche enclosed by pilasters, being carried up the spire on which the principal decorative element is the *chatya*-window [= *gavākṣa*, AL] motif still extant on the east for a part of its heights" (Vats 1952: 4).

As a matter of course, the superstructure of the porticoes cannot be verified, but as many segments of copings and many *āmalakas* have been preserved (cf. for instance the photograph in Vats 1952: pl. XXVId), it is possible that the *maṇḍapas* were adorned with *śikharas*.

6.9. The courtyard.
Sarvatobhadra.

87.40 *evaṃvidhe 'tra prāsāde vistīrṇam ajiraṃ bhavet*
toyair akṛtrimair divyais subandhair upaśobhitam
41 *dvārapālāś catasras tu tataḥ kāryā vijānatā*
prāsādo dvāraśālākhyas samarūpo manoharaḥ
42 *śreṇigatāś ca prākāre kāryā garbhaguhāḥ śubhāḥ*
prādurbhāvān nyaset teṣu viṣṇor amitatejasaḥ
43ab *atha vā pārthivaśreṣṭha sarvān devagaṇān kramāt*

> "In such a temple the courtyard should be extensive and adorned with natural and celestial waters properly banked. A wise man should make there four doorkeepers and a beautiful temple with the common form of the Dvāraśāla type. In the rampart the beautiful *garhaguhas* (caves with shrines) should be made in a row. One should put there manifestations of Viṣṇu of infinite glory or all groups of gods in the proper order, o the best of kings".

Deogarh. As follows from a footnote in Vats' book (1952: 7, fn. 1), there was a "smaller Gupta temple 56' north of the main temple of which only a few courses of the basement have been revealed by excavation". Meister, Dhaky and Krishna Deva (1988: 50) mention remnants of even two coeval shrines in the neighbourhood of the temple.

7. The correspondence between the form and proportions of the Sarvatobhadra temple and of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh are so evident that they cannot be due to chance. Theoretically, it is conceivable that the Deogarh temple could have been built in accordance with the prescriptions of the VDh, but, since the temple was built in the early sixth century and the VDh was written in the late seventh or even eighth century, it is clear that the Sarvatobhadra temple of the VDh is a description of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh. The fact that the VDh described the Deogarh temple as the most beautiful and auspicious temple bears witness to the prestige of this temple even two centuries after it was completed.

7. As a kind of appendix, I would like to discuss some other temples with porticoes included by the VDh in its classification of the hundred varieties of temples. These temples constitute a separate group (the eighth group of temples, according to the analysis of Stella Kramrisch 1946: 416f.) and are dealt with in 86.103ff. I shall limit myself to the first seven temples of this group.

86.103cd *pañcabhiḥ śikharair juṣṭaś caturbhiḥ api maṇḍapaiḥ*
104 *dvāraiś caturbhiḥ saṃyuktaḥ kailāsaḥ parikīrtitaḥ*
trimekhalas triśṛṅgaś ca trikūṭo nāma viśrutaḥ
105 *śṛṅgenaikena saṃyuktaś caturbhir api maṇḍapaiḥ*
caturdvāraḥ smṛtas saumyaḥ prāsādaḥ sumanoharaḥ

"[A temple] provided with five *śikharas*, four porticoes, and four doors is known as Kailāsa. [A temple] with three girdles and three pinnacles (*śṛṅga*) is called Trikūṭa. A beautiful temple with one pinnacle, four porticoes, and four doors is known as Saumya".

106 *prākāre jānudaghnāḍhyā yasyaikā jagati bhavet*
prāsādatryaṁśatulyā tu tryaṁśatulyā tathā kaṭiḥ
107 *śikharaḥ kuharopeto nānārūpakabhūṣitaḥ*
ekamaṇḍapasaṃyuktas tādṛśaiḥ suramandiraiḥ
108 *svalpair vidikṣu saṃyuktaś caturbhir tu vimaṇḍapaiḥ*[17]
sopānamūle saṃyukto dvābhyām eva narādhipa
109ab *prāsādo rājarājākhyo mukhyo 'yam parikīrtitaḥ*

"The eminent temple of the name Rājarāja has one vast platform, reaching up to the knee in [its] enclosure and equal to one third of the temple, a *kaṭi* also equal to one third [of the temple], and a *śikhara* with niches (*kuhara*) and adorned with various images. [This temple] is provided with one portico, four small temples of the same type at the intermediate directions without porticoes, and with two [temples] at the bottom of the staircase".

This description perfectly suits the Varāha temple at Deogarh (cf. Banerjee 1963), with the only exception of the intermediate temples which have disappeared.

109cd *prāsāde rājarājākhye catvāro yadi maṇḍapāḥ*
110 *sarve śikharahīnāḥ syus tasya sopānamūlagāḥ*
aṣṭau devagṛhāṇi syuḥ sa bhaved dharanīdharaḥ
111 *maṇḍapaiḥ śikharopetair vimānākhyaḥ sa vai bhavet*
vidikṣu yatra prāsādāś catvāro maṇḍapāntare
112 *maṇḍapāś śikharopetā madhyamañjarīsaṃyuktāḥ*
navabhiḥ sikharair eṣa prāsādaḥ surarāḍ bhavet

"If the temple of the Rājarāja-type has four porticoes without *śikharas*, then it should have eight temples at the bottom of the staircases. [The name of] this temple is Dharanīdhara. If the porticoes do have *śikharas*, then the temple is [called] Vimāna. If the four intermediate temples are placed in between

> the porticoes provided with *śikharas* and *mañjarī* in the middle, then this temple with nine *śikharas* is called Surarāṭ".

This classification is very instructive because it shows the connection between the number of staircases and the number of porticoes. Temples with one staircase have one portico, whereas temples with four staircases have four porticoes. This is one more indication that the temple at Deogarh had four porticoes. It further follows that the Sarvatobhadra temple belongs to the Surarāṭ-type, but, in addition to the shrines mentioned for this type, is has four shrines in the corners of the platform.

9. In conclusion, let me cite two authors, who wrote about the same temple, as we now know. First, the words of the author of the VDh, who was so struck by the beauty of the magnificent Sarvatobhadra temple that he devoted a whole chapter to its description and wrote at the end: "This abode of Viṣṇu ... must be seen because the man who has seen it is released from all sins and attains merit" (87.63). Compare this to the words of Percy Brown, who concluded the discussion of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh in his "Indian Architecture" as follows (1976: 50): "When complete, this building was unquestionably one of rare merit in the correct ordering of its parts, all alike serving the purpose of practical utility, yet imbued with supreme artistic feeling. Few moments can show such a high level of workmanship, combined with a ripeness and rich refinement in its sculptural effect as the Gupta temple at Deogarh".[18]

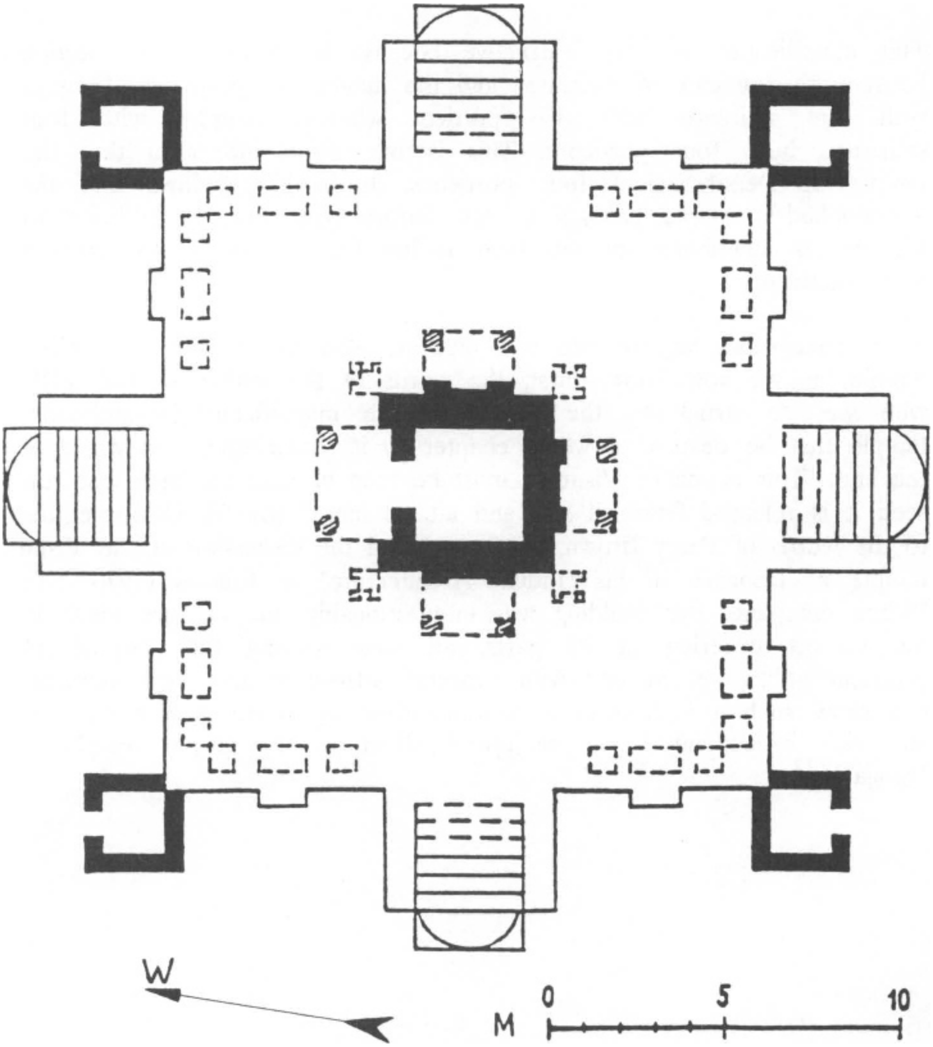

Fig. 1. The ground plan of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh (drawing made by Mrs. T. Wezel-Ignatova). The reconstructed parts are indicated by dotted lines.

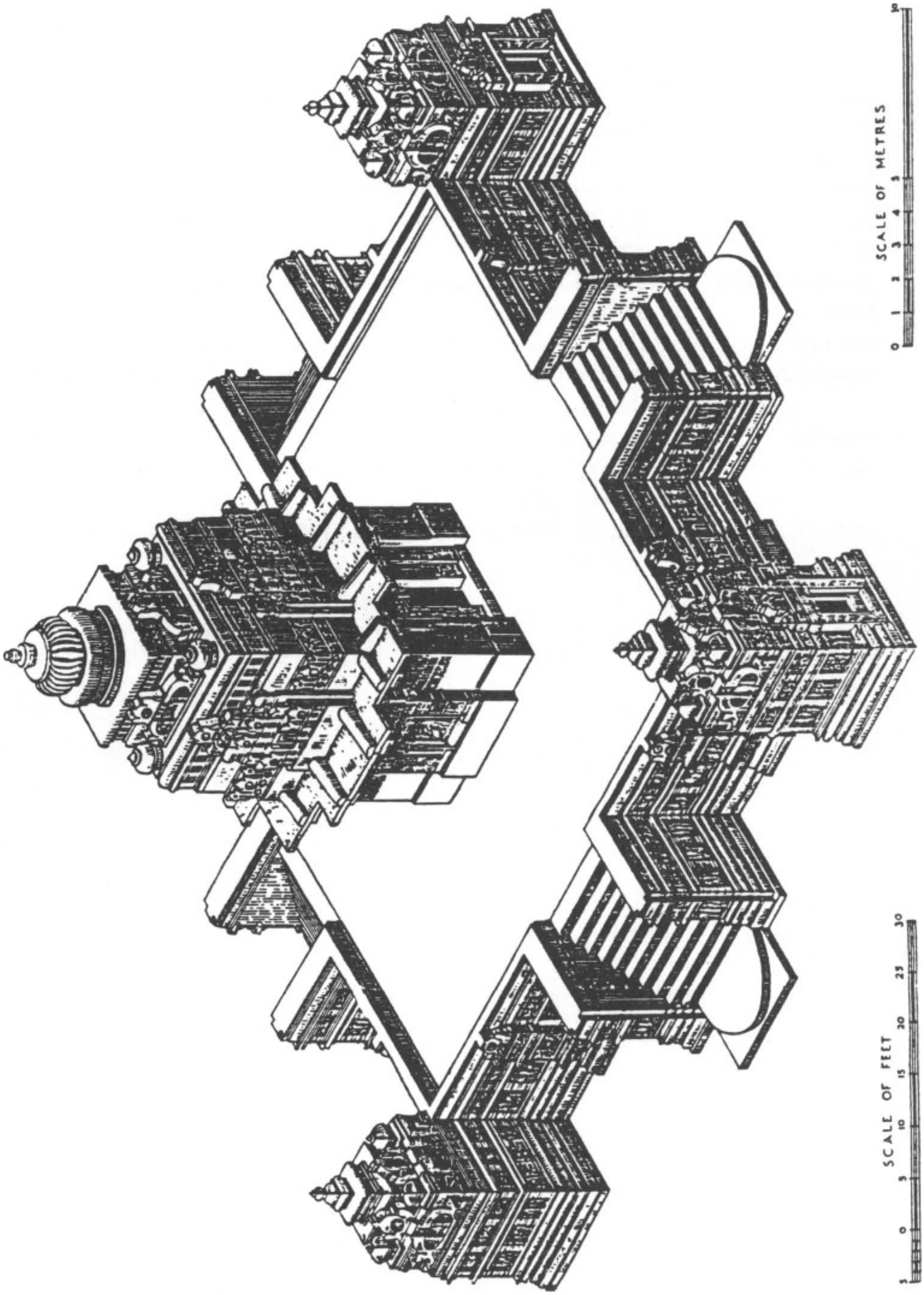
SCALE OF METRES
0 1 2 3 4 5 10
SCALE OF FEET
5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30

Fig. 2. The isomorphic reconstruction by Vats (1952: pl. V).

GLOSSARY

āmalaka	a cogged massive ring-stone, put at the top of the *śikhara*
kaṭi	(lit. 'a hip') an outer wall of the temple
kuhara	a cave, niche
garbha(gṛha)	a cella, shrine
gavākṣa(ka)	(lit. 'a bull's eye') a blind window
jagatī	(lit. 'the earth, ground') a platform, plinth, socle
jāla	a net
devagarbhagṛha	a niche with an image of a deity (= *devakoṣṭha*) (?)
bhitti	an inner wall, a wall of a shrine
mañjarī	(lit. 'a cluster of blossoms') a type of superstructure
maṇḍapa	'a pavillion', is used in the texts of the Gupta age in the sense of 'a portico, an entrance hall'
vasudhā	= *jagatī*
śikhara	'a spire, tower', the name of a curvilinear superstructure
śṛṅga	(lit. 'a horn') a pinnacle, turret on the top of the temple

NOTES

1. The name can be interpreted in two ways: either, literally, 'auspicious on all sides', or, taking the technical meaning of *bhadra* into account, 'with buttresses on each of the four sides' (cf. Kramrisch 1946: 419). In other Śāstras we find the name Sarvatobhadra more than ten times (ibid.: 419ff), but there it is a name for one of the varieties of temples.
2. The correct analysis of 87.44 (*sarveṣāṃ devatānāṃ tu nityaṃ vihitapūjanam / kalpaṃ tretāyugasyādau cakravarty abhidhīyate*) is given by Priyabala Shah (1958: 408), inspite of her wrong translation in 1961: 213. In 44c one has to read *kalpan*, the nom.sg. of the participle 'performing', instead of the attested *kalpaṃ*, which makes no sense.
3. I do not understand why Priyabala Shah (1958: 249 and 408) wants to emend the text to *kaṭyaṃśe hi tathaiva tu*, which does not make any sense.
4. *tryaṃśa-* can mean 'one third', cf. *aṣṭāṃśa-* 'one eighth' in 86.9. The author of the text often uses a wrong gender, cf. 88.6c *aṃśaṃ*, 86.25 *dvārah*, etc., which may account for the masculine gender of *sopāna-* (instead of the neuter).
5. I adopt the reading of manuscripts A and B instead of *-bhāgena* in the edition of Priyabala Shah.
6. Priyabala Shah has already proposed to emend *samasaṃkye* to *samasaṃkhyam* (cf. *samasaṃkyaṃ tu kartavyaṃ sopānam* in 86.7ab). Writing *-e* instead of *-aṃ* is a typical palaeographic mistake.
7. As suggested to me by Dr. Ellen Raven, the expression *mekhalāpṛṣṭhe* (87.6a) probably means 'against, close to the girdle' and not 'behind the girdle', cf. also *jagatīpṛṣṭhe* 'against the platform' in the following verse.
8. The dual *prāsāde* shows the feminine ending. There are more of these wrong pairs in the VDh, cf. the nom.pl. *śikharāḥ* to nom.sg. *śikharam*, nom.pl. *dhārāḥ* to nom.sg. *dvāram*, etc. See also fn. 4 above.
9. The reading *daṃṣṭrā-* of mss. A, B, C, F (cf. the note in Priyabala Shah 1958: 373) is preferable to the reading *daṃṣṭre* adopted by Priyabala Shah.
10. 5a *-bhagānām* makes no sense, and I accept Priyabala Shah's emendation to *-bhāgonām*. The accusative in 5ab is strange. The passage of the VarBṛS with the same proportions shows better syntax, cf. 56.16 *dvāramānāṣṭabhāgonā pratimā syāt sapiṇḍikā dvau bhāgau pratimā tatra tṛtīyāṃśaś ca piṇḍikā*.
11. 88.7c *garbhaṃ* does not make sense. I emend it to *garbha-* on the basis of VarBṛS 56.12cd *garbhapādena vistīrṇaṃ dvāraṃ dviguṇam ucchritam* 'The door is 1/4 of the shrine in width and twice as high'. The proportions of the door are also dealt with in 88.6ab

kaṭir aṣṭamabhāgonaṃ dvāre kāryaṃ vijānatā, but this passage is syntactically impossible and must be emended. Instead of *dvāre* one must certainly read *dvāraṃ* with the four mss. A, B, C, and F (cf. Priyabala Shah 1958: 373), but what is the meaning of the sentence? "One must make the outer wall equal to the door diminished on 1/8" does not make any sense. It seems to me that the meaning must be "The [width of the] door should be 1/8 of the outer wall", which would correspond to the other proportions: the door is 1/4 of the width of the shrine (VDh 88.7, VarBṛS 56.12cd), while the width of the shrine is 1/2 of the temple (VarBṛS 56.12ab). We must therefore emend *aṣṭamabhāgonaṃ* to *aṣṭamabhāgena* and assume that the attested *kaṭir aṣṭama-* instead of *kaṭyaṣṭamabhāgena* is due to a metrical licence.

12. Emendations proposed by Priyabala Shah for this śloka are unnecessary. The proportions are exactly the same as given in 88.2 and 88.5, which inspires confidence in the textual tradition.
13. The VDh (88.3) prescribes that the door should be made of the wood of "Devakula" trees, should not be perforated, exuding moisture, or hollow.
14. The reading *śikharasaṃsthitāḥ* 'provided with *śikharas*', proposed by Priyabala Shah, gives better sense than the attested *śikharasaṃjñitāḥ* 'known as *śikharas*'.
15. The position of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā at the bottom of the door-posts may be an indication of the later date of the Varāha temple (cf. Viennot 1964: 165). On the other hand, the fact that these goddesses are depicted without a *vāhana*, rather points to an early date of this temple (cf. Viennot 1964: 2, Banerjee 1963: 42). Also the fact that the image of Nṛvarāha has only two arms points to the period before the beginning of the sixth century (cf. Gail 1977: 148).
16. Both Kramrisch (1946: 419) and Priyabala Shah (1961: 206) translate 'crowned in the sky', i.e. as if the text had *khe'bhiṣiktaḥ*. The attested *khe'bhiṣaktaḥ* must mean something like 'clinging to the sky, directed to the sky'.
17. This reaeding is found in manuscripts A and B. Priyabala Shah has opted for *caturbhir bhuvi maṇḍapaiḥ* (ms. C and the edition of the Veṅkateśvara Press), which does not make sense.
18. I would like to thank Dr. K. van Kooij (University of Utrecht) and Dr. Ellen Raven (University of Leiden) for a number of valuable suggestions.

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THE GODDESS WITH THE SEVERED HEAD:
a recension of Sādhanamālā 232, 234 and 238 attributed to the Siddhācārya Virūpā

M. Nihom

During a stay in Kathmandu in the winter of 1986-87[1], dr. John Locke, learning of this writer's interest in the literature of the *Hevajratantra*, kindly allowed me to make a xerox copy of a manuscript in his possession. Consisting of 75 folia, numbered 1 to 73[2], it contains four texts written in *devanāgarī* in a modern hand. Only the last may be said to belong unambiguously to the literature of the *Hevajra* cycle. The first three are texts on meditative praxes associated with Vajrayoginī.[3]

Only the first of these four texts is presented here. The second and third, also attributed to Virūpā and containing much interesting material on the nature of the goddess, will be edited separately. The study below is in three parts. The first section will discuss the problem of the authorship of this *sādhana*, the second presents the edited text as compared to the *Sādhanamālā* recension and the third treats of some problems evoked by the text.

I.

Arguably the most important source for the knowledge of particular Buddhist tantric deities is the collection of *sādhanas* published some 65 years ago by B. Bhattacarya under the title *Sādhanamālā*. Among the 312 items, seven, nos. 232-238, all anonymous[4], are explicitly dedicated to Vajrayoginī. This goddess comes in two colours, red and yellow. Bhattacarya (1958: 247-249) holds that there are in fact two yellow Vajrayoginī, represented respectively by SM 232 and 234. However, Mallman (1975: 432) points out that SM 234 is an abbreviated version of 232. Indeed, 234 consists primarily of mantras also found in 232. As for 238, Bhattacarya supplies the colophon *Vajrayoginyā balividhi*. The two mantras, themselves the entire body of the text, are with minor variations identical to mantras found in the manuscript.

The presence of these 4 texts in one, albeit modern, manuscript, encourages one to ask if this Vajrayoginī might be associated with the Hevajra cycle, thereby motivating the presence of all four texts in one document, or whether, if taken as a form of Vajravārāhī, the consort of Śaṃvara, her consanguinity must rather be to the cycle of the *Saṃvaratantra*?[5] In the event of the latter, we must wonder about the reason for her presence in one document consisting of the three short texts attributed to Virūpā, and devoted to Vajrayoginī, and a commentary on the *Hevajrasādhana*.

In fact, the problem of the association of the yellow Vajrayoginī here with one or other of what became the cycles of the *anuttaratantra* class of texts and one or more of the *'dhyānibuddhas'* is perhaps irrelevant: whichever the century to which Virūpā ought be dated, his position as preceptor vis à vis Ḍombi Heruka who is said to have preceeded Saraha and Kampala - the 'finders' of the *Hevajratantra* (Snellgrove: 1959: 12-13) - means he must have lived during an early period in the development of what became the class of *anuttarayoga* tantras. Virūpā became an exceedingly important figure not only for the *yoginī* or Mother tantra in general, but especially in the lineage tradition of the *sa skya pa*, a sect which especially emphasizes the traditions of the *Hevajratantra* and developed meditational methods associated with this *siddhācārya*.[6] This state of affairs, that Virūpā came to be especially associated with the Hevajra cycle, might itself be seen to explain the constitution of the manuscript, regardless of any scholastic determination as to the Buddha family (*kula*) to which the yellow Vajrayoginī should be held to belong.

There is as such no reason to impose features of distinct *'anuttarayogatantra'* cycles to these texts on the yellow Vajrayoginī. The goddess herself is not assigned to a given Buddha family in the available texts. She may in due course have come to be so affiliated, but explicit evidence for this is not forthcoming in the 3 *sādhanas* on the yellow Vajrayoginī of the *Sādhanamālā*, in the three Virūpā texts of the Locke manuscript, nor in Virūpā's *Chinnamuṇḍasādhana* located in the Tibetan canon. Rather than worrying about the affiliation of the goddess, one might therefore propose that if *Sādhanamālā* 232, 234, and 238 are indeed authored by Virūpā, then, in the absence of additional Sanskrit texts on the yellow Vajrayoginī, the possibility exists that Virūpā himself may have been responsible for introduction of the yellow Vajrayoginī alias Trikāyavajrayoginī.[7]

But should one accept the manuscript's attribution of authorship? As noted by Bhattacarya (1958: 1; 1968: cxlii-cxlvii), this yellow Vajrayoginī is analogous to the Hindu deity Chinnamastā, also known as Chinnamuṇḍā. Abhayadatta in his *Caturśītisidhapravṛtti* (f. 95,3) has the *siddhācārya* Kaṅha call her P'ag mo dbu bcad ma, *Chinnamundā Vārāhī.[8] The goddess Chinnamuṇḍā is explicitly represented by two texts in the Tibetan Buddhist canon (Meisezahl 1965-6: 266-7). Śrīmatidevī entitles her work the *Chinnamuṇḍāvajravārāhīsādhana*. The other work on this goddess in the canon is the *Chinnamuṇḍāsādhana*, one of some 14 works in the canon said to be authored by Virūpā[9], himself one of the traditional 84[10] *siddhācārya* of the Buddhist tantric tradition. Consequently, to find a version of SM 232 attributed to Virūpā where Vajrayoginī has much the same iconography as the Chinnamuṇḍā of a translated text in the Tibetan canon definitely written by this savant, is reasonable. Yet, the question arises of whether there is any internal evidence for acquiescing in this determination of authorship. I believe there may be, but it is indirect.

Most of the text below is found, in a slightly different version, in SM 232. Those fragments which are not consist in the main of 3 sets of mantras. The first, the *japamantra* - *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye oṃ vajravarṇanīye oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā-* is also to be found in SM 236, a text devoted to the red Vajrayoginī, where, however, it is the *mūlamantra*. We also find it in SM 233, again of the red Vajrayoginī. It is not named, but inasmuch as it is here the first of a set of mantras which are given names, it may also be seen as the *mūlamantra* for this SM 233. Interestingly, our text repeats the mantra towards the close, where this time it is deemed *mūlamantra*. SM 232 here yields the same mantra - deemed *japamantra* - save that the three *oṃ* are placed at the beginning (*oṃ oṃ oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākanīye* ...). This version (*oṃ oṃ oṃ ... hūṃ 3 phaṭ 3 svāhā*) is also spelled out in verse in the Tibetan translation of Virūpā's *Chinnamuṇḍāsādhana*.[11]

The text below contains two mantras, absent from SM 232, which are in fact the entire text of SM 238. From the second mantra it is clear that these are for the *bali* ritual.

There remains a block of text (f. 3a, 5-3b, 4) which is found in SM 232, but in a severely compromised form. Our text has *oṃ oḍiyānavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā* and so on with *pūrṇagiri, kāmākṣa* and *śrīhaṭa*. These are the four *pīṭhas*. SM 232 reads: *paścāt punar* [i.e. in the form *oṃ ... hūṃ svāhā*] *api oḍiyana pūrṇagiri ... ity anena pūjayet*. Likewise, our text has *oṃ dharmakāyavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*, and so on with *sambhogakāya, nirmāṇakāya* and *mahāsukhakāya*. SM 232 reads *punar api dharmasambhoganirmāṇamahāsukha ity anena*. In other words, our text explicitly associates 4 *pīṭhas* and the 4 bodies of the Buddha with a flower, *vajrapuṣpa*, in two sets of 4 mantras and these associations are absent from SM 232. With the exception of SM 234 which treats of the *kanakaśyāmā*[12] Vajrayoginī and which is, as noted, primarily a compendium of the mantras of 232 (see infra), the association of *pīṭhas* - and indeed the 4 bodies (*kāya*) of the Buddha - with the *vajra*-flower is found in no other of the remaining 310 texts of the *Sādhanamālā*.

Mantras with the term *'vajrapuṣpa'* are found explicitly in at least 12 other texts of the 312: SM 3, 7, 15, 35, 36, 50, 80, 128, 129, 131, 159, and 266. In all of these, the mantras, although differing in detail, are associated with the worship (*pūjā*) of the divinity or divinities. Their names occasionally may (SM 3, 35, 36, 159) or may not be found as part of the mantra, also often known as a *pūjamantra*.[13] In most instances this mantra is found as first of a set of five, each pertaining to one of the five gifts (*pañcopacāra*[14]) used in the *pūjā* ritual.[15] In such standardized contexts the honorific prefix *vajra-* may also be omitted (e.g. SM 12, 67, 142, passim). Consequently, the presence of *vajrapuṣpa* alone in these *sādhanas* is not as such significant, even while its frequent occurance in the *Sādhanamālā* makes its co-incidence with the *pīṭhas* and *kāyas* within a mantra in SM 234 and the ms. all the more exceptional.

The situation is therefore that the text below associates 4 *pīṭha* with *vajrapuṣpa* and that, while the *vajrapuṣpa* is absent from SM 232, the four *pīṭha* are found associated with worship (*ity anena pūjayet*) and the terminus *vajrapuṣpa* in 234 which is, as 232, devoted to the yellow Vajrayoginī. Because the fourth *pīṭha*, *srīhata/śrīhaṭṭa/sirihaṭṭa*, as one of a set of four is unusual in Buddhist tantric contexts, we may propose that co-occurence of this *pīṭha* and *vajrapuṣpa* within a mantra used in *pūjā* appears for reasons yet unknown to be a diagnostic of the yellow Vajrayoginī and/or an identifying characteristic of the author of SM 232, 234 and edited text. In short, the co-occurence of *vajrapuṣpa* and a *pīṭha* would appear unique to the yellow Vajrayoginī, possibly but not necessarily without regard to Virūpā's putative authorship of her *sādhanas*.

In the absence of additional *sādhanas*, that this use of *vajrapuṣpa* is definitive of the yellow Vajrayoginī is effectively untestable. As for the second possibility, knowledge of the person of Virūpā is scant, effectively limited to hagiographic works such as Abhayadatta's *Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti*. This twelfth century author says that Virūpā was born in the city of Tripura in the East. We may observe that Sircar (1973: 96) identifies the *pīṭha śrīhaṭṭa* as modern Sylhet in Assam. Virūpā is said to have gone to the monastery Somapurī in the South of India. After twelve years as a monk he was accused of drinking wine and eating pigeon meat and as a consequence expelled. From a lake next to the monastery he cut a lotus and, having offered the blossom to the Buddha, stood upon the leaf and crossed the water of the lake. This miracle impressed the inhabitants of Somapurī. Virūpā, denying that the pigeons had been killed, brings them back.[16] At this point in his life, Abhayadatta says, he quit the monkhood and became a yogin.[17]

Worship of the Buddha and 'miraculous' events are the meat of this text. Even so, this incident provides an hagiographic connection of Virūpā with flowers within the context of yoga independent of the *vajrapuṣpa* data of the Trikāyavajrayoginī *sādhanas*. A check of biographies of the other 83 *siddhācāryas* in Abhayadatta's work shows that the association of a gift of a flower to the Buddha resulting in a miraculous 'crossing to the other side' is, for this Indian author, unique to Virūpā. Confirming the theme, in the second text of the Locke manuscript (f. 6a,5), Virūpā calls the goddess *tīrayoginī*[18], "the yoginī of the (other) shore" as well as *saṃsāratāriṇī* (f. 6b,1).

A further association of flowers with Virūpā may be determined from iconography. The 84 *siddhācāryas* are occasionally depicted in series of thankas or in sculpture. The specific iconography of Virūpā is various--he is often shown with a turban, a mustache, a beard, holding a skull, with earplugs and so on. But most important for our purposes is that "ce *mahāsiddha* porte toujours, comme ici, un collier de fleurs" (*Dieux et Demons* 1977: 152).[19]

We therefore have three associations:

1. The presence of a *vajrapuṣpa* associated with *pīṭhas* in a *sādhana* attributed to Virūpā and its absence in similar context in *sādhanas* attributed to other authors;
2. The story of the offering of a lotus to the Buddha resulting in a miracle and Virūpā's enlightenment in the *Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti*;
3. The fact that iconographicly Virūpā is always shown with a necklace of flowers.

These three data together support the view that the text below, and *Sādhanamālā* 232, 234 and 238, are in all probability authored by this Buddhist tantric master.

II.

Ms. Locke (f.1)[20]	SM 232
namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai	*namo vajrayoginyai/*
oṃ āḥ hūṃ phaṭ	*oṃ āḥ hūṃ/*
[Bhāvanā]	
prathamaṃ tāvan mantrī	*prathamaṃ tāvan mantrī*
kasminn api pradeśe	*kvacit kasminn api pradeśe*
kasminn apy āsane upaviśya	*kasminn apy āsane upaviśya*
trikāyavajrayoginībhāvanaṃ ārabhet/	*vajrayoginībhāvanām ārabhet/*
tatra svanābhau vikasita-	*tatra svanābhau vikasitaṃ*
śuklavarṇapaṃkārapariṇanaṃ	*śuklavarṇaṃ*
śitapadmam śatadalaṃ vibhāvayet	*padmaṃ bhāvayet/*
tatropari raktavarnaṃ rephajaṃ	*tatropari*
sūryyamaṇḍalaṃ	*atiraktavarṇasūryamaṇḍalaṃ*
bhāvayet	
bhāvayet/	
tatropari[21] *sindūravarṇāṃ*	*tatropari sindūravarṇāṃ*
	madhyahrīṃkārastithāṃ
dharmodayāṃ[22] *ca vibhāvayet*	*dharmodayāṃ bhāvayet/*
	tatrāpy upari bhaṭṭārikāṃ
	vajrayoginīṃ
tatrāpi ca madhye pītahrīṃkārajā	*tatra sthitahrīṃkārapariṇatāṃ*
pītā svayam eva	*pītavarṇāṃ svayam eva*
karttyā karttitaṃ[23] *svamastakaṃ*	*svakarttrikarttitasvamastaka-*
vāmahaste sthitaṃ	*vāmahastasthitāṃ*
dhārayantī	
dakṣiṇahastastha(2a)*karttyā sahitā*[24]	*dakṣinahastakarttrisahitāṃ*
ūrddhavavistṛtavāmabāhvī	*ūrddhavavistṛtavāmabāhuṃ*
adhonamitadakṣiṇabhujā	*adhonamitadakṣinabāhuṃ*
vāsaḥśūnyā[25]	*vāsaḥśūnyāṃ*
prasāritadakṣiṇapādā	*prasāritadakṣiṇapādāṃ*

ākuñcitavāmacaraṇā	*saṅkucitavāmapādaṃ*
	bhāvayet/
kabandhād avadhṛtivartmanā	*kabandhān*
niḥsṛtā[26]*sṛgdhārā*	*niḥsṛtyāsṛgdhārā*
tasyā mukhe prapatati praviśati vā	*svamukhe praviśati*
apare lalanārasanābhyāṃ ca niḥsṛtā	*apare ubhayoḥ*
pārśveyor yoginyo mukhaṃ	*pārśvayoginyor mukhe*
praviśati iti bhāvyam	*praviśati iti bhāvayet/*
tatra vāmapārśve śyāmavarṇanī	*vāmadakṣiṇapārśvayoḥ*
vāme kartti dakṣiṇe kapālaṃ bibhrāṇā	*śyāmavarṇavajravarṇanī-*
prasāritavāmapādā	*pitavarṇavajravairocanyau*
saṃkucitadakṣiṇacaranā	*vāmadakṣiṇahastakarttrisahite*
muktakeśī nagnā	*dakṣiṇavāmahastakarparasahite*
dakṣinapārśve de(2b) *vyā pītā*	*prasāritavāmapādaprasārita-*
vajravairocanī dakṣiṇena karttiṃ	*dakṣiṇapade*
vāmena kapālaṃ bibhratī muktakeśī	*saṃkucitetarapade*
nagnā vistṛtadakṣiṇapādā	*muktakeśyau bhāvayet/*
vāmasaṃkocā iti bhāvyaṃ	
ubhayoḥ pārśveyor yoginyor	*ubhayoḥ pārśvayor ubhayor*
	yoginyor
antarikṣe 'tibhayākulaṃ	*madhye antarikṣe atibhayākulaṃ*
śmaśānaṃ bhāvayet iti bhāvanā	*śmaśānaṃ bhāvayet iti bhāvanā*
	(453.5)
oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye	[cf. SM 233, 454.10-12 where
oṃ vajravarṇanīye	*mūlamantra*]
oṃ vajravairocanīye	
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ 3 svāhā iti	
jāpamantraḥ	
[Pūjā]	
idānīṃ pūjocyate maṇḍalaṃ caturasraṃ	*pūjocyate maṇḍalaṃ kṛtvā*
tatra sūryopari tallagnāṃ dharmodayaṃ	*dharmodayāṃ suryyālayalagnāṃ*
likhitvā	
likhet	
tanmadhye hrīṃkāraṃ vāmāyāṃ	*madhyahrīṃkārasahitāṃ*
li(3a)*khya pūjayet*	
tadbhavāṃ vā pūrvoktarūpāṃ[27]	*tataḥ pūrvoktabhāvanayā*
bhagavatīṃ madhye āropya	*bhaṭṭārikāṃ madhye āropya*
tatra dharmodayā madhye	
oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye ity	*oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye ity*
ādinā mantreṇa prathamam[28]	*ādimantreṇa dharmodayamadhye*
arcayet	*pūjayet/*
tad anu	*paścād arghaḥ/*
oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ phaṭ	*oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ*
svāhā	*svāhā*
ity anenārghodayaḥ	*iti mantreṇa*
vāme	*paścād vāmapārśve*

oṃ vajravarṇanīye svāhā	*oṃ vajravarṇanīye hūṃ svāheti*
	mantreṇa
dakṣiṇe	*paścād dakṣiṇapārśve*
oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ svāhā ity	*oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ*
arcayet	*svāheti anena*
oṃ oḍiyāna[29]*vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	*paścāt punar api oḍiyāna*
	pūrṇagiri
oṃ pūrṇagirivajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	*kamākhyā sirihaṭṭa*
oṃ kamākṣavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	*ity anena pūjayet*
punar madhye	
oṃ śrīhatavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	[Compare SM 234]
(3b)	
oṃ dharmakāyavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	*punar api*
oṃ sambhogakāyavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	*dharmasambhoganirmāṇamahāsukha*
oṃ nirmāṇakāyavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	*ity anena*
punar madhye	
oṃ mahāsukhakāyavajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	
punar madhye	
oṃ namaḥ sarvagurubuddhabodhisattvebhyo	
vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā	
[Japa]	
dhyānāt khinno[30] *mantraṃ japet*	
tatrāyaṃ mantraḥ	
oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye	*oṃ oṃ oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye*
oṃ vajravarṇanīye	*vajravarṇanīye*
oṃ vajravairocanīye	*vajravairocanīye*
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phat 3 svāhā	*hūm hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ*
	svāhā
tatrāyaṃ mūlamantraḥ	*ity japamantraḥ*
	vajrayoginīsādhanaṃ samāptaṃ
oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ	
hṛdayamantraḥ	
oṃ vajrayoginīye (4a) *upahṛdayamantraḥ*	
oṃkārādisvāhāntena pūjayitvā	
pūrvavad visarjayed[31] *iti*	
[Bali]	
	SM 238
oṃ śrīvajrayoginī	*oṃ śrīvajrayogini*
sarvabhūtapiśācādīn[32]	*sarvabhūtapretapiśācādīn*
sodhaya 2 hana 2	*sādhaya sādhaya hana hana*
	daha daha grasa grasa
sarvasiddhiprādhanī	*sarvasiddhisādhanāni*
prayaccha sarvāśāṃ[33] *me paripūraya*	*prayaccha sarvāśāṃ paripūraya*
svāhā	*svāhā/*
śrīvajrayoginī sarvasiddhi	*oṃ srīvajrayogini sarvasiddhiṃ*

kuru 2	*kuru kuru*
sarvavighnavināyakān	*sarvavighnavināyakān*
hana 2	*hana hana*
samyaksaṃbodhaye mama idaṃ	*samyaksaṃbodhaye mama*
baliṃ ghṛṇantu 2 hūṃ 3 phaṭ 3	*baliṃ gṛhṇa hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ*
svāhā	*phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā/*
sādhanaṃ vajrayoginyāṃ iti	
tvayā[34] *yat puṇyam acitaṃ tena lokābhavattvena*	
samyaksaṃbodhilābhi naśati ity	
āryabhagavatītrikāyavajrayoginī(4b)*sādhanaṃ*	
samāptam śubham	
kṛttir ayam siddhācāryavirūpāṃdānām iti	

III.

This short text may be divided into six parts: a) introduction, b) meditative-production, c) worship, d) recitation, e) *bali* offering, and f) conclusion. The discussion which follows cannot be exhaustive either philologically or culture-historically, but will strive to indicate that the praxis is an internal yoga and a reflex or counterpart to the (external) rite known as *śavasādhana* in Hindu texts.[35] In addition, an instance will be given of the well known connection between Śaṃvara and Śiva.

a) Introduction, f. 1,1: The manuscript starts with a salutation to TrikāyaVajrayoginī. The stipulation *trikāya-* is also found in the two other Virūpā texts (not edited here), but not in the *Sādhanamālā*. There follows the mantra *oṃ āḥ hūṃ phaṭ*, thereby distinguishing it from what is elsewhere called the *kāyavākcittādhiṣṭhānamantra, oṃ āḥ hūṃ*.[36] *Phaṭ* is also added to the *arghamantra* as found in 232.

b) *Bhāvanā*, f. 1,1-2b,5: This specifies the iconography of the yellow TrikāyaVajrayoginī. The substance is identical to SM 232. After the usual preliminaries, one meditatively produces in the navel a yellow Vajrayoginī, in the *pratyālīḍha* posture and carrying her own severed head in her right hand and a knife in her left. On her right and left are the attendants Vajravarṇanī and Vajravairocanī, nude, in *līḍha* and each bearing a knife and skull. From Vajrayoginī's headless trunk three streams of blood issue from the three (yogic) veins *lalanā, rasanā* and *avadhūti* - here named *avadhṛti*[37] - and enter the mouths of Vajravarṇanī, Vajravairocanī, Vajrayoginī respectively.

There are a few details meriting attention. SM 232 specifies that the stream of blood (*asṛgdhārā*) enters (*praviśati*) the mouth of Vajrayoginī. Our text reads *prapatati praviśati vā*. Both attendents make do with *praviśati*. Whether this formulaic alternative might be taken as evidence that our text is older than that of SM 232, is unanswerable. It is nevertheless of interest, for this implies that the status of the streams of blood directed to the attendents is different from that of Vajrayoginī, as it indeed must be, since *lalanā* and *rasanā* represent sun and moon, vowel and consonant, Insight and Means.[38] Hence, the gross iconography of the yellow Vajrayoginī is a depiction of an internal yoga. Indeed, the goddess who has three bodies abides in these three paths (f. 7a,6-7b,1: *trimārge saṃsthitā devī trikāyavajrayoginī*).[39]

This proposition, that the distinction of *praviśati/prapatati* might have meaning and that it may refer to yogic practises of the Buddhist tantric literature often associated with the figures Caṇḍālī and Vasantatilakā, is supported by the Nepalese painting from the collection of the Musée Guimet reproduced in black and white by Mallman (1975: plate XII).[40] The streams of blood do seem to enter the mouths of Vajravarṇanī and Vajravairocanī - whose teeth are visible. This is not discernable for Vajrayoginī, the mouth of whose severed head is closed. Assisting interpretation of the three figures, the middles of the disks of the sun and moon high in this miniature are *precisely* aligned with the open mouths of the two attendents. Further, the tip of the topmost flame of the *prabhā* is an iota higher the upper rims of the sun and moon, and is aligned not with the center of the headless body of Vajrayoginī, but with the point of conjunction of Bhairava and Kālarātrī on whom she treds. Consequently, Vajravarṇanī and Vajravairocanī might be seen to represent *lalanā* and *rasanā* - often associated with the sun and moon- and Vajrayoginī and Bhairava and Kālarātrī their union on a white lotus in the navel, the locus for the meditative-production of the goddess (f. 1,3: *svanābhau ... śitapadmaṃ ... vibhāvayet*).[41] A fundamental similarity with yogic praxes connected with Caṇḍālī is evident.

Our hypothesis is that the Nepalese miniature, and by implication the manuscript, treat of an internal yoga of the three primary *nāḍīs* whereby the fusion or choking off of the two side veins (that is, duality) results in the achievement of a symbolic death by self-decapitation. The logic of the meditation in question seems to require that the *sādhaka* himself becomes deceased (abolishing duality), and doubtless reanimated[42], by identification with the visualized goddess. From this perspective the subject matter of the meditation might be seen as an internalized *śavasādhana* whereby the practitioner makes himself into the means (the corpse) of this gruesome rite.

c. *Pūjā*, f. 2b,5-3b,4: This section provides mantras (also found in SM 232 and 234) for worship of the deities of the maṇḍala. Although the dedication of the ms. is to Vajrayoginī, the chief deity is addressed as Sarvabuddhaḍākinī. Mallman (1975: 339) notes that this nomen occurs in SM 234, 236 and 249 (overlooking the loci in 232 and 233). Because Sarvabuddhaḍākinī in SM 249 is one of a set of five *ḍākinī* well known from the maṇḍala of Māhāmāyā[Heruka] (see NSP no. 9), we remove it from further consideration. Of the remaining four *sādhanas*, SM 232 and 234 treat of the yellow and SM 233 and 236 of the red Vajrayoginī. Mallman further suggests (ibid.: 133) that there are three separate divinities named Buddhaḍākinī. The third "est invokée sans être décrit dans 232, 233, 234, 236. SM 234 lui attribue simplement la couleur jaune et semble la localiser à l'E. de (ou devant) Vajrayoginī, et elle peut aussi être appelée Sarvabuddhaḍākinī". There are some misunderstandings here. Collating SM 232, 234 and our ms., it is evident that the four mantras may be divided into groups of one and three. The first Sarvabuddhaḍākinī in all three texts must refer to Vajrayoginī as Trikāyavajryoginī, the subject of the meditative-production (*bhāvanā*) of the three deities in the ms. 'Trikāya-' refers to the Vajrayoginī who has three bodies, namely Sarvabuddhaḍākinī/Buddhaḍākinī, Vajravarṇanī and Vajravairocanī. From this perspective, *'tad anu'* and *'paścād'* respectively in the ms. and SM 232 indicate that three mantras temporally follow that of 'Trikāyavajrayoginī'. In SM 234 *agrataḥ* then means that the second (of 4) mantras is invoked as first among the second set consisting of three items. Both Sarvabuddhaḍākinī and Buddhaḍākinī are invoked in the center. Buddhaḍākinī here is the central and as Sarvabuddhaḍākinī the comprehensive figure of the three-bodied Vajrayoginī. As for a distinction of colour, in SM 234 Buddhaḍākinī is yellow (*pītavarṇā*); Sarvabuddhaḍākinī alias [Trikāya]vajrayoginī is deemed *kanakaśyāmā*. A possible significance of this will be discussed below. In the table, M stands for the mantra.

Ms.	SM 232	SM 234
tatra ... madhye M	*M ... dharmodayamadhye*	*M madhye*
[Sarvabuddhaḍākinī]	[Sarvabuddhaḍākinī]	[Sarvabuddhaḍākinī]
tad anu M	*paścād ... M*	*agrataḥ M*
[Sarvabuddhaḍākinī]	[Buddhaḍakinī]	[Sarvabuddhaḍākinī]
vāme M	*paścād vāmapārśve M*	*dakṣiṇe M*
[Vajravarṇanī]	[Vajravarṇanī]	[Vajravarṇanī]
dakṣiṇe M	*pāścād dakṣiṇaparśve M*	*paścime M*
[Vajravairocanī]	[Vajravairocanī]	[Vajravairocanī]

In contrast to these sequences of a set of 1, both introduced by (SM 232, 234) and introducing (ms.) a mantra, and a set of 3, introducing a mantra, the third group of 4 mantras, mentioning the 4 *kāya*, is to be segmented into a group of 3 followed by 1, the *mahāsukhakāya*. In the manuscript it is not clear whether the second group of four mantras containing the 4 *pīṭha* are to be sectioned according to the first or second method. However, SM 234 groups both the second and third set of 4 mantras into sets of 3 plus 1, whereby because of the presumed analogical structure of the *sādhanas, śrīhaṭṭa* may be considered connected to the *mahāsukhakāya*.[43]

pīṭha	*kāya*
oḍiyaṇa	dharmakāya
pūrṇagiri	sambhogakāya
kāmarūpa[44]	nirmāṇakāya

śrīhaṭṭa mahāsukhakāya

Associated with the summum of the four bodies of the Buddha, the presence of *śrīhata/sirihaṭṭa* as a *pīṭha* evidently not attested elsewhere in Buddhist tantric texts is suggestive. Perforce finding succor in non-Buddhist sources, the sixteenth century *Pīṭhanirṇaya* provides an apparent equivalence of *śrīsaila* and *śrīhaṭṭa* (Sircar 1973: 52). The text is a comprehensive catalogue of *pīṭhas* associated with the Hindu Goddess Śakti. Each place of pilgrimage is given a corresponding body part of the Goddess, a *devatā*, and form of Bhairava (the *pīṭhādhiśa*):

> *śrīśaile (śrīhaṭṭe) ca mama grīvā mahālaksmīs tu devatā/*
> *bhairavaḥ sambarānando deśe deśe vyavasthitaḥ//*
>
> In Śrisaila (*Śrīhaṭṭa*) is my neck. Its presiding divinity is Mahālakṣmī. Sambarānanda is the Bhairava [Śiva] who abides in each place.

A number of 'co-incidences' are manifest: first, the *pīṭha* is associated with the neck. We recall that the yellow Vajrayoginī carries her own head, severed at the neck. That the neck of itself has some import is also indicated by the Nepalese miniature discussed above where the edges of the three skull-bowls in the miniature of Vajrayoginī are held on the level of the necks of Vajravarṇanī, Vajravairocanī and the headless trunk of Vajrayoginī (cf. Mallman 1975: plate XII).

Next, the presence of Sambara (var. ms. E *śambara-*): Sircar, invoking the Bengali version of the text, prefers the (hypometric) reading *sarvānanda*, but Skt. ms. E *śambarānanda* suggesting an allusion to a form of Śiva to be associated with the Buddhist divinity (cf. Snellgrove 1987: 153) is not unattractive. As Snellgrove (1987: 150, 153-9) clearly states, the practises represented by these fierce divinities are in origin neither Hindu nor Buddhist. Indeed, Śiva and his consort are present in the *Saṃvaramaṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (no. 12) where Saṃvara and Vajravārāhī tred upon Bhairava and Kālarātri, as does the yellow Vajrayoginī in the Nepalese miniature.

Further, of the set of 16 paired figures in the eight directions of the first circle (*cittacakra*) of the Sambaramaṇḍala, we find in the east Khaṇḍakapāla and his consort Pracaṇḍā.[45] In the *Kathasaritsāgara* of the eleventh century Somadeva, there is a Khaṇḍakāpālika who, as his name suggests, is a member of the Śaiva sect of the skull bearing Kāpālika-s. This character, in order to win the princess Madanamañjarī, engages in rituals involving a corpse (*śavasādhana*) in a cemetery (*smaśāna*).[46] This might be considered of little relevance for our purposes were it not that Vajrayoginī holds a skull, her own, and the *sādhana* specifies the presence of a cemetery. More importantly, a cemetery considered as the marketplace of the dead (*mṛtahaṭṭa*), in immediate textual proximity to a fierce form of Śiva holding skull and sword, may be noted within the context of a *śavasādhana* in the Hindu *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya*[47] xiv.228-230. The praxis proper beginning at xiv.219c, at this point the practitioner has taken his seat on the corpse and has effected conjunction with the divinity by means of mantra recitation (*tatra sakṛjjapitvā devatāmelanaṃ bhavet*, vs. 227cd).

> *tatra natvā mahādevaṃ mahādevīñ ca sādhakaḥ/*
> *tadbhasmatikakaṃ kṛtvā svayaṃ vīreśvaro bhavet//*
> *niśāyāṃ mṛtahaṭṭe ca unmattānandabhairavaḥ/*
> *digvāsā*[48] *vimalī bhasmabhūṣano muktakeśakaḥ//*
> *kapālī khaḍgahastaś ca japen mātṛkayā sudhīḥ/*
> *tadā tasya mahāsiddhir jāyate śatajapataḥ//*

> Then, having bowed to Mahādeva and Mahādevī, the practitioner, having applied such a *tilaka* of ash, himself becomes a lord of heroes. And at night in the marketplace of the dead, he who is the Bhairava Unmattānanda, nude, immaculate, having ash as ornament, with deshelved hair, with skull and sword in hand, he, insightful, ought recite the *matṛkā*. Then, after a hundred recitations, great success is born for him.

The presence of the reading *mṛtahaṭṭa* deserves attention. A possibility, although most unlikely, is a correction to **mṛte haṭṭe*. In this event the practitioner recites the mantra seated, one assumes, 'on a deceased, in a marketplace'. However, the text has specified a cemetery (*śmaśāne*) at xiv.225c, so this may be discarded. Another interpretation is suggested by English idiom, namely a 'dead', that is empty, marketplace. However, to my knowledge this meaning for *mṛta* is not Sanskrit. Nevertheless, *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* xiv.92 does mention the empty marketplace (*śūnyāgāra*) as one of the suitable loci for a *śavasādhana*. Instead of this, I propose that *mṛtahaṭṭa* refers to a 'fair', that is, an gathering place of the dead, a cemetery. From this perspective, we may ask if the import of the unique presence of the *pīṭha* called *śrīhaṭṭa* in the *sādhanas* of the yellow Vajrayoginī is as much geographic - as identified as modern Sylhet in Assam - as it might be topological, given the term *mṛtahaṭṭa* as an expression for a cemetery in the *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya*. The latter is indirectly supported by *Hevajratantra* I.vii.18, where lists are given of the twelve categories of places of pilgrimage, *pīṭha*, *upapīṭha*, etc. Instead of toponyms, for the category *śmaśāna* the text supplies two descriptions of which the first is *śmaśānaṃ pretasaṃhātaṃ*, "a cemetery is a gathering place of *pretas*".[49] We may recall that the ms. reads *śrīhata*: it remains speculation, albeit justified, to hazard that this aberrant name of a place of pilgrimage could hence also mean '*the* illustrous gathering place', scin. a cemetery. Because it may seemingly be equated with the *mahāsukhakāya* (*supra*) and because in Buddhist texts its presence in *sādhanas* of the yellow Vajrayoginī is unique, this would but further distinguish *śrīhaṭṭa* from the other three places of pilgrimage in the *sādhana.*

d) *Japa,* f.3b,4-4a,1: This section provides various mantras for recitation (*jāpa*), after which the practitioner is enjoined to discharge the divinity "as before" (*pūrvavad*). Unfortunately, the manuscript does not record this activity elsewhere. Moreover, the mantra which is here identified as the *mūlamantra* is found deemed the *jāpamantra* immediately subsequent to the description of the *bhāvanā* and directly preceding the instructions for drawing the *pūjamaṇḍala.* Although missing at the corresponding locus in SM 232, in its parallel to this section the *Sādhanamālā* refers to the mantra as the *japamantra.* Precisely where the initial dismissal of the divinity is meant to have taken place is obscure: after the *pūja* would seem most likely.

The divinity having been discharged, she would have to be generated anew. Therefore, the manuscript asserts the presence of two meditative-productions. The first is called a *bhāvanā*: the second, a *dhyāna.* The question now arises whether the *dhyāna* is identical to the previous *bhāvanā.* It may very well be. However, *Sādhanamālā* 234 provides another meditative-production of the yellow Vajrayoginī whom it specifies as meditatively-produced in the heart, unlike the *bhāvanā* above which is positioned in the navel. I suggest that this might perhaps be the *dhyāna* mentioned in the manuscript. This proposal would appear supported by the datum that SM 234 begins directly with the passage cited below and lacks the usual preliminaries of an introductory verse, the finding of an appropriate seat or generation of the four *brahmavihāra,* as well as any introductory phrase, such as *prathamam* (compare SM 232, 233, 236 passim) whatsoever. An absence of some or all of these is not unknown in the *Sādhanamālā,* but not common among the prose *sādhanas.* In addition, because Vajrayoginī is visualized in the heart, this meditation may perhaps be regarded as a more advanced practice insofar as the internal yoga which the initial *bhāvanā* may represent - a meditation implying the fusion or choking off of the breaths in the side veins resulting the meditative-production of the goddess at the level of the navel - might proceed to a meditation in the next of the 4 Buddhist *cakra* up, in the heart. *Sādhanamālā* 234, 1.2-7:

> *hṛdi nānāvarṇapaṃkārapariṇāmena viśvapadmaṃ bhāvayet/ tatropari raktavarṇarephapariṇāmena sūryamaṇḍale dharmodayaṃsamadhikaraktavarṇaṃ bhāvayet/ dharmodayopari raktavarṇaṃhrīṃkāraṃ/ hrīṃkārādibhiḥ pūrvoktaiḥ samastaiḥ pariṇāmenavajrayoginī kanakaśyāmāṃ sūryāsane padmamadhye tathātra pārśve ḍākinīdvayaṃ bhāvayet kartrikaroṭakadharāṃ ālīḍhapadasaṃsthitāṃ*

> By transformation of a syllable *paṃ* of various colours in the heart, one should meditatively-produce a *viśvapadma*. On top of that on a sun disk, by transformation of a red-hued *raṃ*, one should meditatively-produce an intensely red *dharmodaya* [triangle]. On top of the *dharmodaya* [triangle] (one produces) a red syllable *hrīṃ*. By transformation by means of all the above-mentioned - the syllable *hrīṃ* and so on - one should meditatively-produce the golden thorn-apple [hued] Vajrayoginī in the middle of a lotus situated on the sun and, likewise there to [either] side, the two *ḍākinī* who bear a knife and skull [cup] and abide in the *ālīḍha* position.

Clearly, this meditative-production is very similar to the earlier one. That this is indeed a second meditation might be indicated by the fact that the procedure described is mostly that of the preliminaries. The iconography of Vajrayoginī is presumed. One difference, if such it truly be, is that Vajrayoginī is deemed to be *kanakaśyāmā* rather than *pītā*. The former is an uncommon color term whose only other attestation is in *Sādhanamālā* 15 as an attribute of Tārā (*kanakaśyāmavarṇā*). Meisezahl (1981: 530) observes that "Yar lo Grags pa rgyal mchan übersetzt *gser sngon po'i mdog lta bu dkar zing*, 'weiss wie die Farbe der Stechapfel-[Blüte]...' ... Gemeint ist wohl der zweifarbig, äusserlich violett (*nīlohita*) und innerlich weiss (*śveta*) blühende *dhattūra* (datura fatuosa, Fam. Solanacenae) den Śivadatta auch *kanaka, kanakāhvaya, suvarṇa* oder *hema* nennt..." However, although *kanaka*, which is usually to be rendered 'gold' or 'golden', is a name of a species of Datura, the same is valid for the terminus *śyāma*.[50] Hence, *kanaka* may well be an adjectival modification of *śyāma* and the compound may refer to a golden (or yellow) thorn-apple. This has the advantage that one may maintain, in accordance with the manuscript and SM 232, a yellowish colour for the Vajrayoginī of SM 234.

There is another reason why *kanakaśyāma* as "the golden thorn-apple [hued]" is appropriate. We proposed that the practise enjoined by the manuscript was, in fact, an internalized yoga understood as a self-decapitation whose external reflex is a *śavasādhana*. In the passage cited from the *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* above, the practitioner, holding as does the (Buddhist), yellow Vajrayoginī a skull and knife, becomes identified with Unmattānandabhairava, a ferocious form of Śiva. The term *unmatta* alone has the meaning of "thorn-apple", that is, a species of datura, as well as "furious, mad, intoxicated" (Monier-Williams 1899: 193). The practitioners of *śavasādhana* are said to experience most horrific hallucinations (Gupta 1979: 162). The sado-masochistic fantasies and hallucinations inherent in the use of datura are well-known and documented[51], so that such as might be hypothesized as the (historical) ground for the meditative-production of the yellow Vajrayoginī need not have been literally fatal to the practitioner. Be this as it may, the presence of *kanakaśyāmā* as a colour term is in itself not sufficient to establish the use of solonaceous alkaloids in Buddhist tantric circles, although its presence here is suggestive.[52]

In any event, the *dhyāna* of SM 234 is to be distinguished from the initial *bhāvanā*. The manuscript further appears to note that the practitioner is sweating (*dhyānāt svinno mantraṃ japet*). This statement, if left standing, is remarkable. In fact, *svinno*, albeit the lectio difficilior, should be emended to *khinno* since the *Sādhanamālā* furnishes numerous loci where the practitioner is told to continue with the meditative-production until fatigue sets in, whereupon which he should recite a mantra.[53]

e. *Bali*, f. 4a,2-4a,5: This section supplies two *balimantras* which are substantively identical to those of SM 238.

f. Conclusion, f. 4a,5-4b,1. This section signals the close of the *sādhana*, provides an exhortation and specifies that the author is the *siddhācārya* Virūpā.

NOTES

1. This stay in Nepal was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, to which I should like to express my thanks.
2. There are two folia numbered 18 and 19.
3. The fourth text is Suratapāda's *Hevajrasādhanasya Vajradīpanāma ṭippaṇī*.
4. SM 235's colophon ascribes the *sādhana* to the school (*mata*) of the *siddhācārya Śabarapāda* (*evaṃ nandyāvarttena siddhaśabarapādīyamatavajrayoginyārādhanavidhi*). See Bhattacarya 1958: 247-249.
5. The two texts in the canon treating of Chinnamuṇḍā are considered by Meisezahl to belong to the writings on Vajravārāhī (Meisezahl 1956-6: 259, 266-7).
6. For the exegetic lineages of the *Hevajra-*, *Ḍākārnarva* and *Yamāritantras* deriving from Virūpā, see the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1949: 207-8; 390; 379; 1046). On the meditations of Virūpā known as the four *lta ba*, **dṛṣṭi* (?), see the brilliant exposition by Ruegg (1966: 58-64).
7. To my knowledge - but the literature of the tantra is vast - only Virūpā of the 'early' *siddhācāryas* is identified with the yellow Vajrayoginī. Bhattacarya (1964: 159 ff.) notes that SM 235, a *sādhana* of Vajrayoginī, credits the *siddhācārya* Śabarapā "with the introduction of a new cult of Vajrayoginī" (but cf. supra, note 4). However, this text does not specify the goddess as yellow.

8. Virūpā and Kaṅha are the only *siddhācārya* with whom ChinnamuṇḍāVārāhī is explicitly associated by Abhayadatta. Virūpā is said to have recited the mantra of Vajravārāhī, but neither the mantra nor the form of the goddess is given. Cf. Robinson 1979: f. 9,3; 95,3.
9. PTT 2263, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2878, 2900, 3129, 3130, 3133, 3172, 3197, 4691, 5026 (Robinson 1979: 289-290).
10. The number is apocryphal. See Das Gupta 1969: 202-210; Snellgrove 1959: 12.
11. Cf. PTT vol. 52, p. 206-5-1/5-7.
12. See infra.
13. E.g. SM 15 (44.17-19), *tatra pūjāmantrāḥ oṃ vajrapuṣpe hūṃ ...*; SM 12 (36.3-4), *pūjāmantrāḥ* [mss. ABNC *pūjāmantrās tu*] *oṃ lokeśvara puṣpaṃ praticcha svāhā evaṃ dhūpaṃ dīpam ityādi boddhavyam*; see also, *Hevajratantra* II.i.4.
14. A lucid presentation of the *pañcopacārapūjā* as practised by Newari Bajracaryas is found in Locke 1980: 76-78.
15. The occurences of *vajrapuṣpa* in the *Sādhanamālā* are of two types. The first may be exemplified by SM 35 (*Oḍḍiyānakramena Trailokyavaśaṃkararalokeśvarasādhana*) 79.13-15 where a flower is presented to the divinity: ... *maṇḍalamadhye trailokyavaśaṅkaralokeśvarabhaṭṭārakaṃ pūjayed anena mantreṇa oṃ trailokyavaśaṅkarāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ pratīccha svāhā.* No other gift save the flower is presented and the text continues with the description of the meditative production of the divinity. In these cases (e.g. SM 35, 36) such a mantra is located towards the beginning of the text.

    The second variety is *vajrapuṣpa* embedded in a mantra which is the first of five, each corresponding to one of the five presentations (*upacāra*). As noted by Mk'as grub rje, variation in the sequence in accordance with the class of text (*kriyā-*, *caryā-*, *yoga-* and *anuttarayogatantra*) is not unknown (Wayman and Lessing 1980: 179). For the *kriyā* and *caryātantra* classes this is *gandha*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, *naivedya* and *dīpa* (ibid.: 181-83. Interestingly, absent *naivedya*, the identical sequence is to be located in the Hindu *Kulacūḍamaṇitantra* III.2.). Absent *naivedya*, the remaining four offering materials are also found in the sequence *dhūpa*, *puṣpa*, *gandha*, *dīpa*, as four of the eight *pūjādevatyāḥ* present in many mandalas of the fundamental text of the *yogatantra*, the *Tattvasamgraha* (cf. 91.25-6; 135.1-8; 193.25-194.5; 287.12-13; 308.12; 326.10-327.4; 359.8-11; 368.5-8; 392.15-393.2; 427.4-7; 463.13; 515.6). In the *anuttarayogatantra* class, as for example at *Hevajratantra* II.i.4 and in almost all the relevant texts of the *Sādhanamālā*, the *pañcopacāra* are *puṣpa* (flower), *dhūpa* (incense), *dīpa* (lamp), *gandha* (perfume) and *naivedya* (food-offering). Variation in terminology is easily found: for example, *Saṃvarodayatantra* 8.18 substitutes *candana* (sandalwood) for *naivedya* [mss. B C E P reverse the position of *dīpa* and *gandha*] and *Sādhanamāla* 15 (*Khasarpaṇasādhana*) 44.17-19 replaces *dīpa* by *āloka* (mirror) and *naivedya* by *āhāra* (food offering).

16. A further example of the revivification of a pigeon is found in the biography of Marpa (Bacot 1976: 39-40, 94-5). See infra note 41.

17. Robinson 1979, f. 11,3-4: *c'u de'i t'og na p'ar padma'i 'dab ma la zabs bzag nas padma'i me t'og c'u* (4) *ma nub pa sbyang nas/sangs rgyas la mc'od pa byas te p'a mt'ar song ngo//* The religious meaning of the story is transparant: because Virūpā engages in tantra, consumes wine and meat, he obtains the possibility of supernatural accomplishments (*siddhi*). This possibility is activated by worship of the Buddha-- the offering of the lotus. The result is a 'miracle', the walk across the water of the lake of existence, as a result of which he attains the other shore, enlightenment.

18. For *tīrṇayoginī*? Or is *tīra* a reference to the side *nāḍīs lalanā* and *rasanā*?

19. On the various representations of Virūpā, see Robinson 1979: 265-266; *Dieux et Demons* 177: 152 (no. 150); *Tantra Art* 1972: 58 (no. 223).

20. The rubrics between brackets are for convenience only and are not found in the texts. In the transcription of the manuscript, readings such as *maṃtra* for *mantra* and *samyaktaṃ* for *samyak* have been regularized.

21. Ms. *tatopari*.

22. Ms. *dharmodayā*.

23. Ms. *karttitaḥ*.

24. Ms. *sahita urd-*.

25. For ms. *vāmaśūnyā*, unless one understands 'devoid of duality' via *vāma* (masc.), "female breast" (Monier-Williams 1899: 941). This in the absence of further confirmation is not likely.

26. Ms. *niḥsṛtāḥ*.

27. Ms. *pūrvoktarūpā*.

28. Ms. *prathamamaṃ*.

29. Ms. *odiyāne vajra-*.

30. For ms. *svinno*, see infra.

31. Ms. *visarjayad*.

32. Ms. *piśācādin*.

33. Ms. *sarvāsāṃ me*.

34. Ms. *tvāyat*.

35. What appears to be an example of a particularly virulent Tibetan adaptation of this rite may be found, as a meditation, with as tutelary deity a red, three-eyed Vajrayoginī holding skull and knife, in Evans-Wentz 1958: 311-312. The red Vajrayoginī usually holds a skull and *khaṭvāṅga* (cf. Mallman 1975: 432). This rite is put in terms of self-flaying and by implication auto-cannibalism,

that is, as a tantric feast, rather than in terms of a *homa*, as one finds in the Hindu *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* (chapt. xiv).

36. f. 9b,6: *oṃ āḥ hūṃ iti kāyavākcittādhiṣṭhānamantraḥ.*

37. Compare f.5b,6-6a,1: *lalanārasanāyogād eva* (sic) *dhṛti mahāsukhā.*

38. Cf. Dasgupta 1974: 156 ff.

39. Cf. *Yogaratnamālā* (Snellgrove 1959: 110) on *Hevajratantra* I.i.31. See also Virūpā's *Chinnamuṇḍāsādhana* (vol. 52, 206-4-4/4-7) *lam gsum nas ni k'rag 'dzag cing// zla ba ñi ma nam mk'a' ltar// g'yon dang g'yas dang de bzin dbus// rtsa gsum nas ni byung nas ni// rtag tu 'byung bar bsgom par bya// a ba dhu ti gyen du 'gro// g'yon dang g'yas kyi gñis kyang// de ltar myur du bsgom par bya// sku gsung t'ugs kyi rang bzin gyis// rtsa gsum gyi ni ngo bor gnas// śes rab ngo bo la la na// ra sa na na t'abs su gnas// dbu ma gnas a ba dhu ti ni// bde c'en rnam pa'i rang bzin no//*

40. Mallman (1975: 433) describes the painting as follows: "L'essentiel de la description s'y trouve illustré, mais: a) la tête tranchée est dans un coupe crânienne dorée; b) les assistantes sont respectivement rouge à droite et bleue à gauche, leur m. dr. sont faisant le geste de menace, la g. tenant la coupe crânienne; c) il n'y a pas de Cimetières; d) la lune et le soleil sont figurés en haut de la composition; e) enfin, Vajrayoginī est fendue vers la g. sur Bhairava blanc et Kālarātrī verte étroitement unis, sur un lotus blanc à plate-forme noire".

41. Dasgupta (1974: 155) states that the two side veins enter the navel region from the right and left. The question of the exact place for the joining of the two veins in the Buddhist tantra seems confused. See Wayman 1977: 67, 237 on the "lower orifice" of the *avadhūti.*

42. Reanimation of a corpse is parcel of the Hindu ritual (Gupta 1979: 162) and is also known as *parapurakāyapraveśa* (cf. Eliade 1969: 393-4). In Tibetan Buddhism it is known as *grong ' jug* and is a teaching of the lineage represented by Marpa and Milarepa and deriving from Nāropā (Wayman 1973: 145). See Evans-Wentz 1951: 145-147; 158: 254-259. The Sanskrit equivalent would seem to be *parakāyapraveśa* (Chandra 1976: 394), but see Wayman 1977: 281. See also Locke ms. f. 7a,2: *paraṃcittakāyapraveśābhijñā-.*

43. That is, for both the second and third sets of four in SM 234, first three mantras, and then *punar madhye* after which the fourth mantra.

44. SM 234; ms. *kamākṣa.*; SM 232, *kamākhyā.* See Sircar (1973: 87).

45. *Niṣpannayogāvalī* p. 27: *tataḥ cittacakrasya pūrvasminnāre khaṇḍakapālapracaṇḍe ... khaṇḍakapālādayo vīrās trinetraikavaktrā jaṭāmukuṭino lalāṭaniviṣṭavajramālāṅkitavīrapaṭṭāś caturbhujāḥ āliṅganabhujābhyāṃ vajravajraghaṇṭe vāmena khaṭvāṅgaṃ savyena*

ḍamaruṃ bibhrāṇā brahmasūtrakeyūrayuktā daṃṣṭrakarālavadanāḥ pañcamūdriṇa ālīḍhasthāḥ.

46. Lorenzen 1972: 62-63. On the *śavasādhana*, see Gupta 1979:161 ff. which refers here to a passage in the *Netratantra* (18.10-12). Further, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 190cd-193. Additional references may be found via the (always very useful) index in Goudriaan 1981.
47. On this text, authored by Jñānānandagiri Paramahaṃsa and dated to the sixteenth century, see Goudriaan 1981: 144.
48. For printed *higvāsā*.
49. See Snellgrove 1959: 70 note 1. On the *pīṭhas*, cf. Tsuda 1971, 1973; Snellgrove 1987: 163-167.
50. Monier-Williams 1899: 1094.
51. See especially Harner's fascinating study on hallucinogens (flying ointments) in European witchcraft in Harner 1973.
52. I hope to demonstrate the presence of these substances in the *Hevajratantra* elsewhere.
53. The phrasing is found both with *dhyāna* and *bhāvanā*, cf. *Sādhanamālā* p. 109.16, 112.2, 122.4, 173.12, 175.16, 177.16, 382.16, 426.4, 454.9, 468.9, 469.15. Note especially 396.13-17 (*tataḥ ... dṛṣṭvā tāvad bhāvayet yāvat khedo na jāyate/ khede sati svahṛccandre muktāhāropamaṃ mantraṃ paśyan japet oṃ ...*) and 398.1-4 (*tataḥ svahṛdayāt pūjadevīḥ saṃsphāryya pūjayitvā śatākṣaramantram āvarttya ca tāvad bhāvayet yāvat khedo na jāyate/ khinne citte sati mantraṃ japet oṃ...*). On the other hand, 'sweat' in combination with a yoga of breath control in a cemetery, and in a Buddhist tantric context with the goddess holding skull and knife, may be found in the Old Javanese *Sutasoma* (cantos 10-11, Soewito 1975: 172-175). This deserves further study, if for no other reason that most of the items in the *Sādhanamālā* lack the prerequisite of weariness before directing engagement in mantra recitation. Instead, after completion of the meditative-production of the divinity, the practitioner is enjoined to recite the appropriate manttra(s). See, for example (taken at random), SM 214, *tato mantraṃ japet*, or 268, *tadanu mantram uccārayet.*

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DER FRÜHE NYĀYA.
Bemerkungen zur inneren Gestalt seines Denkens

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Textgeschichtlich sind die Anfänge des alten Nyāya, wenigstens was die Entstehung der Nyāyasūtren betrifft, im wesentlichen geklärt, auch wenn sich das Bild, das wir vom konkreten Wachstum dieses Textes besitzen, noch modifizieren und präzisieren mag, wenn die Erforschung der frühen philosophischen Literatur Indiens fortschreitet. Weitgehend unnuanciert und zwiespältig hingegen bleibt die Wertung seines philosophisch-weltanschaulichen Anliegens und damit die innere Gestalt seines Denkens.[1]

1. Im Anschlusz an W. Ruben läszt sich mit einer gewissen Sicherheit sagen, dasz die älteste Form der Nyāyasūtren etwa Adhyāya I und V des überlieferten Textes entsprochen haben dürfte und ihre inhaltliche Struktur einem alten Vāda-Handbuch[2] verdankt, das entwicklungs-geschichtlich zwischen dem Referat der *vādamārgapadāni* ("Grund-begriffe der Vāda-Praxis") bei Caraka[3] und der heutigen Textgestalt von Adhyāya I und V einzuordnen ist. Was dieses alte Vāda-Handbuch zu einem Text des Nyāya machte, war im Grunde nur der spezifische Inhalt der Kategorie *prameyam* ("Erkenntnisgegenstand"), die der Sache nach bereits bei Caraka als Topos der Vāda-Lehre belegt ist. Während aber Caraka das *prameyam* nur durch die Aufzählung der sechs Kategorien des Vaiśeṣika umschreibt ohne den Terminus selbst zu erwähnen[4], erscheint dieser Topos wohl schon in der ältesten Form der Nyāyasūtren unter dem Namen *prameyam*, das in NS I 1,9 folgendermaszen dargelegt wird: "Der Erkenntnisgegenstand [unseres Systems] aber ist die Seele (*ātmā*), der Körper (*śarīram*), die Sinnesorgane (*indriyāni*), die Gegenstände [der Sinne] (*arthāḥ*), die Erkenntnis (*buddhiḥ*), das innere Organ (*manas*), das Handeln (*pravṛttiḥ*), die Fehler (*doṣāḥ*), die Wiedergeburt (*pretyabhāvaḥ*), die Frucht der Werke (*phalam*), das Leid (*duḥkham*) und das Aufhören [der welthaften Existenz] (*apavargaḥ*)".

Diese "Erkenntnisgegenstände" sind jedoch keine philosophischen Kategorien, auch keine naturphilosophischen, wie etwa die des Vaiśeṣika, wenngleich sich in ihrer Darlegung in den Nyāyasūtren durchaus auch psychologische und naturphilosophische Lehren finden lassen[5], sondern sie sind letztlich nichts anderes als Stichwörter einer Heilslehre und stellen so, wie ich meine, die älteste "Philosophie" des Nyāya dar, die sich in ihnen als echte Heilslehre erweist. Dies liesze sich im einzelnen zeigen, doch genügt es hier darauf hinzuweisen, dasz beispielweise der Körper (*śarīram*) nicht als objektive, physische

Gegebenheit in den Blick kommt, sondern als Element der menschlichen Person in ihren Lebensbezügen, die durch den Ich-Wahn (*ahaṃkāraḥ*) für das Selbst des Menschen gehalten wird[6]; aber auch darauf, dasz mit den "[sinnlichen] Gegenständen" (*arthāḥ*) nicht die objektiven Phänomene der Auszenwelt gemeint sind, sondern die den Menschen betörenden Eigenschaften der Elemente, welche die Grundfehler, nämlich Begehren, Abneigung und Wahn hervorrufen.[7] Dasz schlieszlich "Fehler" (*doṣāḥ*), "Frucht" (*phalam*), "Leid" (*duḥkham*) und "Emanzipation" (*aparvargaḥ*)- vor allem in ihrem aufeinander Bezogensein - *a priori* keine Gegenstände einer Naturphilosophie sind, braucht nicht weiter begründet zu werden. Wenn es daher seine Berechtigung hat, die in NS I 1,9 unter der Bezeichnung *prameyam* aufgezählten Begriffe als jene Inhalte zu betrachten, die für die Denktradition des frühesten Nyāya charakteristisch waren[8], dann kann gesagt werden, dasz diese Tradition zunächst und ursprünglich nichts anderes war als eine Heilslehre wie der Buddhismus und das Sāṃkhya auch.

Schon sehr früh, wenn nicht von Anfang an, musz aber dem Nyāya auch ein ausgeprägtes Interesse an der rationalen Argumentation und an der Debatte eigen gewesen sein, erwartete der Nyāya doch von Anfang an die Emanzipation aus dem Kreislauf der Wiedergeburten von der richtigen Erkenntnis der objektiven Wirklichkeit[9] des Daseins und der durch sie eintretenden Ernüchterung dem Leben gegenüber. Von Anfang an dürfte sich nämlich der Nyāya bei der Bemühung um diese Erkenntnis nicht wie die Mīmāṃsā und der Vedānta auf die "Offenbarung" der autoritativen Überlieferung (*śrutiḥ, smṛtiḥ*) als Quelle berufen haben, sondern seine Heilslehre argumentativ mit Hilfe der Erkenntnismittel gewonnen haben, die er daher auch in der Auseinandersetzung mit anderen Traditionen seiner Art, etwa den verschiedenen Schulen des Buddhismus oder des Sāṃkhya zu bewähren hatte. Und so scheint der Nyāya in einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt seiner Entwicklung die alte Heilslehre unter die Lehrgegenstände einer wohl brahmanischen (nicht buddhistischen) Vāda-Tradition, der er in den Auseinandersetzungen mit Vertretern gegnerischer Schulen gefolgt war, aufgenommen und unter dem Stichwort *prameyam* zusammengefaszt zu haben. Textgeschichtlich dürfte dieser Schritt der Entstehung der ältesten Form der Nyāyasūtren (Adhyāya I und V) entsprochen haben.

Wenn man die Kategorien des Nyāya, so wie sie in den ältesten Abschnitten der Nyāyasūtren begegnen, mit den bei Caraka vorkommenden Vāda-Stichwörtern vergleicht, die sicher eine ältere Stufe der Vāda-Lehre belegen, so ist der Eindruck unvermeidbar, dasz der Nyāya bei diesem entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Schritt einen ihm vorliegenden alten Vāda-Text systematisch überdacht und einem moderneren Problem-verständnis entsprechend neu formuliert hat. So wurden beispielsweise zusammengehörige Stichwörter nicht nebeneinander stehen gelassen, sondern unter Oberbegriffe systematisch zusammengefaszt.[10] Auch die Lehre vom Beweis wurde gründlicher durchdacht, als es noch die alte Vāda-Lehre getan hatte.[11] Dennoch kann man, wenn man NS I 1,1 betrachtet, sagen, dasz sich der Verfasser dieses ältesten überlieferten Nyāyatextes im Grunde ziemlich genau an den Inhalt eines Vāda-Handbuches gehalten hat.

Kaum verändert hat sich auch der Grundcharakter der alten Heilslehre. Lediglich die geistige Gestalt des Systems kam als rational argumentierende Heilslehre nunmehr in den Stichwörtern von NS I 1,1 deutlich zum Ausdruck, und dieses selbst hatte so einen der zeitgenössischen philosophischen Reflexion entsprechenden Grundtext erhalten. Denn indem bei der Überarbeitung der Stichwörter der alten Vāda-Lehre die "Erkenntnismittel" (*pramāṇam*) und die eigentliche philosophische Lehre als "Erkenntnisgegenstand" (*prameyam*) an die Spitze gestellt wurden, wie dies E. Frauwallner auch für Vṛṣagaṇas Ṣaṣṭitantram gezeigt hat[12], war aus der rational argumentierenden Heilslehre des Nyāya ein klassisches System im Sinne Frauwallners geworden.

2. Wenden wir uns nunmehr nochmals jener Neigung der Schule zu rationaler Durchdringung ihrer Lehre und jener Vorliebe für die dialektische Auseinandersetzung zu, die Grund dafür zu sein scheinen, dasz in der überlieferten Form der Nyāyasūtren die Vāda-Kategorien einen so breiten Raum einnehmen. Unter den erhaltenen Autoren ist es Pakṣilasvāmin Vātsyāyana, der diesen Grundzug des Nyāya erstmals in seiner typischen Konkretheit thematisiert und diesen reflektierend grundlegt, indem er sein System als die von Kauṭilya in seiner Liste der vier Königwissenschaften genannte *ānvīkṣikī* ausweist.[13] Wenn auch dieser Rückgriff auf das Kauṭilīyārthaśāstra in seiner konkreten Durchführung und Stilisierung persönlicher Beitrag Pakṣilasvāmins zu sein scheint, so ist es doch nicht auszuschlieszen, dasz er die Assoziierung seines Systems mit der *ānvīkṣikī* in der Tradition seiner Schule bereits in irgendeiner Form vorgefunden hat.

Dem Begriff der *ānvīkṣikī* hat P. Hacker eine vorzügliche Studie[14] gewidmet und Pakṣilasvāmins Vorgehen letztlich im Sinne seines Inklusivismusbegriffes als Bestreben gedeutet, dem Nyāya unter dieser Bezeichnung Eingang in die Liste der Königswissenschaften zu verschaffen. Die Textanalyse der Einleitung zu Pakṣilasvāmins Nyāyabhāṣyam scheint dies zu bestätigen. Dennoch ist es notwendig, den Textbefund auch noch unter einer anderen Perspektive zu betrachten, was übrigens Hacker selbst anzudeuten scheint.

Analysieren wir zunächst Kauṭilyas Erwähnung der *anvīkṣikī*: "*anvīkṣikī* ist [zum Beispiel] das Saṃkhya, der Yoga und das Lokāyata".[15] Hier fällt auf, dasz die *ānvīkṣikī* mit drei Beispielen erklärt wird, die alle drei kein Gegenstandswissen vermitteln, wir würden sagen keine Einzelwissenschaft sind, sonder drei "Wissenschaften", die die Existenz des Menschen als ganzen betreffen. Stellt man dazu Kauṭilyas Definition der *ānvīkṣikī* als Methode, nämlich dasz diese eine Wissenschaft sei, die "mit Gründen nachprüft" (*hetubhir anvīkṣamānā*)[16], so ist man verleitet anzunehmen, dasz das, was Kauṭilya in seinen Beispielen als *anvīkṣikī* belegt, einen bestimmten Typus der Wissenschaft meint, der wie die anderen drei Wissenschaften, nämlich die vedische Wissenschaft (*trayī*), die Erwerbskunde (*vārttā*) und die Herrschkunst (*daṇḍanītiḥ*), mit der Methode der *ānvīkṣikī* arbeitet, aber anders als diese nicht Einzelnes, sondern das Dasein des Menschen als ganzes zum Gegenstand hat, nämlich jene *ānvīkṣikī*, welche inhaltlich eine Lehre vom Selbst (*ātmavidyā*) ist[17] und die Pakṣilasvāmin in seinem Nyāyabhāṣyam eine *adhyātmavidyā* nennt. Das Spezifische dieses von Kauṭilya in seiner Erklärung exemplifizierten Wissenschaftstypus ist aber nicht nur der Aspekt der *ātmavidyā*, sondern vor allem der Umstand, dasz die *ānvīkṣikī* jene "Wissenschaft" vom Menschen ist, die ihren Gegenstand "mit Hilfe von Gründen nachprüft" (*hetubhir anvīkṣamānā*) und ihn nicht einfach pragmatisch, wie er in der Tradition überliefert ist, hinnimmt.

Was meint aber Kauṭilya in seiner Bestimmung der *anvīkṣikī* mit dem Begriff *hetuḥ*, der, als "logische" Begründung im Beweis verstanden, im Rahmen einer Definition der *ānvīkṣikī* als Methode eher zu eng zu sein scheint. Tatsächlich erklärt eine alte Definition des Terminus *hetuḥ* aus der Vāda-Tradition, die P. Hacker nicht bekannt gewesen ist, deutlich, was hier mit *hetuḥ* gemeint ist. In seinem Referat der Stichwörter der Vāda-Lehre bemerkt Caraka: "*hetuḥ* ist Erkenntnisursache. Eine solche sind Wahrnehmung, Schluszfolgerung, Überlieferung und Analogie. Was mit Hilfe dieser Gründe erkannt wird, das ist die Wahrheit".[18] Im Lichte dieser Erklärung wird verständlich, was das "Nachprüfen mit Hilfe von Gründen" bei Kauṭilya meint: Das Erkennen der Wahrheit, indem man den zu wissenden Gegenstand mit Hilfe rationaler Überlegung, d.h. mit Hilfe aller zur Verfügung stehenden Erkenntnismittel, prüft. Und dies tun Sāṃkhya, Yoga und Lokāyata im Bereich der *ātmavidyā*. Wenn er daher vier verschiedene Wissenschaften nennen wollte, die der König kennen sollte, konnte er neben *trayī*, *vārttā* und *daṇḍanītiḥ* mit dem Terminus *ānvīkṣikī* nur eine Wissenschaft dieser Art meinen, weil *ānvīkṣikī* im Sinne einer Methode bereits in den anderen Wissenschaften enthalten und keine eigenständige Wissenschaft gewesen wäre. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es nicht unwichtig, dasz Kauṭilya die *ānvīkṣikī* als Methode auch dem Veda (*trayī*) zuschreibt, wenn er sagt, dasz "die *ānvīkṣikī* auf dem Gebiet des Veda Dharma und Adharma ... mit Gründen prüft"[19], und daher hier wohl den Veda meint, soweit für ihn die *mīmāṃsā*, die hermeneutische Prüfung der vedischen Vorschriften, konstitutiv ist. Das Lernen und Tradieren des Veda allein als Quelle der Offenbarung scheint Kauṭilya nicht als "Wissenschaft" eingestuft zu haben.

Diese *ānvīkṣikī*, verstanden als jene *ātmavidyā*, die ihre Lehre mit Hilfe der Erkenntnismittel überprüft und rational erarbeitet, ist es, mit der Pakṣilasvāmin seine eigene Schule identifiziert; vielleicht um diese unter dem Namen *ānvīkṣikī* in die Liste der vom König zu kennenden Wissenschaften einzuordnen, wie P. Hacker meint, sachlich aber jedenfalls deshalb, weil der Nyāya sich tatsächlich als *ānvīkṣikī* im Sinne von Kauṭilyas Aufzählung verstehen konnte und vielleicht auch verstehen muszte. Es ist Kauṭilyas Verständnis der *ānvīkṣikī* als rational argumentierende Wissenschaft vom menschlichen Dasein als ganzen, die es Pakṣilasvāmin ermöglicht, die spezifische geistige Gestalt des Nyāya zu thematisieren, indem er unter Bezugnahme auf Kauṭilyas Aufzählung der Wissenschaften bemerkt: "Diese vier Wissenschaften, die ein jeweils eigenständiges methodisches Vorgehen besitzen, werden zur Hilfe für die Menschen gelehrt. Die vierte von ihnen, die *ānvīkṣikī*, ist die Nyāya-Wissenschaft (*nyāyavidyā*). Ihr kommen die Kategorien, die [in der Aufzählung von NS I 1,1] mit 'Zweifel' beginnen, als eigenständige methodische Elemente zu. Ohne deren getrennte Erwähnung wäre diese (*scil.* die mit der *ānvīkṣikī* identifizierte Nyāyavidyā) nichts anderes als eine 'Wissenschaft vom menschlichen Dasein' (*adhyātmavidyā*), wie die Upaniṣaden".[20] Hier unterscheidet Pakṣilasvāmin im Sinne Kauṭilyas die *ānvīkṣikī* vom Veda, wenn er die *ānvīkṣikī* als eine Wissenschaft bestimmt, deren Wesen sich nicht wie die Upaniṣaden in dem einer *adhyātmavidyā* erschöpfen darf, wenngleich sie natürlich eine solche ist.[21]

3. Warum qualifiziert aber Pakṣilasvāmin seine Wissenschaft, nachdem er sie zunächst als Wissenschaft vom Typus der *ānvīkṣikī*, wenn nicht gar als die *ānvīkṣikī* schlechthin, bestimmt hat, als *nyāyavidyā* bzw. *nyāyaśāstram*[22] und führt so ohne sichtbaren Grund den Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* ein, der kein Begriff seiner Schule ist? Meines Wissens kommt der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* weder in Carakas Darstellung der Vāda-Lehre (CarS vim. 8,27 ff.) noch sonst wo in der Vāda-Lehre vor. Aber auch in den überlieferten Nyāyasūtren fehlt dieser Begriff und selbst bei Pakṣilasvāmin spielt der Begriff auszer im Kontext seines Kommentars zu NS I 1,1, also gerade in jenem Kontext, in welchem Pakṣilasvāmin sein System in Beziehung zu Kauṭilyas *ānvīkṣikī* setzt, kaum eine Rolle.[23] Damit stellt sich die Frage konkreter: Führt Pakṣilasvāmin den Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* ein, um seine Wissenschaft als *ānvīkṣikī* bezeichnen zu können, oder identifiziert er sein System mit der *ānvīkṣikī*, um es als *nyāyavidyā*, als Wissenschaft, die mit *nyāyaḥ* arbeitet, ausweisen zu können?

Wenn man bedenkt, dasz dem Begriff der *ānvīkṣā* und damit dem Begriff der *ānvīkṣikī* schon zur Zeit Pakṣilasvāmins kaum mehr eine echte Bedeutung zuzukommen scheint und auch Pakṣilasvāmins Identifizierung seines Systems mit der *ānvīkṣikī* in den weiteren Ausführungen keine andere Funktion zu haben scheint, als dasz er sein System in die alte Aufzählung der Wissenschaften bei Kauṭilya hineinlesen kann, ist man versucht anzunehmen, dasz es Pakṣilasvāmin gar nicht so sehr um diese Identifizierung als solche geht, sondern er diese bereits in seiner Tradition vorgefunden hat und sie verwendet, um die ihm wichtige innere Gestalt der von ihm vertretenen Lehre thematisieren zu können. Denn diese Identifizierung selbst wird bei Pakṣilasvāmin nicht weiter begründet oder wenigstens plausibel gemacht, sondern vorausgesetzt und mit Hilfe der Einführung des *nyāya*-Begriffes dafür verwendet, den spezifischen Charakter von Pakṣilasvāmins Wissenschaft auszuweisen und zu begründen.

Denn Pakṣilasvāmin verwendet den Gedanken, dasz seine Schule nichts anderes als eine oder gar die *ānvīkṣikī* sei, letztlich nur um zu zeigen, dasz die in NS I 1,1 zusätzlich zu den Kategorien "Erkenntnismittel" (*pramāṇam*) und "Erkenntnisgegenstand" (*prameyam*) genannten Kategorien wie "Zweifel" (*saṃśayaḥ*) usw. nur deswegen aufgezählt seien, weil sie für seine Schule als *ānvīkṣikī* charakteristisch und daher wesentlich seien.[24] Tatsächlich sind aber diese zusätzlichen Kategorien, wenn man Kauṭilyas Definition der *ānvīkṣikī* heranzieht, für diesen Wissenschafstypus gar nicht charakteristisch. Nur dank Pakṣilasvāmins Wertung der *ānvīkṣikī* als *nyāyavidyā* wird es möglich, diese zusätzlichen Kategorien im Wesen der nunmehr als *nyāyavidyā* verstandenen *ānvīkṣikī* zu begründen, indem Pakṣilasvāmin diese zusätzlichen Kategorien in Beziehung zum Phänomen des *nyāyaḥ* setzt.[25] Dies ist offenbar auch der Grund, warum der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* gerade bei der Begründung dieser zusätzlichen Kategorien immer wieder begegnet, während er auszerhalb dieses Kontextes nur fünfmal im Nyāyabhāṣyam vorkommt, wenn man von dem möglicherweise nicht von Pakṣilasvāmin stammenden Schluszvers absieht.[26]

4. Kehren wir zu der Beobachtung zurück, dasz der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* weder in der frühen Vāda-Tradition noch im überlieferten Text der Nyāyasūtren vorkommt und so kaum ein Begriff zu sein scheint, der für die Tradition Pakṣilasvāmins in irgendeiner Weise charakteristisch war. Wenn dies richtig ist, dann stellt sich die Frage, von wo Pakṣilasvāmin oder ein Vorgänger von ihm diesen Begriff übernommen hat. Hält man in der überlieferten wissenschaftlichen Literatur dieser frühen Zeit Umschau, so gibt es vor Pakṣilasvāmin eigentlich nur eine Tradition, in der der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ*, wenngleich nicht im selben Verständnis wie bei Pakṣilasvāmin, von Anfang an Verwendung findet, nämlich die vedische Opferwissenschaft, die Mīmāṃsā. Für sie scheint der Begriff selbst so charakteristisch gewesen zu sein[27], dasz die Träger dieser Tradition, die *mīmāṃsakāḥ*, als *nyāyavidaḥ* bezeichnet werden konnten, und dies selbst noch in einer Zeit, in der die Tradition, in der Pakṣilasvāmin steht, bereits eindeutig unter der Bezeichnung "Nyāya" bekannt war.[28] Hat Pakṣilasvāmin also den Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* in der Mīmāṃsā gefunden? Bei der gegenwärtigen Kenntnis der Literatur des frühen Nyāya möchte man dies, auch wenn es nicht eindeutig zu beweisen ist, bejahen, zumal eine intensivere

Auseinandersetzung des Nyāya mit der Mīmāṃsā schon in den Nyāyasūtren festzustellen ist[29] und auszerdem schon Kauṭilya in seiner von Pakṣilasvāmin als Quelle verwendeten Darlegung der *ānvīkṣikī* eine Beziehung von Mīmāṃsā und *ānvīkṣikī* hergestellt hatte, indem er die *ānvīkṣikī* der Vedawissenschaft als Mīmāṃsā verstanden hatte.[30] Zwar ist es nicht völlig auszuschlieszen, dasz der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* schon vor Pakṣilasvāmin in die Terminologie der Schule übernommen wurde, doch hat Pakṣilasvāmin diesen in so charakteristischer Weise verstanden und zur Wesensbestimmung seiner Schule verwendet, dasz man kaum anders kann, als in ihm jenen Vertreter des Nyāya zu sehen, der den entscheidenden Schritt in der Selbstbestimmung der Schule als "Nyāya" getan hat, indem er den Terminus *nyāyaḥ* übernahm und umdeutete. Man musz nämlich einen gewissen Wandel im Verständnis des Begriffes gegenüber seiner Bedeutung in der Mīmāṃsā feststellen, der sich bisher auszerhalb des Werkes Pakṣilasvāmins nicht belegen läszt und im engen Zusammenhang mit Pakṣilasvāmins Identifikation des Nyāya mit der *ānvīkṣikī* steht.

Schon in der vedischen Ritualliteratur begegnet der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ*, und zwar in der Bedeutung der "einer Sache entsprechenden Art und Weise"[31], der "angemessenen Art des Vorgehens"[32] oder einer "Regel".[33] In der Mīmāṃsā führt die zuletzt genannte Bedeutung schon in den Sūtren des Jaimini zum Verständnis des Begriffes als "leitendes Prinzip" der Textexegese, wobei es sich bei einem solchen immer nur um eine konkrete Einzelnorm für einen bestimmten Problemzusammenhang und nicht um eine die Textexegese im Ganzen bestimmende Methode handelt.[34] Im Gegensatz dazu generalisiert Pakṣilasvāmin diesen Begriff des *nyāyaḥ*, im Sinne eines methodischen "Leitprinzips", das nicht mehr nur für einen bestimmten Problemzusammenhang Geltung hat, sondern für jede Fragestellung gilt: "Was ist dieser *nyāyaḥ*?", fragt er sich und antwortet: "*nyāyaḥ* ist das Untersuchen eines Gegenstandes mit Hilfe der Erkenntnismittel, ein [hinterher] Prüfen (*anumānam*), welches das durch Wahrnehmung und Worterkenntnis [bereits Erfaszte] als Grundlage voraussetzt. Dies ist Nachprüfen. Nachprüfen ist [nämlich] Nachprüfen dessen, was durch Wahrnehmung und Worterkenntnis bereits erkannt wurde".[35]

Die Wertigkeit der hier gebotenen Definition wird deutlich, wenn man sie in ihrer sachlichen Kontextualität betrachtet: So formuliert NS IV 2,29 in anderem Zusammenhang einen Gedanken, der bei näherem Zusehen eng mit Pakṣilasvāmins Definition zusammenhängt. Auf den Einwand eines Gegners antwortet das Sūtram: Das vom Gegner Vorgebrachte sei kein Grund, "weil die Erkenntnis eines Gegenstandes [sehr wohl] auf Grund von Erkenntnismitteln eintrete (*pramāṇataś cārthapratipatteḥ*)", und Pakṣilasvāmin kommentiert diesen Gedanken, indem er ihn in den grundsätzlichen Zusammenhang seiner *nyāyaḥ*-Definition stellt: "Auf Grund der Prüfung der Dinge mit Hilfe der Erkenntnis ergibt sich deren Erfassen wie sie sind. Was und wie [etwas] ist, was und wie [etwas] nicht ist, alles das wird mit Hilfe des Erkennens auf Grund von Erkenntnismitteln erwiesen. Und Erkennen auf Grund von Erkenntnismitteln ist das Prüfen der Dinge mit Hilfe der Erkenntnis. Von diesem [Prüfen] sind alle Lehrsysteme, alles Tun und jeder Umgang der Lebewesen betroffen. Denn der mit der Erkenntnis Prüfende stellt mit Hilfe der Erkenntnis fest: 'dieses ist, dieses ist nicht'".[36]

Bemerkenswerter Weise stellt Pakṣilasvāmin diesen in NS IV 2,29 zunächst nur als Argument in einer bestimmten Frage formulierten Gedanken an die Spitze seines Nyāyabhāṣyam[37] und verleiht ihm so grundsätzlichen Charakter, den Pakṣilasvāmin durch seine oben erwähnte "Definition" des *nyāyaḥ* noch vertieft. Denn diese Definition gewinnt im Licht des bisher Gesagten einen spezifischen Charakter. Zunächst ist sie in erster Linie nicht als formale Definition des Begriffes *nyāyaḥ* zu verstehen, sondern als Mitteilung jenes "Leitprinzips" (*nyāyaḥ*), das für die Schule Pakṣilasvāmins bestimmend ist[38], nämlich das Prinzip, dasz jede Fragestellung der rationalen Nachprüfung mit Hilfe der Erkenntnismittel zu unterwerfen ist. Damit erhält dieses "Leitprinzip" aber dank seines umfassenden Anspruches eine besondere Wertigkeit, indem so der alte *nyāyaḥ* der Mīmāṃsā zur allgemeinen Methode wird, in der die Grundhaltung der Schule zum Ausdruck kommt, und deren höchste Form der Beweis ist.[39]

5. Wenn dies alles richtig ist, dann zeichnet sich mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit auch das Motiv ab, warum Pakṣilasvāmin seine Lehrtradition, die er, vielleicht durch Vorgänger vorbereitet, zunächst als die *ānvīkṣikī* Kauṭilyas verstanden hatte, in einem zweiten Schritt dann aber als *nyāyavidyā* und *nyāyaśāstram* qualifiziert, obwohl der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* für seine Tradition nicht charakteristisch war, und auszerdem im Begriff des *tarkaḥ* ein gleichartiger Terminus zur Hand gewesen wäre, der sehr wohl ein Begriff der Schule war.

Denn der *tarkaḥ* entspricht im Grunde vollkommen dem *nyāyaḥ* wie ihn Pakṣilasvāmin verstand. Auch der *tarkaḥ* ist ein Prüfen eines Gegenstandes mit Hilfe der Erkenntnismittel[40], daher ist er, wie auch der *nyāyaḥ* selbst, kein Mittel richtiger Erkenntnis, sondern unterstützt lediglich die Erkenntnismittel bei der Erkenntnis.[41] Wie der *nyāyaḥ* richtet er sich auf einen Gegenstand, über den man im Zweifel ist[42], und wie der *nyāyaḥ* entfaltet er sich anhand von *pakṣaḥ* und *pratipakṣaḥ*.[43] Wenn Pakṣilasvāmin dennoch seine Schule nicht als *tarka-vidyā* bestimmte, dann dürfte dies zunächst darin gelegen sein, dasz der Terminus des *tarkaḥ* ungeeignet war, als "Leitnorm" des Systems das grundsätzliche Selbstverständnis der Schule als *ānvīkṣikī* grundzulegen, während der Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* immer schon die Konnotation eines leitenden Prinzips besasz. Darüber hinaus hatte der Begriff eines *tārkikaḥ* in der vedisierenden brahmanischen Tradition eine abwertende Bedeutung, nämlich die eines nur den *tarkaḥ* und nicht auch die Berufung auf die "Offenbarung" (*śrutiḥ*) als wissenschaftliche Methode Anerkennenden, sodasz man verstehen würde, dasz Pakṣilasvāmin seine Schule nicht gerne als *tarkaśāstram* bezeichnet hätte.

Da Pakṣilasvāmin andererseits aber seine Schule als *ānvīkṣikī* verstand, gab ihm schon Kauṭilya mit seiner Erklärung dieser Wissenschaft und ihrer Methode den Verständnishorizont, in dem er den Nyāya als *nyāyavidyā* bestimmen konnte. Denn auf dem Gebiet des Veda prüft die *ānvīkṣikī* Dharma und Adharma, hiesz es bei Kauṭilya, und dort benutzte sie zur Interpretation der Texte der Śruti und der Ritualliteratur eine Vielzahl von "hermeneutischen Regeln" (*nyāyāḥ*), sodasz der Zusammenhang von *ānvīkṣikī* und *nyāyaḥ* in der Anwendung des Begriffes *ānvīkṣikī* auf den Veda und damit auf die Mīmāṃsā bereits grundgelegt war, und Pakṣilasvāmin den Begriff des *nyāyaḥ* nur mehr einen seiner Schule entsprechenden Inhalt zu geben brauchte, um diese als *nyāyavidyā* bestimmen zu können. Mit dieser Wertung erreichte Pakṣilasvāmin jedoch ein zweites: Wenn seine Schule tatsächlich eine *nyāyavidyā* war, d.h. eine Wissenschaft, die nicht nur *de facto* mit solchen leitenden Regeln (*nyāyāḥ*) arbeitete, sondern die den *nyāyaḥ* auch als konstitutiven Inhalt des Systems lehrte[44], dann war diese seine Schule *nyāyavidyā* schlechthin und damit in einem grundsätzlicheren und umfassenderen Sinne *nyāyavidyā* als jene Lehrtradition, die in der Orthodoxie in erster Linie als Lehre der *nyāyavidaḥ* bekannt war, nämlich die Mīmāṃsā.

Der sachliche Grund für die Einführung des Terminus *nyāyaḥ* zur Bezeichnung der Schule des Nyāya dürfte jedoch in erster Linie der gewesen sein, dasz Pakṣilasvāmin in ihm einen Begriff gefunden hatte, mit dem er das Selbstverständnis des Nyāya als *ānvīkṣikī* programmatisch entfalten konnte, indem er das "Prüfen mit Hilfe der Erkenntnismittel" als wesentliche Leitnorm seiner Schule zum Ausdruck brachte: Im Sinne dieser Leitnorm war der Nyāya zwar eine *ātmavidyā*, die zur Emanzipation führte, die aber den Inhalt ihrer Lehre grundsätzlich nur dem Grund-*nyāya* der Schule gemäsz durch rationale Prüfung ableitete und für die daher dieser *nyāyaḥ* mit all seinen Elementen konstitutiv war.

6. Dennoch war und blieb der frühe Nyāya eine *ātmavidyā* im vollen Sinn des Wortes, und verstand sich trotz des stark ausgeprägten Interesses an Problemen der Erkenntnismittellehre und Dialektik als Lehre von der menschlichen Existenz, die den Weg zu einem dieser Existenz jenseitigen, bleibenden Heil (*niḥśreyasam, aparvargaḥ*) eröffnete. Diesbezüglich macht Pakṣilasvāmin bei der Erklärung der Gegenstände, um die es sich bei der Kategorie *prameyam* handelt, eine sehr kennzeichnende Bemerkung: "Es gibt auch noch eine andere [Kategorie] *prameyam*", meint er, "nämlich Substanz, Eigenschaft, Bewegung, Gemeinsamkeit, Besonderheit und Inhärenz (d.h. die Kategorien des Vaiśeṣikam). Dieses [*prameyam*] ist aber im einzelnen

nicht aufzählbar. Weil aber dank der wahren Erkenntnis [des von uns gelehrten] *prameyam* das Aufhören [der welthaften Existenz] eintritt, und auf Grund seiner falschen Erkenntnis der Wesenskreislauf gegeben ist, ist [in unserer Schultradition] speziell dieses *prameyam* (nämlich das in NS I 1,9 genannte) gelehrt".[45] In dieser kurzen Bemerkung wird schlaglichtartig die typische inhaltliche Dimension des Denkens deutlich, das den frühen Nyāya auszeichnet: Die wahre Erkenntnis der Vaiśeṣika-Kategorien ist das objektive Wissen einer Naturphilosophie[46], welches das Einzelne nur in allgemeinen Begriffen erfaszt und daher die je eigene, konkrete Wirklichkeit des heilsuchenden Individuums nicht in den Griff bekommt. Anders verhält es sich hingegen mit der wahren Erkenntnis jenes *prameyam*, um das es dem Nyāya geht, dessen wahre oder falsche Erkenntnis Quelle des persönlichen je eigenen Heils oder Unheils ist. Denn letztlich ist das *prameyam* des Nyāya nichts anderes als die je eigene Existenz, die der Wahrheit nach zu erkennen ist, wenn die Emanzipation erlangt werden soll.

Ganz in diesem Sinne und nicht im Sinne einer objektiven Naturphilosophie kommentiert Pakṣilasvāmin denn auch die einzelnen Stichwörter der Nyāya-Kategorie *prameyam*: "Ātma ist der Seher von allem (*sarvasya draṣṭā*), der Genieszer (*bhoktā*) von allem, er ist das Subjekt jeder Erkenntnis (*sarvajñaḥ*), er ist das Subjekt jeder geistigen Regung (*sarvānubhāvī*). Der Körper ist die Stätte des Genieszens [im Saṃsāra] (*bhogāyatanam*). Die Mittel des Genieszens (*bhogasādhanāni*) sind die Sinnesorgane, und der [Begehren weckende] Gegenstand ist das, was genossen wird (*bhoktavyaḥ*). Das Erkennen ist das Genieszen [selbst] (*bhogaḥ*)... Das Handeln ist Ursache des Entstehens von Körper, Sinnesorganen, Sinnesgegenständen, Lust und leidhafter Empfindung. Die Wiedergeburt [ist in dem Sinne zu verstehen], dasz es für den Körper dieses [Menschen] einen vorhergehenden und einen folgenden gibt, und dasz es für die früheren Körper keinen Anfang, für die folgenden [aber sehr wohl] ein Aufhören gibt. Die Früchte [der Werke] sind der Genusz von Lust und Leid zusammen mit ihren Ursachen... Das Ende (*aparvargaḥ*) ist das Zertrennen der Kette von Geburt und Tod, das Aufhören jeden Leides".[47]

Aber nicht nur die Perspektive, unter der die Kategorie des *prameyam* gesehen wird, nämlich die Perspektive einer das welthafte Dasein des Menschen als Leid empfindenden Heilslehre, ist für den Nyāya charakteristisch, sondern ebenso der Gegenstand selbst. Der Gegenstand, den Pakṣilasvāmin wohl in Übereinstimmung mit den Nyāyasūtren im Auge hat, ist nicht der *ātman* usw. als allgemeines Stichwort einer Heilslehre, sondern der *ātman* usw. als die konkrete, individuelle Wirklichkeit des jeweiligen Menschen, die in rationaler Überlegung und erwägender Meditation so wie im Yoga oder im Buddhismus ihrer Wahrheit nach zu erkennen ist, damit der Ichwahn (*ahaṃkāraḥ*) und der durch ihn bedingte Lebensdurst (*tṛṣṇā*) zusammen mit dem begehrenden Handeln (*pravṛttiḥ*) aufhören, welche die Ursache der Wiedergeburt des Menschen sind.[48]

NOTES

1. Die wichtigsten einschlägigen Arbeiten sind:
   W. Ruben: Die Nyāyasūtras. Text, Übersetzung, Erläuterung und Glossar. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18,2). Leipzig 1928.
   G. Tucci's Einleitung zu: G. Tucci: Pre-Dignāga Buddhist texts on logic from Chinese sources. (Geakwad's Oriental Series 49). Baroda 1929.
   P. Hacker: Ānvīkṣikī. WZKSO 2 (1958), pp. 54-83.
   G. Oberhammer: Pakṣilasvāmins Introduction to his Nyāyabhāṣyam. Asian Studies 2, Quezon City, Philippines (1964), pp. 302-322.
   P. Hacker: Kleine Schriften. Hrsgg. von L. Schmithausen. Wiesbaden 1978, pp. 137-166.
   E. Frauwallner: Der ursprüngliche Anfang der Vaiśeṣika-Sūtren. In: E. Frauwallner, Nachgelassene Schriften I. Wien 1984, pp. 35 ff.
   W. Slaje: *niḥśreyasam* im alten Nyāya. WZKS 30 (1986), pp. 163-177.
2. Zum Begriff eines Vāda-Handbuches vgl. E. Frauwallner: Vasubandhu's Vādavidhiḥ. WZKS 1 (1957), p. 106.
3. CarS vim 8.27-65.
4. Vgl. CarS vim 8.27 u. 29.
5. Vgl. jedoch E. Frauwallners Wertung des Nyāya in Geschichte der Indischen Philosophie. Salzburg 1956, II, pp. 18 und 21.
6. Vgl. NS IV 2,1 und Pakṣilasvāmins Kommentar dazu.
7. Vgl. NS I 1,14 in Verbindung mit IV 2.1-3.
8. Jedenfalls konnten die in NS I 1,1 aufgezählten Kategorien der Vādalehre dies nicht sein.
9. Es ist die Frage, ob das Wort *tattvajñānam* im Kontext des frühen Nyāya nicht richtiger etymologisch genau als "Erkenntnis der [jeweiligen] Diesheit (*tat-tva-jñānam*)" zu übersetzen ist. Vgl. dazu auch Pakṣilasvāmin: "Was ist die Wahrheit (*tattvam*)? [Sie] ist das Sein des Seienden und das Nichtsein des Nichtseienden. Das Seiende, das unverfälscht als seiend erkannt ist, wie es ist, ist die Wahrheit (*tattvam*); und das Nichtseiende, das unverfälscht, als nicht seiend erkannt is, wie es ist, ist die Wahrheit (*tattvam*)". Nbh. 24,5 ff.

10. So wurden beispielsweise die noch bei Caraka einzeln erscheinenden Erkenntnismittel unter den Begriff *pramāṇam* (vgl. CarS vim 8,27 u. NS I 1,3) und die inhaltlichen Kategorien der philosophischen Lehre, bei Caraka ebenfalls noch nebeneinander erwähnt, unter dem Begriff *prameyam* subsumiert.
11. Vgl. CarS vim 8.30-35 und NS I 1.32-39.
12. E. Frauwallner, Die Erkenntnismittellehre des klassischen Sāṃkhya. WZKS 2 (1958), pp. 84 ff. Es ist nicht auszuschlieszen, dasz Vṛṣagaṇa vom frühen Nyāya die Anregung zu seiner Anordnung des Stoffes bekommen hat.
13. Siehe Nbh. 34.3-35.4 (Übersetzung p. 7), und Nbh. 64.2-4: "Diese *ānvīkṣikī*, die durch die Stichworte 'Erkenntnismittel' usw. gegliedert wird (d.h. die Nyāya-Wissenschaft), wird als Leuchte aller Wissenschaften, als Mittel zu jedem Tun und als Grundlage jeder Pflicht in [Kauṭilyas] Aufzählung der Wissenschaften gelehrt".
14. Siehe Anm. 1.
15. *sāṃkhyaṃ yogo lokāyataṃ cety ānvīkṣikī* (AŚ I 2,10).
16. Die ganze Erörterung der *ānvīksikī* bei Kauṭilya lautet in der Übersetzung P. Hacker's: "Die nachprüfende Wissenschaft untersucht mit Gründen auf dem Gebiet des vedischen Wissens das, was recht und unrecht ist, auf dem der Erwerbskunde Vorteil und Nachteil und auf dem der Herrschkunst richtige und falsche Masznahmen, ferner die Schwächen und Stärken dieser [drei Wissenschaften]. Sie nützt den Menschen, verleiht innere Sicherheit in Glück und Unglück sowie Geschicklichkeit zu kluger Rede und Tat". (*darmādharmau trayyām arthānarthau vārttāyaṃ nayāpanayau daṇḍanītyāṃ balābale caitāsāṃ hetubhir anvīkṣamāṇā lokasyopakaroti, vyasane 'bhyudaye ca buddhim avasthāpayati, prajñāvākyakriyāvaiśāradyaṃ ca karoti.* AŚ I 2,11.
17. Die Gleichsetzung von *ātmavidyā* und *ānvīkṣikī* belegt schon Manu 7.43. Dem entspricht Kauṭilyas Bemerkung, dasz die Mānavas annehmen, die *anvīkṣikī* gehöre zur *trayī*, zur vedischen Wissenschaft (vgl. *trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiś ceti mānavāḥ. trayīviśeṣo hy ānvīkṣikīti.* AŚ 2.2 f.), die in Form der Upaniṣaden eine *ātmavidyā* ist. Vgl. dazu auch P. Hacker *loc.cit.* pp. 73 ff.
18. *hetur nāmopalabdhikāraṇam. tat pratyakṣam anumānam aitihyam aupamyam iti. ebhir hetubhir yad upalabhyate, tat tattvam.* CarS vim. 8.33.
19. *dharmādharmau trayyām ... hetubhir anvīkṣamāṇā* AŚ I 2.11.
20. Nbh. 34.3-35.4.
21. Vgl. Nbh. 65.2 f.
22. Nbh. 35.2 bzw. 39.3. Bemerkenswerter Weise bezeichnet er sein System sonst nirgends in dieser Weise, noch zitiert er die Sūtren als Nyāyasūtren.

23. Insgesamt begegnet der Begriff *nyāyaḥ* Nbh. 35.2; 35.5; 35.7; 38.3-39.4 (mehrmals); 45.3; 52.2; 330.7; 613.4; 802.10; 973.7; 1099.2; 1200.3 (Schluszvers). Auch als Schulbezeichnung scheint das Wort *nyāyaḥ* vor Pakṣilasvāmin nicht bezeugt zu sein, begegnet in dieser Verwendung jedoch spätestens bei Dignāga.
24. Vgl. Nbh. 34.2-35.4.
25. So ist der Zweifel das den *nyāyaḥ* auslösende Moment (vgl. *tatra nānupalabdhe na nirṇīte 'rthe nyāyaḥ pravartate, kiṃ tarhi saṃśayite 'rthe.* Nbh. 35.5). Der Zweck (*prayojanam*) ist als tragende Motivation Grundlage des *nyāyaḥ* (vgl. *tadāśrayaś ca nyāyapravṛttiḥ.* Nbh. 45.3). Der Beweis seinerseits ist die höchste Form des *nyāyaḥ* (vgl. *so 'yaṃ paramo nyāyaḥ.* Nbh. 52.2), mit Hilfe des als höchsten *nyāyaḥ* verstandenen Beweises gehen die verschiedenen Formen der Debatte vor sich (vgl. *etena vādajalpavitaṇḍāḥ pravartante.* Nbh. 52.3 f.), und die rationale Prüfung (*tarkaḥ*) ist ihrer Struktur nach im Grunde mit dem *nyāyaḥ* Pakṣilasvāmins gleichzusetzen (vgl. Nbh. 320.5-321.4), auch wenn Pakṣilasvāmin dies nicht ausdrücklich sagt.
26. s. Anm. 23.
27. Allein in den Mīmāṃsāsūtren kommt der Terminus *nyāyaḥ* 15 mal vor.
28. Z.B.: Āp.Dh.S. II 4, 8, 13 (*nyāyavitsamayaḥ*); II 6, 14, 13 (*nyāyavidaḥ*). - Śaṅkara zu Br.sū. III 4.22 (*tathā ca nyāyavidāṃ smaraṇam* [VSbh. p. 443.24 ff.]) u.a. - Bhāskara Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam (Chowkhamba S.S., Benares 1915) p. 5, 15: *yac chabda āha tad asmākam pramānam* < = Śbh. 4, p. 71,3 f. > *iti hi nyāyavidaḥ.* ibid. p. 5.8: *tad idaṃ sambandhakathanaṃ nyāyavido na śraddadhāte.*
29. Vgl. W. Ruben: Die Nyāyasūtren, p. 196 (Anm. 168), der als Beispiele NS II 1.55 ff.; 59 ff. und IV 1.55 ff. nennt. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch die Diskussion des Wortgegenstandes NS II 2.61 ff.
30. Siehe pp. 245 u. 249.
31. Vgl. z.B. Kaṭhasaṃhitā X 10 (= 136.14) "Regelrecht führt er es (= das Heer) hin". *nyāyenaivainām abhinayati*; Taittirīyasaṃhitā II 2.8.2: "Indem er ihn (= den König) eben zur Art und Weise der Rinder anleitet, läszt er ihn Rinder finden". *gávām eváinam nyāyám apinī́ya gā́ vedayati.* Siehe Caland, Altindische Zauberliteratur. Amsterdam 1908, p. 809. - Kenntnis und Interpretation dieser Stellen wie auch jener in Anm. 32 zitierten verdanke ich der freundlichen Mitteilung von Herrn Ch.H. Werba.
32. Z.B. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa III 45.1.2.3.4.5. (*tam anu nyāyam anvavāyan*); ŚāṅkhŚS II 16.22 (*karma tu nyāyaḥ*).
33. In dieser Bedeutung begegnet er übrigens auch in der Grammatik (s. L. Renou, Terminologie grammaticale, *s.v.* nyāyaḥ).

34. Vgl. beispielsweise Tantravārttikam zu MīSū. I 3.8 (= Śbh.2 p. 140,7-9). "Denn in welchem Lande welches Wort für welches Ding verwendet wird, für dieses wird eine Benennungskraft erkannt, die [genau] dieses zum Gegenstand hat, und deren Verbindlichkeit für alle auf Grund des Regelcharakters (*nyāyatvāt*) dieser [Einsicht] erkannt wird". *yatra deśe hi yaḥ śabdo yasminn arthe prayujyate. śaktis tadgocarā tasya vācikākhyā pramīyate. tasyaś ca sarvagāmitvaṃ tannyāyatvāt pramīyate.*
35. Nbh. 38.3-39.2.
36. Nbh. 1075.5-8. *buddhyā vivecanād bhāvānāṃ yāthātmyopalabdhiḥ / yad asti yathā ca, yan nāsti yathā ca, tat sarvaṃ pramāṇata upalabdhyā sidhyati / yā ca pramāṇata upalabdhis tad buddhyā vivecanaṃ bhāvānām / tena sarvaśāstrāṇi sarvakarmāṇi sarve ca śarīriṇāṃ vyavahārā vyāptāḥ / parīkṣamāṇo hi buddhyā 'dhyavasyati - idam astīdaṃ nāstīti.* Der Anklang an Kauṭilyas Lob der *anvīkṣikī*, das Pakṣilasvāmin übernimmt (vgl. Anm. 13) ist wohl nicht zufällig. Vgl. auch Nbh. 258.5: "[Die Gelehrten] können einen Gegenstand mit Hilfe rationaler Überlegung [d.h.] mit Hilfe der Erkenntnismittel prüfen". (*tarkena pramāṇair arthaṃ parīkṣitum arhanti*).
37. Nbh. 1.5: *pramāṇato 'rthapratipattau pravṛttisāmarthyād arthavat pramāṇam* ist der erste Satz seines Bhāṣyam.
38. Vgl. "Was ist nun dieser [von uns gemeinte] *nyāyaḥ*?" *kaḥ punar ayaṃ nyāyaḥ* (Nbh. 38.3).
39. Nbh. 52.2: "dies (= der Beweis) ist die höchste (Form) des *nyāyaḥ*." (*so 'yam paramo nyāyaḥ*).
40. Vgl. Nbh. 258.5.
41. Vgl. Nbh. 53.4 f. und Śbh. 5, p. 143.5-6, wo vom *nyāyaḥ* gesagt ist, *pratyakṣānugrahāya ... prayoktavyam.*
42. Vgl. Nbh. 35.5 u. NS I 1.40. Kommentar.
43. Vgl. Nbh. 35.7 und NS I 1.41.
44. Vgl. die Begründung Pakṣilasvāmins, warum *saṃśayaḥ* usw. Lehrinhalte des Nyāya sind (Nbh. 34.2 ff.).
45. Nbh. 183.4 ff.
46. Pakṣilasvāmin wird das Begriffssystem des Vaiśeṣika zur Argumentation und wissenschaftlichen Darlegung eines Gedankens sehr wohl verwenden, als entscheidender Lehrinhalt seiner Schule als Heilsystem, kann es aber nicht dienen.
47. Nbh. 182.2-183.4.
48. Vgl. Nbh. 1036.4-1040.3 und 1029.4-6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Verwendete Textausgaben und Abkürzungen:

Āp.Dh.S.	Āpastambadharmasūtra
AŚ	Arthaśāstra
CarS vim	Carakasaṃhitā, Vimānasthāna
MīSū	Mīmāṃsāsūtra
Nbh.	(Nyāyabhāṣya): Nyāyadarśanam. With Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya, Uddyotakara's Vārttika, Vācaspati Miśra's Tātparyaṭīkā & Viśvanātha's Vṛtti. 2 vols. Kyoto 1982.
NS	Nyāyasūtra
ŚāṅkhŚS	Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra
Śbh. 2	(Śabarabhāṣya): Jaiminipraṇīte Mīmāṃsādarśane prathamādhyāyasya dvitīyapādam ārabhya dvitīyāhyāyagataprathamapādānto vibhāgaḥ Kumārilabhaṭṭa-praṇīta-Tantra-vārtikasahita-Śābarabhāṣyopetaḥ. etad pustakam K. VĀSUDEVAŚĀSTRĪ ABHYAṂKARA tathā GAṆEŚAŚĀSTRĪ JOŚĪ ity etaiḥ pāṭhabhedaṭippaṇyādibiḥ sahitaṃ punaḥsaṃśodhitam. (Ānandāśramasaṃskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 97.2). Poona 1970.
Śbh. 4	(Śabarabhāṣya): Jaiminipraṇīte Mīmāṃsādarśane sam-pūrṇast tṛtīyo 'dhyāyaḥ Bhaṭṭakumārila-praṇita-Tantravārtika-sahita-Śābarabhāṣyopetaḥ. etad pustakaṃ K. VĀSUDEVAŚĀSTRĪ ABHYAṂKARA tathā GAṆEŚĀŚĀSTRĪ JOŚĪ ity etaiḥ pāṭha-bhedaṭippaṇyādi-bhiḥ punaḥsaṃśodhitam. (Ānandāśrama-saṃskṭtagranthāvaliḥ 97.4). Poona 1972.
Śbh. 5	(Śabarabhāṣya): Jaiminipraṇīte Mīmāṃsādarśane caturthādhyāyam ārabhya saptamādhyāyānto vibhāgaḥ Bhaṭṭakumārila-praṇita-Ṭupṭīkākhyavyākhyāsahita-Śābarabhāsyopetaḥ. etad pustakaṃ K. VĀSUDEVAŚĀSTRĪ ABHYAṂKARA tathā GAṆEŚAŚĀSTRĪ JOSĪ ity etaiḥ pāṭhabhedaṭippaṇyādi-bhiḥ punaḥsaṃśodhitam. (Ānandāśrama-saṃskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 97.5.). Poona 1973.
VSBh.	(Śaṅkara, Brahmasūtrabhāṣya): The Brahmasūtrabhāṣya (mūlamātram). Text with Foot-Notes & Variants etc. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgar Press 1948.
WZKS(O)	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd(und Ost-)asiens

VARIATIONS ON THE THEME OF ṚGVEDA X. 95

M.S. Oort

It is a very common occurrence for a myth to take on a life of its own and generate a number of variations depending on the time, the place and the function it must reflect. In my paper I should like to compare certain elements found in the Purūravas and Urvaśī hymn in the Ṛgveda X. 95 with later versions of the myth in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and the Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra. I have chosen the three variations because of their similarities as well as their striking differences. I decided not to include the version found in the Bṛhaddevatā because, in my opinion, it deserves a separate study.

There are two main approaches to the myth. The one I shall designate as story-line, the other as ritual-line. I shall begin with the story-line because it is, in a way, less complicated and more suitable for an introduction to the themes.

Story-line

Sūkta X. 95 is in the form of a dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī. I will deal only with the narrative and not venture into the rough waters of linguistic or philological discussion. Although the hymn begins in a very dramatic fashion, one must glean a story from often disjointed key words. I have used Hoffmann's translation.[1]

> *hayé jāye mánasā tíṣṭa ghore vácāṃsi miśrā kṛṇavāvahai nú*
> *ná nau mántrā ánuditāsa eté máyas karan páratare canā́han*
>
> *kím etā vācā kṛṇavā távāhám prā́kramiṣam uṣásām agriyéva*
> *púrūravaḥ pūnar ástam párehi durāpanā́ vā́ta ivāhám asmi*

> (Purūravas:) 'Ach Weib, mit Überlegung - bleib (doch) stehen, Grausame - versehene Worte lasz uns wechseln. Nicht werden uns diese Gedanken, wenn sie unausgesprochen bleiben, Trost bereiten, selbst (nicht) an einem ganz fernen Tage.'
>
> (Urvaśī:) 'Was soll ich mit dieser deiner Rede tun? Davongelaufen bin ich wie die erste der Morgenröten. Purūravas, geh wieder hin nach Hause, ich bin so schwer zu erlangen wie der Wind.'

Purūravas wishes to speak with Urvaśī his former wife, she does not see any reason to discuss her leaving him like "die erste der Morgenröten" and implores his to go back as she is "so schwer zu erlangen wie der Wind".

íṣur ná śriya iṣudhér asanā́ goṣā́ḥ śatasā́ ná rā́ṃhiḥ
avīre krátau vú davidyutan nórā ná māyúṃ citayanta dhúnayaḥ

sā́ vásu dádhatī śváśurāya váya úṣo yádi váṣṭy ántigṛhāt
ástaṃ nanakṣeyásmiñ cākán dívā náktaṃ śnathitā́ vaitaséna

> (Purūravas:) '--Wie ein Pfeil zum Ehrenpreis, ein Geschosz aus dem Köcher, wie ein kuhgewinnendes hundertgewinnendes Rennen--. Ohne dasz ein Mann, (ohne dasz) Willenskraft vorhanden war, hat es nicht geblitzt, -- wie ein Lamm das Blöken haben (die Gandharven) sich lärmend vernehmen lassen.'
>
> 'Sie, als Gut dem Schwiegervater Lebenskraft verschaffend, (alle) Morgen, sooft er es wünscht, vom Nebenhaus her, -- sie hat ein Daheim gefunden, woran sie ihre Freude hat, Tag und Nacht vom Rohrstock gestoszen."

In stanza 3 we find imageries referring to arrows, a prize, lightning, and the bleating of sheep. Purūravas then refers to their former life together in idyllic terms. Remembering how she brought *vásu* to her in-laws and reminding Urvaśī of their daily morning and evening lovemaking (*śnathitā vaitaséna*).

tríḥ sma máhnaḥ śnathayo vaitasénotá sma mé'vyatyai pṛṇāsi
púrūravó'nu te kétamāyaṃ rā́jā me vīra tanvàs tád ādīḥ

yā́ sujūrṇíḥ śréṇiḥ sumnáāpir hradécakṣur ná granthínī caraṇyúḥ
tā́ añjáyo'ruṇáyo ná sasruḥ śriyé gā́vo ná dhenávo navanta

> 'Dreimal des Tags hast du mich mit dem Rohrstock gestoszen und auch ohne mein Begehren mir gespendet. Purūravas, deinem Willen kam ich nach. König meines Leibes, o Held, warst du damals.'
>
> 'Die schönglühende Schar, die in Wohlwollen befreundete, wie ein Seeauge (= Lotos?) verschlungene, die betriebsame -- diese schmucken (?) (Frauen) sind davongelaufen wie die rötlichen (Morgenröten). -- Um den Vorrang haben sie wie Mutterkühe geschrien.'

In stanza 5 Urvaśī replies that she received his "*śnathayo vaitaséna* trice! daily, but without desire, calling him the sole ruler of her body (a sarcastic overtone perhaps?).

sám asmiñ jā́yamāna āsata gnā́ utém avardhan nadyàḥ svágūrāḥ
mahé yát tvā purūravo ráṇāyā́vardhayan dasyuhátyāya devā́ḥ

sácā yád āsu jáhatīṣv áatkam ámānuṣīṣu mā́nuṣo niṣéve
ápa sma mát tarásantī ná bhujyūz tā́ atrasan rathaspṛ́śo nā́śvāḥ

'Als dieser geboren wurde, saszen die Götterfrauen dabei und die Flüsse, die ihr eigenes Lob singen, zogen ihn grosz, weil (auch) dich, Purūravas, die Götter zum groszen Kampfe, zur Dasyutötung, groszgezogen haben.' (Geldner)

'Wenn ich mich unter sie, sooft sie ihr (Feder-)Kleid verlieszen, unter die Nicht-Menschlichen als Mensch gesellt habe, (sind sie) vor mir weg (gelaufen) wie eine scheuende Gazelle (?). Sie scheuten wie Pferde, die an den Wagen stoszen.'

Stanza 7 contains a reference to a birth presided over by "*gnas*" and the waters giving nurture ("*nadyàḥ svágūrtāḥ*) to the newborn (Purūravas?). In 7c Purūravas is definitely named as having been nurtured by the gods for battle, to destroy the Dasyus. In stanza 8 mention is made of the "*ámānuṣīṣu*" (immortals ?) laying aside their garments, "*atkam*", dashing like a Gazelle (snake?) or horses bumping into a chariot.

yád āsu márto amṛtāsu nispṛk sáṃ kṣonī́bhiḥ krátubhir ná pṛṅkté
tā́ ātáyo ná tanvàḥ śumbhata svā́ áśvāso ná krīḻáyo dándaśānāḥ

vidyún ná yā́ pátantī dávidyod bhárantī me ápyā kā́myāni
jániṣṭto apó náryḥ sújātaḥ prórváśī tirata dīrghám ā́yuḥ

'Wenn ein Sterblicher, der an sie, die Unsterblichen, kosend rührt, sich mit den Scharen(?) -- wie nach ihrer Absicht-- vereinigt, (dann) putzen sie wie Enten ihre eigenen Leiber, wie Pferde tänzelnd und schnappend.'

'Die wie ein Blitz dahinstürzend geblitzt hat, indem sie, die Wasserfrau, mir (alles) Liebenswerte nahm, -- geboren ist zwar glücklich aus dem Wasser ein mannhafter (Sohn), -- es lebt die Urvaśī ein langes Leben.'

Stanza 9 gives two nice examples of erotic imagery where the "immortal" ladies display their bodies like "*āti*", and bite like horses in (love?) play. Lightning again appears at the beginning of stanza 10 and by means of the "*āpya kāmyāni*" a son is born. In 10 d Urvaśī is wished a long life, but a play on words may be the intention of the use of "*Āyu*" because her son is often named Āyu.

jajñiṣá itthā́ gopíthyāya hí dadhā́tha tát purūravo ma ójaḥ
áśāsaṃ tvā vidúṣī sásminn áhan ná ma ā́śṛṇoḥ kím abhúg vadāsi

kadā́ sūnúḥ pitáraṃ jātá ichāc cakrá nā́śru vartayad vijānán
kó dámpatī sámanasā vi yūyod ádha yád agníḥ śvásureṣu dī́dyat

'Du bist ja eigentlich geboren zum Hüter-Amte. Du hast, Purūravas, diese Kraft mir bestimmt. Ich belehrte dich als Wissende am selben Tage. Du hörtest mir nicht zu. Was willst du (jetzt) nutzlos reden?'

'Wann wird der neugeborene Sohn den Vater suchen? Wie ein Rad läszt er die Träne rollen, wenn es ihm bewuszt wird. Wer darf einträchtige Ehegatten trennen, solange das Feuer bei den Schwiegereltern leuchten wird?"

Stanza 11 is certainly a very dramatic use of words which could still fit nicely in a modern quarrel between an estranged husband and wife. Stanza 12 seems like two comments on law or morality emphasizing the relation between father and son, a rightous husband and wife, the hearth fire and last but not least, the parents-in-law.

práti bravāṇi vartáyate áśru cakrán ná krandad ādhyè śivā́yai
prá tá te hinavā yát te samé párehy ástaṃ nahí mūra mā́paḥ

sudevó adyá prapáted ánāvṛt parāvátam paramā́ṃ gántavā u
áadhā śáyīta nírṛter upásthé dhainaṃ vṛkā rabhasā́sa adyúḥ

(Urvaśī:) 'Ich will ihm antworten, wenn er die Träne rollen läszt. Wie ein Rad schreit er nach (deiner) lieben Sorge. Ich werde dir das schicken, was von dir bei uns ist. Geh dahin nach Hause, denn nicht, Törichter, wirst du mich erlangen.'

(Purūravas:) 'Ein Göttergeliebter würde heute dahinstüurzen ohne Wiederkehr, um in die äuszerste Ferne zu gehen! Dann würde er liegen im Schosze der Vernichtung! Dann würden ihn die reiszenden Wölfe fressen!'

After Urvaśī's rather harsh words in stanza 13, she promises to give Purūravas that which belongs to him, telling him to go home in no uncertain terms. However he goes on to complain of the dangers of *nírṛti* and the wolves.

púrūravo mā mṛthā mā́ prá papto mā́ tvā vṛkāsa áśivāsa u kṣn
ná vaí straáṇāni sakhyāni santi sālāvṛkā́ṇāṃ hṛdayāny etā́

yád vírūpā́caram mártyeṣv ávasaṃ rā́trīḥ śarádaś cátasrḥ
ghṛtásya stokáṃ sakṛd á āśnāṃ tā́d evédáṃ tātṛpāṇā́ carāmi

> (Urvaśī:) 'Purūravas, stirb nicht! Erstürz dich nicht! Nicht sollen dich die doch unholden Wölfe fressen! Es gibt keine weibliche Gefolgschaftstreue. Herzen von Hyänen sind diejenigen (der Weiber).'
>
> (Urvaśī:) 'Als ich in veränderter Gestalt unter den Sterblichen wandelte (und) die Nächte verbrachte, vier Herbste lang, genosz ich einen Tropfen Butterschmalz einmal des Tags: daraufhin bin ich jetzt noch immer gesättigt.'

In stanza 15 Urvaśī tries to calm him down, assuring him that he will not succumb to the perils of wolves, death, and other evils. She does warn him against trusting her own sex, even going so far as to say that women have hearts like hyenas. In the next stanza Urvaśī says that she stayed four years amongst mortals in another form, daily eating one drop of ghee and comments that she is still satisfied with what she ate.

antarikṣaprā́ṃ rájaso vimā́nīm úpa śikṣāmy urváśīṃ vásiṣṭhaḥ
úpatvā rātíḥ sukṛtásya tíṣṭhān ní vartasva hṛdayaṃ tapyate me

íti tvā devā́ imá āhur aiḻa yáthem etád bhávasi mṛtyúbandhuḥ
prajā́ te devā́n haviṣā yajāti svargá u tvám ápi mādayāse

> (Purūravas:) 'Die die Luft erfüllende, den Raum durchmessende Urvaśī suche ich, der Beste, zu gewinnen: der Lohn für die gute Tat wird dich erreichen! Kehre zurück! Das Herz brennt mir.'
>
> (Urvaśī:) 'So sagen zu dir die Götter, o Sohn der Iḍā: Wie es nun einmal ist, du wirst ein Genosse des Todes. Dein Nachkomme wird die Götter mit Opfertrank verehren. Im Himmel aber wirst auch du dich erfreuen!' --

Purūravas pleads with her to turn back in stanza 17, but to no avail. I should like to point out the use of "*vásiṣṭhaḥ*" in the original which is translated here as "der Beste", most precious. I believe that this word is again a play on words with a more subtle meaning. The concluding stanza offers Purūravas, called the son of Iḻā, some consolation by stating that though he is mortal, his progeny will sacrifice to the gods with oblations and he will enjoy himself in heaven.

This, then, is the skeleton of our myth. Although it is not without a high degree of dramatic content, it is more a series of images than a concrete narrative. In the Śatapatha version more flesh has been added to the bare frame. The author utilizes whole stanzas of the Ṛgveda sūkta within the narrative, embellishing and interpreting the contents in a different way.

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, XI Kāṇḍa. 5 Adhyāya, 1 Brāhmāṇa (translation by F. Eggeling)[2]

1. The nymph Urvaśī loved Purūravas, the son of Iḍā. When she wedded him, she said, "Thrice a day shalt thou embrace me; but do not lie with me against my will, and let me not see thee naked, for such is the way to behave to us women."
2. She then dwelt with him a long time, and was even with child of him, so long did she dwell with him. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "For a long time, indeed, has this Urvaśī dwelt among men: devise ye some means how she may come back to us." Now, a ewe with two lambs was tied to her couch: the Gandharvas then carried off one of the lambs.
3. "Alas", she cried, "they are taking away my darling, as if I were where there is no hero and no man! They carried off the second, and she spake in the selfsame manner.
4. He then thought within himself, "How can that be (a place) without a hero and without a man where I am? And naked, as he was, he sprang up after them: too long he deemed it that he should put on his garment. Then the Gandharvas produced a flash of lightning, and she beheld him naked even as by daylight. Then, indeed, she vanished: "Here I am back", he said, and lo! she had vanished. Wailing with sorrow he wandered all over Kurukshetra. Now there is a lotus-lake there, called Anyataḥplakshā: He walked along its bank; and there nymphs were swimming about in the shape of swans.
5. And she (Urvaśī) recognising him, said, "This is the man with whom I have dwelt". They then said, "Let us appear to him!"--"So be it!" she replied; and they appeared to him.

Urvaśī is called an apsara and is said to love Purūravas but gives three conditions for their marriage. The first two are a variation of X 95,5 and the third brings in a new element: she must not see him naked. The Gandharvas now play a role in the narrative and they devise a plan to get her back by carrying off one of the lambs (*uraṇa*) tied to her couch. She cries that her son (*putram*) is being carried off. The second lamb is stolen before Purūravas takes action after her remarks about no man or hero being present. Unfortunately he forgets his garment (*vāsa*), and a flash of lightning produced by the Gandharvas reveals his nakedness. The contract is breached and Urvaśī vanishes. Purūravas wanders though Kurusketra until he sees appsaras swimming as waterfowls (*āti*) in a lotus pond called Anyataḥplakshā. The apsaras and Urvaśī make themselves visible.

6. He then recognised her and implored he (Ṛgveda X, 95,1), "Oh, my wife, stay thou, cruel in mind: let us now exchange words! Untold, these secrets of ours will not bring joy in days to come;" -- "Stop, pray, let us speak together! this is what he meant to say to her.
7. She replied (X, 95,2), "What concern have I with speaking to thee? I have passed away like the first of the dawns. Purūravas. go home again: I am like the wind difficult to catch;" -- "Thou didst not do what I had told thee; hard to catch I am for thee, go to thy home again!" this is what she meant to say.
8. He then said sorrowing (X, 95,14), "Then will thy friend rush away this day never to come back to go to the farthest distance: then will he lie in Nirṛti's lap, or the fierce wolves will devour him;" --Thy friend will either hang himself, or start forth; or the wolves, or dogs, will devour him!" this is what he meant to say.
9. She replied (X, 95,15) "Purūravas, do not die! do not rush away! let not the cruel wolves devour thee! Truly, there is no friendship with women, and theirs are the hearts of hyenas; do not take this to heart! there is no friendship with women: return home!" this is what she meant to say.
10. (X, 95,16) "When changed in form, I walked among mortals, and passed the nights there during four autumns. I ate a little ghee, once a day, and even now I feel satisfied therewith." This discourse in fifteen verses has been handed down by the Bahvṛkas. Then her heart took pity on him.

This section proceeds with the first two stanzas of X. 95, but skips stanzas 3 to 13 and takes up the text where Purūravas complains about Nirṛti's lap and the wolves. The author's embellishments are rather curious at times, but on the whole the verses follow the original. With a quote from X. 95,16 the text comments that "this discourse in 15 verses has been handed down by the Bahvṛkas", the Ṛgveda version has 18 as Eggeling also points out in his notes. In the next section the story takes a completely new direction.

11. She said, "Come here the last night of the year from now: then shalt thou lie with me for one night, and then this son of thine will have been born". He came there on the last night of the year, and lo, there stood a golden palace! They then said to him only the (word), Enter! and then they bade her go to him.

12. She then said, "Tomorrow morning the Gandharvas will grant thee a boon, and thou must make thy choice." He said, "Choose thou for me!" -- She replied, "Say, Let me be one of ourselves!" In the morning the Gandharvas granted him a boon; and he said, "Let me be one of yourselves!"
13. They said, "Surely, there is not among men that holy form of fire by sacrificing wherewith one would become one of ourselves." They put fire into a pan, and gave it to him saying, "By sacrificing therewith thou shalt become one of ourselves." He took it (the fire) and his boy, and went on his way home. He deposited the fire in the forest, and went to the village with the boy alone. (He came back and thought) "Here I am back"; and lo! it had disappeared: what had been the fire was an Aśvattha tree (ficus religiosa), and what had been the pan was a Śamī tree (mimosa suma). He then returned to the Gandharvas.
14. They said, "Cook for a whole year a mess of rice sufficient for four persons; and taking each time three logs from this Aśvattha tree, anoint them with ghee and put them on the fire with verses containing the words "log" and "ghee": the fire which shall result therefrom will be that very fire (which is required)."
15. They said, "But that is recondite (esoteric), as it were. Make thyself rather an upper araṇi of Aśvattha wood, and a lower araṇi of Śamī wood: the fire which shall result therefrom will be that very fire."
16. They said, "But that also is, as it were, recondite. Make thyself rather an upper araṇi of Aśvattha wood, and a lower araṇi of Aśvattha wood: the fire which shall result therefrom will be that very fire."
17. He then made himself an upper araṇi of Aśvattha wood, and a lower araṇi of Aśvattha wood; and the fire which resulted therefrom was that very fire: by offering therewith he became one of the Gandharvas. Let him therefore make himself an upper and a lower araṇi of Aśvattha wood, and the fire which results therefrom will be that very fire: by offering therewith he becomes one of the Gandharvas.

Urvaśī takes pity on him and he is to come back in a year; a son will be born in that time. He comes back on yearliest night (samvatsaratamīm rātrim) and beholds a golden palace (hiraṇyavimitāni). Urvaśī tells him of the Gandharvas intention to grant him a boon "tomorrow morning" (prātar -- at dawn) and says that he must ask to become a Gandharva. Upon hearing his request the Gandharvas say that among men the "holy fire" (agneryajñiyā) does not exist whereby a man can become a Gandharva. They then give a pan (sthālī) containing fire. He now not only has a sacred fire but a son (kumāra). He deposits the fire in the forest (araṇya), goes back to the village and apparently goes back again. Upon seeing that the fire and the pan have vanished he repeats the same words as in 4 when he discovers that Urvaśī has vanished. The fire has become the Aśvattha tree and the pan, the Śamī. He goes back to the Gandharvas and a discussion arises that echoes the tone of a Brāhmaṇa. The prescriptions given include odana for 4 persons for a year, 3 samidha of the Aśvattha tree anointed with ghee, but this they say is "paro'kṣam". We are then treated to a discussion of what type of wood is best for the araṇis. Finally it is agreed that the Aśvattha is suitable for both the upper and lower araṇi. Purūravas makes a fire and becomes a Gandharva.

Our last version is in prose and contains the most extreme differences and additions.

Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra, Praśna XVIII. Paurūravasau (44 and 45) (my translation)

> Formerly there was a noble king Purūravas, son of Iḍa. An apsara, Urvaśī, set her heart on him. For a year infatuated she followed him. In those days they could really get agitated. But she thought it was all taking too long. When he was driving forth, she caused him to see a hole before the chariot. Seeing the hole the king stopped. But when he stopped he no longer saw the hole. Then he started again and having started he saw the hole. Then he asked the charioter, "O charioter, what do you see?" "You my lord" he said, "and the chariot, the horses, the road." Purūravas thought, "Surely I am indeed mad." Then a voice spoke to him, "you are not mad. I caused you to see that hole." "Who are you" he asked. "I am Urvaśī, an apsara" she said. "Infatuated I have followed you a year long. Take me as your wife." "That's difficult to do" he said, "You are a goddess. How are you to be served." "Let me have a hundred servants. Daily each must bring me a jar of ghee. That must be my food. Also I must not see you naked." Then Purūravas said, "O lady, all of this is easily done. But how can a wife not see her husband naked?" "Keep your undergarment on" she said, "then you will not be naked." He lived with her always wearing his undergarment.

In this section it is now Urvaśī who follows Purūravas around for a year. We read that the king is forced to descend the chariot because he thinks he sees a hole (*karta*)in the road. The dialogue between the king and his charioter is not devoid of humour, but soon Urvaśī makes herself known and the marriage contract is discussed. Urvaśī has become more greedy for ghee than in X. 95, a jar per servant is her demand. Almost as an after-thought she stipulates that she must not see him naked. A discussion ensues as to what constitutes being naked. Underlining the theme of a garment (*antarvāsa*) a form of working agreement is acheived.

> Each time a son was born she killed him. Then Purūravas said to her, "O lady, we mortals desire offspring, but each time a son is born you kill him." She spoke, "The nights pass and the lives of others waste away. Let us two make love." She gave birth to Āyuṣ and Amāvasu. She declared, "These two will enjoy their entire lives." Āyuṣ went to the east. From him arise the Kurus, Pañcālas, Kaśis and Videhas. These resulted from Āyuṣ's travels. Amāvasu went to the west. From him arise the Gāndhāris, the Sparśu and the Āraṭṭa. These resulted from Amāvasu's travels. (44)

Urvaśī at first kills the sons she bears until Purūravas tells her that mortals desire to have offspring. She then gives birth to Āyuṣ and Amāvasu, the one going east and the other west. In their travels both sons generate specific tribes.

> Urvaśī had a sister, the apsara Pūrvacitti. She thought, "Surely my sister Urvaśī has been living among the mortals for a long time. Come, I shall go to her." Visiting her she does not succeed in making Urvaśī go with her. At that time Urvaśī had a flock of sheep placed nearby. That was the custom amongst queens in ancient times. After assuming the form of a wolf, Pūrvacitti devised a devious escape. A suckling lamb was bound to the foot of Urvaśī's chair. Pūrvacitti dragged it away. After it was dragged away she screamed, "You are driving my sheep away!" Hearing the scream the king flew up in pursuit. He reached her and confronted her. Assuming the form of a female ichneumon she went towards him and ripped off his undergarment. Then she created a flash of lightning. In the flash of lightning Urvaśī saw Purūravas naked. The king comes to her. "Now what" he says. Urvaśī answers, "I shall leave in the morning." "What has happened" asks Purūravas. "I have seen you naked" she replies.

A sister called Pūrvacitti, not the Gandharvas plots the ruse to get Urvaśī to go back with her. We again find the image of a lamb tied to the leg of a chair, but Pūrvacitti first assumes the form of a wolf to steal it away. When the king follows her, she again changes form and snatches his undergarment before exposing him in a flash of lightning. Urvaśī announces her intention to leave in the morning, at dawn. Her reply to Purūravas is brief, "I have seen you naked".

> After she departed, racked with love he roamed about in sorrow. Then Bṛhaspati, the Aṅgirasa spoke to him. "Come, I shall perform a śada sacrifice for you. In that way I shall revitalize you." Bṛhaspati, the Aṅgirasa performed the śada sacrifice. Proceeding from the avabhṛtha Purūravas sees Urvaśī. Her two sons convinced her to comfort him. Urvaśī spoke, "Because I bore these two sons, I will stay here three nights so that the words of the Brāhmaṇa are not in vain." He dwelled with her three nights, wearing his undergarment, practising coitus interruptus. Then Urvaśī said "How should this be done?" "How

> indeed" answered the King. "Get a new jar" she said. Then she poured out the semen into the jar. Now there are lotus ponds in Kurukṣetra called Visavatyah (Vivasvatyā, Śisavatya). The northern side of these ponds is called Suvarṇasavanī. He buried the jar there. At that spot an Aśvattha tree arose encompassed by a Śamī tree; the Aśvattha sprouted from the semen, the Śami from the jar. The Aśvattha is the embryo of the Śamigarbha. When she departed the king again roamed about in sorrow, racked with love. Then Bṛhaspati, the Aṅgirasa spoke to him, "Come, I shall perform an aupaśada sacrifice for you. Then adversity will turn away from you. Bṛhaspati, the Aṅgirasa performed the aupaśada sacrifice and turned adversity away from him. These are the Purūravas ekāhas, śada and aupaśada. After this statement the formula for adding and subtracting the stotrīyā verses is given. At the śada one subtracts verses and at the aupaśada verses are added. (45)

A new addition, the Aṅgirasa Bṛhaspati, offers solace to the sorrowing Purūravas in the form of a śada sacrifice. When he returns after the avabhṛtha, he finds his two sons and Urvaśī, who promises to stay 3 nights with him. Imageries mix, Urvaśī demanded a jar of ghee and now we have a new jar for the semen instead of fire in a pan, but the result is the same. Please note that she sends him to Kurukṣetra where he is to bury the jar on the northern side (Suvarṇasavanī) of lotus ponds called Visavatyah. Again the Aṅgirasa Bṛhaspati comforts the king, but this time with a aupaśada sacrifice. Finally we are given the instructions for making an ordinary agniṣṭoma into a śada or aupaśada sacrifice.

I should like to conclude this section on the story-line of our myth with a summing up of the principle characters, concepts and keywords. Purūravas and Urvaśī are the pivotal players. The Gandharvas and Pūrvacitti share the role of the antagonist. The imagery of lightning, water, fire is found throughout the three versions, as well as progeny, specifically a son called Āyu. Kurukṣetra is mentioned in two versions and lambs, sheep, wolves and water birds are present in all three. Attributes to the sacrifice such as ghee, the araṇis, the fire pan as well as sacrifice itself is found in all three. Garments or rather the lack of them is also one of the threads woven into the stories.

Ritual-line

I should now like to turn to the ritual-line. One can see from the list just given that it is not difficult to find some basis for a ritual approach to the myth in the versions presented here. Bloomfield in an article entitled "The myth of Purūravas, Urvaśī, and Āyu" says that the story "reeks of fire". Many other scholars have also emphasized the element of fire, but water, in often subtle forms, is ever present. One might even say that "where there's water there's fire" because water is one of the birthplaces of agni. I shall begin discussing the versions in reverse order.

Caland who edited the text of the Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra wrote an article on this passage in the *Kern Album* published in 1903 in honour of the first professor of Sanskrit in the Netherlands, Hendrik Kern. The paper entitled "Eene nieuwe versie van de Urvaśī-mythe", a new version of the Urvaśī myth, is unfortunately in Dutch and consequently not well known. The original manuscript of the BSS was very corrupt at the time he wrote the article, but later he found a better edition. The passage comes in the section on ekāhas, soma sacrifices lasting one day. The detailed instructions at the end of the passage show that by adding and subtracting stotrīyā verses an ordinary agniṣṭoma is converted into aupaśada and śada sacrifice. "If one wishes to avoid adversity one performs the aupaśada, if one wishes prosperity the śada is performed."

Caland's explanation for the connection of this myth with the ekāhas is the passage in Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa (XIX, 3, 1-2): the aupaśada is the "praise" of the Gandharvas and Apsaras. Whomever wishes children should employ this. The Gandharvas and Apsaras indeed have command over progeny or the possession of human offspring. At this occasion the soma drink is theirs, in this way they are appeased with their portion and placated, they give offspring. This is also confirmed by Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin; at the morning pressing one soma stalk extra must be given with the words "May the Gandharvas and Apsarā be satisfied", at the midday pressing with the words, "May the Gandharvas (and) the Gods be satisfied" and at the evening pressing, "May the Gandharvas (and) the Pitṛs be satisfied."

Caland pointed to the connection between this myth and the soma sacrifice and I should like to pursue this connection even further. In brief the simplest form of the soma sacrifice is the Agniṣṭoma. Although the soma itself is pressed on only one day (ekāha), there are a number of preliminary rites lasting four days. The dīkṣā is the consecration for the soma sacrifice and the dīkṣita and the patnī must follow very strict rules of conduct; they must bathe, put on new clothes and are assigned separate places and dwellings during the ritual. A suitable devayajana, sacrificial terrain, is chosen close to a source of water. The soma is purchased and then brought to the devayajana in a cart or chariot and honoured as a guest and is called king Soma. The fire altars are prepared and the victim is tied to a yupa. The soma is softened in water brought from a mountain stream or river -- the Vasatīvarī waters. It is pressed between stones or with a morter and pestle (vana and vanaspati) and combined with admixtures, āśir -- sweet milk, sour milk, and barley. These additions are referred to as "garments" (vastra, vāsas, atka) and are only used at the morning and midday pressings. The soma is consumed (somabhakṣanam) and again the dīkṣita and the patnī take a bath and put on new clothes. The ceremony concludes with the final oblation. The stages of the ritual are accompanied with recitations to the various gods, the waters, etc. choosing those concepts which are most appropriate to the actions taking place.

Other variations of the simple one day soma sacrifice are the ahīnas lasting 2 to 12 days, the sattra which can be 12 days but which is usually a year and the mahasattra of 12 years. A soma sacrifice must have 3 fires. In describing the soma ritual I have left out a great deal but I hope that I have not ignored something essential.

Let us now turn again to the myth. Urvaśī is often connected with the waters and Bloomfield describes her as the cloud containing the heavenly fire. She is called an apsara, a word, rightly or wrongly, connected with āpas -- water. Certainly there are enough verses from the Ṛgveda recited in the soma sacrifice which refer to her aquatic nature. Oddly enough the Baudhāyana version does not depict her as being in the proximity of water and it is she who follows after Purūravas for a year. In the agnicāyana section of the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa (7.6 1.20) Urvaśī and Pūrvacitti are called oblation and dakṣinā. If we identify Urvaśī here with the sacrifice, we might explain her greediness for ghee. Dr. Peter Vavroušek of Prague in "Einige Bemerkungen zum Purūravas-Urvaśī Mythus" (*Archiv Orientalni 42, 1974*) points to the use of ghṛta in the production of fire by friction and the identification of ghee with semen. Ghee has been called liquid fire but according to the Sruśruta Samhitā ghee has a cooling affect and could then contain the damaging aspect of fire rather than feed it. In our version both the imagery of a jar of ghee and a jar of semen are used. However the fruits of the sacrifice, the sons, are thrown away, killed (apa vyadh). When Āyu and Amāvasu are born, one goes to the east, direction of the gods, the ahavanīya, and the other to the west, the gārhapatya.

Purūravas is also identified with one of the fire drills, but he appears at the beginning of the story in a chariot like King Soma. The verses recited at his point in the ceremony include "Let not evil-working wolves (find) thee; Nor the Gandharva, Viśvāvasu, injure thee" (Keith-Tait. i.2.9la). Pūrvacitti first assumes the form of a wolf to steal the lamb and then snatches away the garment in another form. One of the other problems is the garment and its absence. If we stick to the identification with soma, then it might refer to the morning and midday āśir and the lack of a "vāsam" at the evening pressing. Another possibility is an allusion to the ritual change of clothing by the dīkṣit and the patnī during the ritual. At any rate Urvaśī leaves in the morning. With the specific mention of the āvabhṛtha bath we enter the realm of the dīkṣita. Purūravas is purged of all impurities and is worthy of drilling a new fire. Jan Heesterman in his recent article "Reflections on the Agnyādheya" remarks that the Śrauta ritual became separated from the domestic ritual and required its own newly drilled fire to turn the gṛhya sacrificer into a śrauta sacrificer. Kurukṣetra is known as the "devayajana" and Purūravas must bury the jar with semen on the northern side of a particular lotus pond. We again can think in terms of the sacrificial area with its three fires and perhaps a rekindling or bringing over of fire to the mahāvedi or the uttaravedi. In any case the means to produce fire is found near water. When he returns, she is gone and the cycle of sacrifice is repeated with a new variation and a new purpose. One of the problems with this version is the hole in the road at the beginning. It reminded me of the prohibition against holding a sacrifice on grounds that have holes or crevices. Perhaps the solution can be found in the discussion in Kuiper's contribution to this volume, "Nabhrāj and the Purchase of Soma". I saw it at too late a stage to incorporate it in this paper, but the imagery of holes, wool, Gandharvas, and light and darkness in relation to soma could be valuable to an analysis of the ritual elements in the Purūravas and Urvaśī myths.

Turning to the Śatapatha version we see a repetition of some of the elements already mentioned. The sacrificial victims are lead away by the Gandharvas. Purūravas appears without his garment and Urvaśī vanishes. Kurukṣetra, the devayajana, is near a lotus pond; it is there that Purūravas will receive the holy fire for sacrifice after one year. He is given a fire which vanishes, but the means to rekindle a sacrificial fire is produced. One could even remark that he is no longer dependent on the domestic (āmātya) fire. By becoming a Gandharva Purūravas now has complete control over the production of offspring; one might even say that a wife is no longer really necessary. In the story of Sakuntala in the Mahābhārata (I 68 (7):64,65) she says to the king in regard to their son, "look on my son as your other self, as your relection in a clear pond. Just as the āhavanīya fire is carried forward from the gārhapatya hearth, so is he born from you and you, being one, have been made two" (trans. van Buitenen).[3] The nuptial fire received from the bride's father no longer seems to be of any consequence. Purūravas himself was called the son of Īḍa who was said to be both male and female.

One of Urvaśī's conditions for marriage was "Thrice a day shalt thou embrace me". There are three soma pressings per day and the imagery of sexual manthana can also be applied to the sutyā. Cooking odana for four persons, the four priests at a sacrifice, is very common in the śrauta ritual. It is also interesting to see a very simplistic form of ritual being described in which three logs are to be anointed with ghee and put on the fire with verses containing the words "log" and "ghee".

Finally we come to the Ṛgvedic version. Again we have just bits and pieces, not even much of a skeleton. Vague allusions to dawn and prizes, cattle and contests bring to mind the vājapeya. Thrice a day she embraced him who was lord over her body, repeats the symbols of the three soma pressings. The morning and evening "beating with a stick", though a sexual idiom is also the way making fire by friction can be described, which puts us in the sphere of the daily agnihotra. Water and birth are certainly connected here. The "apyā kāmyāni" produced a son and Purūravas is said to have been nurtured by the waters. The question is if this refers to Soma or to Agni because both can "grow" in the midst of the water. The element of the dīkṣita as the consecrated warrior is certainly present in stanza 7 where Purūravas is strenghtened by the gods for the purpose of killing the Dasyus. I have already mentioned the āśir of the soma sacrifice, but here it is not Purūravas who takes off a garment (*atkam*), but the divine (?) ladies. However there is no doubt at the end that sacrifice must be performed. In stanza 17 we find the word "vasiṣṭhah". As a proper name it refers to a man who had a reputation for being a great sacrificer and Urvaśī is supposed to be his mother.

Many of the other versions of this myth are used as geneologies; some still retain the central theme of sacrifice and progeny. What is a geneology? It is essentially a catalogue of progeny. In Kālidāsa's play "Vikramorvaśī" for instance, the king goes off to a sacrifice and while he is away, his son Āyu is born. Urvaśī hides him in the āśram of an ascetic where he stays for 12 years before he meets his father. Even in this elegant court drama the theme of sacrifice and a possible mahasattra seem to be connected with the two principle characters in our myth. Their son becomes the new king.

I have given some indication of the continuity in both the storyline and the ritual-line of the three versions of the myth. What I hoped to point out is the various elements of a Soma sacrifice: the dīkṣā, the patnī, the garments, soma and the soma cart, the sacrificial victim tied to a post and of course fire, water, and the sacrifice itself in some of its varied aspects. The variations can be viewed as reflecting the history of Vedic ritual, the change of the social structure of the people performing the ritual, and their understanding of the ritual itself. It seems to be quite clear that the ritual retained its meaning by generating the myth, and as the ritual practice deteriorated, certain elements remained in a modified form to remind us all of its original purpose.

NOTES

1. Hoffmann, Karl, *Der Injunktiv im Veda*. Heidelberg 1967. Indogermanische Bibliothek. 3. Reihe: Untersuchungen.
2. Eggeling, Julius, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. According to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.* Reprint, Delhi, 1963. Motilal Banarsidass.

3. Buitenen, J.A.B. van, The Mahābhārata. Chicago, 1973. University of Chicago Press.

THE METAMORPHOSES OF MAHIṢA ASURA AND PRAJĀPATI[1]

A. Parpola

The myth of Durgā's victory over Mahiṣa Asura: a recent view of its evolution

The earliest images of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī date from early Kuṣāṇa times, c. 100 A.D. (cf. Stietencron 1983: 128 and 140 n. 12). Comparing iconography with the texts, Heinrich von Stietencron (1983: 128) arrives at the conclusion that none of the textual accounts can be older than the 5th century A.D. The most important and probably also the earliest full account of the myth concerning the Goddess's victory over the buffalo demon is that in chapters 2-3 of the Devī-Māhātmya belonging to the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (chapters 79-80 or 82-83; for a translation, see Dimmitt and Buitenen 1978: 233-238). This text states that the Goddess jumped onto the back of the buffalo demon, which corresponds to the images at Elephanta, Ellora and Aihole dated to the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.; but another feature of the fight mentioned in the Devī-Māhātmya, namely the demon's coming out of the buffalo's mouth in human form, is not known from the iconography before the 8th century A.D. (Stietencron 1983: 128).

In the sixth chapter of the Virāṭaparvan in the Mahābhārata, Durgā is lauded, among other things, as the "killer of the buffalo demon" (*mahiṣāsuranāśinī*, verse 29) and as "she who is fond of alcohol, of flesh, and of sacrificial victims" (*sīdhumāṁsapaśupriye*, verse 34). However, as noted by Kane (1955: V.1, 185) and Biardeau (1981: 216 f.), this is a spurious chapter not found in the oldest manuscripts (in the critical edition it is given in appendix I). Thus, there seems to be no direct evidence for the existence of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī myth from times preceding the Christian era. (Cf. Kane 1941: II.2, 738 f. and 1955: V.1, 185 f.).

Stietencron, who has carefully analysed all the Purāṇic versions of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī myth, sees a historical development of the myth taking place in the texts, conditioned by the growing bhakti movement of the late first millennium A.D. In the Devī-Māhātmya, the buffalo demon is just a straightforward enemy of the Goddess and nothing more - and this situation is also found in the Śiva-Purāṇa and in chapters 19 and 21 of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. In other texts, however, the motif of the demon's fight changes: he is driven to the battle not by enmity but by passion and love for the Goddess. The pure Goddess, however, is unable to accept the lowly demon as her husband. In the latest version Mahiṣa's love is so great that he chooses death at the hand of his beloved rather than life without her. The demon's bhakti calls forth pity and grace in the Goddess. She offers him friendship if he would return to the netherworld, but this does not satisfy the demon. He is slain by the Goddess, and thereby attains liberation.

In the Devī-Purāṇa, Mahiṣa has been in love with the Goddess in a previous incarnation in the form of Dundubhi, who had been burnt into ashes by the jealous Śiva. According to an Orissan tradition, at his death Mahisa could kiss the female organ of the Goddess, becoming liberated through this intimate contact with her. In the Kālikā-Purāṇa, the love relationship is finally legitimized by means of an identification of Mahiṣa with Śiva. Now the motive for Mahiṣa's death must also be different, as he was no longer striving for something forbidden: here Śiva is said to have been cursed by an enraged sage. (Stietencron 19832: 123-127.)

The problem of the origin and historical background of the myth and cult

Stietencron's hypothesis explains the evolution of the Devī and Mahiṣa myths of the Purāṇa texts very well, conforming to the trends current in the history of Indian religions during the corresponding period. Even so, it does not necessarily follow that the theme of love between the Goddess and the Buffalo demon is so recent as to have developed only after the 6th century A.D., as Stietencron appears to imply. David Shulman has convincingly and methodically argued for a diametrically opposite development in the Tamil texts of South India. According to Shulman, the murder of the male spouse by the virginal bride - for the sake of the god's rebirth - is in fact a most essential element in the central myth of divine marriage in the Old Tamil religion; the later Brahmanical ideology imported from North India has tampered with the texts and changed the myths, eliminating in particular the idea of the god's death and projecting it onto the Goddess's fight with demons (Shulman 1980: 13-15, 176 ff., 349 ff. and passim).

Jan Heesterman (1962 ff.) has argued for a similar "purification" of the Vedic sacrifice by 'orthodox' Brahmans: the violent and otherwise "impure" acts, especially bloodshed and sexual intercourse, which figure prominently in the "preclassical" ritual - so brilliantly reconstructed by Heesterman - were eliminated in the "classical" Vedic ritual described in our texts. The "impure" acts have been replaced with abstract symbols and less objectionable practices. In a few rites associated with people called vrātya, however, the archaic "preclassical" ritual has survived with minimal modifications. Among these "fossils" are, in the first place, the vrātyastomas, the mahāvrata and the human and horse sacrifice.

For quite some time, I have argued that the "preclassical" vrātya rituals are descended from the religion of the Dāsas and Dasyus, Pre-Vedic Aryans who worshipped deities called Asura, first in Bronze Age Bactria and then also in the plains of North India (after the Dāsa had fused together with the Indus people who appear to have had a very similar religion); I also see the Dāsa and vrātya rituals as directly related to the later Purāṇic Śākta religion (Parpola 1973; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1988). In this paper, I am presenting supplementary evidence for a connection between the vrātya rites and the Hindu navarātri festival that celebrates Durgā's victory over Mahiṣa Asura.

Orgiastic feasts of the Veda and the festivals of Durgā

Jan Heesterman (1962) has convincingly shown that "the vrātya-stoma primarily celebrates the covenant between the vrātyas when setting out on a vrātya expedition, while on return a similar celebration takes place" (p. 7); the texts make it clear that violent raiding expeditions were involved. TB 1,8,4,1 and ŚB 5,5,2,3-5 state that the Kuru and Pañcāla tribes used to start their raids in the cool season (*śiśira*), appropriate the barley harvest in the east, and return only immediately before the rainy season to plough their own fields and grow a second crop (cf. Rau 1957: 15; Heesterman 1957: 211).

The Dharmasūtras specify the time for the king to set out on a war expedition to be normally in the month of mārgaśīrṣa, when the roads had dried up after the rainy season and there was abundant fodder and grain available; an alternative date was either in the month of phālguna or in caitra (Manu 7,182; Viṣṇu-Smṛti 3,40; Yājñavalkya-Smṛti 1,347). The date is likely to have varied from place to place according to the local conditions.

Since medieval times at least, the Hindus have traditionally started their military operations at the end of the rainy season, on the "tenth day of victory" (*vijaya-daśamī*) concluding the navarātra or navarātri, the nine-day long Durgāpūjā. (Cf. Silva 1955; Kinsley 1986: 106ff.). The high point of this feast more or less coincides with the autumnal equinox. Another, now less important vasanta-navarātri, which is also connected with the worship of Durgā, culminates around the vernal equinox (cf. Kane 1955: V.1, 154). In Nepal the Nava Durgās as goddesses of war are worshipped from the autumnal dasai (< daśamī) festival to the end of May, but not during the rainy season (cf. Toffin 1981). Thus the Durgā feasts have the same function as the (pre-)Vedic vrātyastromas: both are festivals connected with war expeditions. Temporally these feasts of Durgā correspond to the Vedic mahāvrata and viṣuvat days, which appear to have been celebrated on the autumnal and vernal equinoxes before their transfer to the winter and summer solstices (see Parpola in press 2, ch. 11.3).

The whole ten-day period consisting of the navarātra + the vijaya-daśamī is called (in Hindi) *dasahrā*, undoubtedly from **daśāharaka* 'lasting ten days', but folk-etymologically explained to be from *daśa-haraka* 'taking away ten (sins)' (cf. Platts 1884: 517b; Yule and Burnell 1903: 333b). In the Vedic ritual, the creator god Prajāpati is abused for his evil deeds (including that of his incest; see below) on the tenth and last day of the ten-day ritual cycle (*daśarātra*) (cf. PB 4,9,14). In the twelve-day rite, one prototype of the sacrificial sessions besides the one-year rite, the first and twelfth days are reserved for the opening and closing routines, so the actual ceremonies last ten days; and the Vedic texts indicate that originally a man was killed and eaten on the tenth day, as was done until a few centuries ago on the vijayadaśamī day in Karnataka (cf. Falk 1986: 37-42). In many respects the Vedic tenth day is parallel to the mahāvrata, the last but one day of the year, on which ritual abuse likewise has an important place (cf. PB 5,5,13), as it has in the vrātyastoma (cf. PB 17,1,9; Rolland 193: 68). It does not appear to be merely a coincidence that the śabarotsava festival on the tenth day of the dasahrā is filled with abuse and other purifying reversals of normal behaviour:

> The *visarjana* (sending away) of Devī should be made with festivals in the manner of Śabaras, viz. people may make merry to their heart's content by throwing dust and mud, with auspicious sports and revelry, with indulgence in words and songs referring to male and female organs and with words expressive of sexual act (*bhaga-liṁga-kriyā-śabdaiḥ*). The Devī becomes angry with him who does not abuse another and whom others do not abuse and pronounces on him a terrible curse (Kālikā-Purāṇa 63, transl. by Kane 1955: V.1, 177).

The vrātyas who perform the vrātyastomas are said to be accompanied by a harlot (*puṁścalī*) and a bard, whose name, *māgadha*, associates him with the non-Vedic country of Magadha in the east. These two persons appear together in only two other contexts in the Veda: in the *mahāvrata*, where they have a central position, and in the long list of additional victims at the human sacrifice. The mahāvrata, which can in this and other ways be connected with the vrātyastomas, gives us a good idea of the "preclassical" vrātya celebrations (see Rolland 1973). There are many differences compared to the ordinary Vedic rituals. Thus, in the mahāvrata, the bard and the harlot have sexual intercourse and abuse each other, the harlot criticizing the bard for his breach of chastity. There are only very few other Vedic rituals involving sexual intercourse, the most important ones being the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) and the human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*).

The horse sacrifice and the human sacrifice are practically identical, except for the difference concerning the chief victim, a stallion and a man respectively (cf. ŚŚS 16,10,2). In both of these rites, the chief victim has returned from a year-long victorious expedition; the equipment and the army that have accompanied him are described in some rare terms (like *vipatha*, explained to be a 'chariot of the easterners', i.e., the Magadhans) which recur in the passages dealing with the vrātyastomas (cf. Parpola 1983: 51). During the war expedition, the horse or the young man may gratify any other wish but he has to remain chaste (cf. ŚŚS 16,10,9); after he has been put to death at the sacrifice, he lies with the chief queen of the sacrificing king. This postmortem 'intercourse', reminds one of the "Śiva-śava" scene in the later Kālī worship (see, e.g., Kinsley 1986: 120f.) and of the buffalo's marriage to the Goddess and his subsequent death in the South Indian village cult (cf. Beck 1981). The 'intercourse' of the horse sacrifice is, moreover, accompanied by an obscene dialogue that has a counterpart not only in the mahāvrata but also in the śabarotsava on the vijayadaśamī (cf. Kālikā-Purāṇa 63 quoted above).

The Kālikā-Purāṇa explicitly mentions that beautiful girls take part in the celebration of the śabarotsava connected with the lustration of the army:

> 62,31-32. Afterwards the Goddess was dismissed with Śabara-festivals, on the tenth day; Indra on his part held a lustration of the army of the gods for the appeasement of the armies of the gods and for the sake of prosperity of the kingdom of the gods... 42-43. A king should hold a lustration of the army in order to strengthen his army; a performance must be made with charming women adorned with celestial ornaments; 43-48 one should worship the Supporteress of the worlds with dance, song, play, festivity and benediction; with sweetmeat, cakes, drinks, foods... with parched grain... and various kinds of meat, spiritous liquors... with various sorts of wild animals which belong to the class of offerings, such as birds, etc.; with flesh, blood and slime... 50-52... The eight beautiful Yoginis, viz. Ugravaṇḍā, etc., are also to be worshipped, and also the sixty-four Yoginīs, and the ten-million Yoginis; the beautiful nine Durgās, who are close to the Goddess, are also to be worshipped, and Jayantī, etc., all these with perfumes and flowers, because they are the Goddess's shapes. 52-53. One should always worship all weapons of the goddess Mahiṣāruramardinī and in the same way her ornaments on the parts of her body and on her limbs; and also the lion, her mount, with a view to obtaining success. (Transl. Kooij 1972: 109-111).

The components of the śabarotsava as described here remind one of the left-hand worship of the Goddess known as the "five m's" (*pañca makārāḥ*): *madya* 'intoxicant', *māṁsa* 'flesh', *matsya* 'fish', *mudrā* 'seal' (impressed wafer or black gram cake) and *maithuna* 'sexual intercourse'. The worshippers assemble into a circle in pairs, the centre being occupied by the leader and his female partner or by a nude virgin girl or an image of the goddess or of the female organ. After the first four m's have been partaken of, the celebration of this "circle worship" (*cakrapūjā*) culminates in the sexual intercourse, where all caste and incest taboos may be lifted. The male partners of this worship are called "heroes" (*vīra*) (Cf. e.g. Walker 1968: I, 220 f.; Marglin 1985: 217ff.).

Even the Śākta tantric *cakrapūjā* with its nude virgin appears to have a counterpart in the vrātya ritual. When the four wives of the sacrificing king are led to the victim who is being slain, a "virgin" (*kumārī*) follows them as the fifth (ŚB 13,5,2,1). The chief wife lies with the horse in the centre, while the other wives and their companions go around them, beating their thighs, which symbolizes sexual intercourse. The archaic Vādhūlasūtra (3: 93) has preserved for us a more detailed account of the role of the virgin: "Then he (the adhvaryu priest) gives her (i.e., the chief queen, *mahiṣī*) a blade of grass broken at both ends; she wipes with it that (part of her body) where the male member of the stallion is placed. They lead to the place this virgin... (*ānayanty etāṁ kumārīm...*). She (i.e., the queen) should throw that blade of grass upon this girl, saying: 'I pierce you with the burning of the sexual union' (*mithunasya tvā śucā vidhyāmīti*). She is called Sāhā ('Mighty, Vanquishing') and can from now on leap forth into the (men's) hall (*sāhety āhur īśvarā sabhāṁ praskand*[it]*or*)", i.e., according to the commentary, she becomes a prostitute (*sabhāṁ praveṣṭuṁ samarthā, puṁścalī syād iti matam*). (Cf. Falk 1986: 90 f.). Note the expression *śuc* 'burning', which is transferred from the queen to the virgin acting as a scapegoat. The term recurs at the human sacrifice in the transfer of the pain (*śuc*) of sacrifice from the domestic animals to the wild animals. The latter animals, considered unfit for sacrifice by the Vedic people and therefore released as "scapegoats", appear to have been victims once offered by their rivals (cf. Parpola 1983: 62 ff. for kiṁpuruṣa, the 'wild' counterpart of the human victim).

The term 'hero' for the male partners suggests that the cakrapujā has developed out of the worship of Durgā at festivals celebrated by warriors at the beginning and end of military expeditions. According to the Devī-Māhātmya, moreover, the Goddess drank wine in order to increase her fury for the fight against the mighty buffalo. Warriors, too, took intoxicants, and while still in ecstacy from the feast, the army has marched into battle (cf. Stietencron 1983: 137). Again, the amorous pleasures of the warriors on their return from a victorious expedition are described in bold terms in Paraṇi poems composed during the 10th to 12th centuries A.D. in Tamilnadu (for these texts, important for understanding the Śākta cult, see Nagaswamy 1982: 22 ff.).

Another hint of a military origin of the cakrapūjā is found in Tantric texts. "Mothers" connected with 'victory' through their names (Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā) are said to form a circle (called *mātṛ-maṇḍala* or *mātṛ-cakra*) around Tumburu (identified with Bhairava, Rudra Tryambaka, Śiva, etc.) and to work themselves up to the state of the utmost revelry, dancing, singing, laughing, mocking people, drinking and devouring quantities of raw flesh (cf. Goudriaan 1973: 57 ff.).

One reason why the Goddess is so fond of flesh is that she presides over war and killing. Her mount and symbol is the lion (or tiger), a horrible flesh-eating beast, to whom heroes, too, are often compared in war epics (cf. Iliad 7,256; 10,29f.; 20, 164f.; 24,41f.; in Old Tamil poems, Puṟam 90,1-3; Maturaikkāñci 144; Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai 120-123; Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai 448-455; see Kailasapathy 1968: 44f., 245 f.). Cf. also AS 4,22,7: "Of lion-aspect, do thou devour all the clans; of tiger-aspect, do thou beat down the foes..."

The goddess of victory and the slaying of Prajāpati

Although general opinion dates Durgā only to the beginning of the Christian era, references to her can be found in fairly early Vedic texts. They speak of an "invincible" goddess of victory associated with the lion, namely the goddess Vāc 'Speech, Voice'. The goddess Vāc is represented by the chief wife (*mahiṣī*) of the sacrificing king, and both are identified with the earth. Thus we read in ŚB 6,5,3,1-4:

> Of that same (clay [as the fire-pan identified with Makha's head]), she (the queen) forms the first, the 'invincible' (brick [of the fire-altar]); for the invincible one (*Aṣāḍhā*) is this earth, and this earth was created first of these worlds... The (Sacrificer's) consecrated consort (*mahiṣī*) forms it; for this earth is a *mahiṣī* (female buffalo, a cow). She who is first taken to wife is the consecrated consort. 2... It is marked with three lines, for this earth is threefold. 3. Now he (the Sacrificer) makes the firepan... 4... the fire-pan, indeed, is the self (of Agni). The 'invincible' (brick) is speech; that she (the wife) makes first, for this speech is foremost in the body. She makes it from that same clay, for this speech is of the body. The (Sacrificer's) consecrated consort makes it, for speech [*vāc*] is a *mahiṣī*. It is marked with three lines, for speech is divided into three kind, Ṛk-verses, Yajus-formulas, and Sāman-tunes; and because of this threefold form of speech, low-voiced, half-loud, and loud. (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, 238 f.).

The laying down of the "invincible" brick on the fire altar (after the seasonal bricks of the spring) is described in ŚB 7,4,2,32-39, where its name is explained. From this and the accompanying verses it appears clearly that Vāc is the goddess of victory:

> 32. He then lays down the Aṣāḍhā (invincible brick), - the 'invincible one' being this earth, it is this earth he thus lays

> down. He puts it on the fore-part (of the altar site), for this earth was created first. 33. And as to its being called Aṣāḍhā. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. The gods saw this invincible brick, even this earth; they put it on (the altar); and having put it on, they conquered (and drove) the Asuras, the enemies, the rivals, from this universe; and inasmuch as they conquered (*asahanta*), it is called Aṣāḍhā... 34. And, again, why he lays down the Aṣāḍhā. The Aṣāḍhā is speech, and by speech the gods indeed conquered (and drove) the Asuras, the enemies, the rivals, from this universe... 39. (He lays down the Aṣāḍha, with VS 13,26) 'Thou art Aṣāḍhā, the conquering' (*aṣāḍhāsi sahamānā*), for the gods thereby conquered the Asuras, - 'conquer the enemies! conquer the hostile!' (*sahasvārātīḥ sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ*) as the text, so the meaning; - 'thou hast a thousand energies: do thou speed me!' (*sahasravīryāsi sā mā jinva*)... (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III,387 f.)

With a little imagination we can even see traces of the central motif in the Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardsinī myth in the Veda. As told in the Devi-Māhātmya, this myth can be summarized thus: The tiger-riding goddess, having drunk liquor, becomes furious and trods upon the buffalo-demon, cuts off its head, and slays the demon coming out of the buffalo's mouth. In a somewhat disguised form (with the war god Indra substituted for the Goddess), this motif may be recognized in the following passage of the ŚB (5,4,1,9-11) dealing with the royal consecration:

> 9. On the hind part of the tiger's skin a piece of lead is laid down. He kicks it off with his foot, with (VS 10,14) 'Kicked off is Namuci's head!' Now there was once an Asura, Namuci by name. Indra knocked him down, and trod with his foot upon him. And in that he, thus trodden upon, bulged out, that (is the origin of) a rupture. He tore off his head with his foot, and therefrom sprang a goblin (rakṣas). That one kept calling out to him, 'Whither art thou going? Where wilt thou rid thyself of me? 10. He beat it off with (a disk of) lead: hence lead is soft, for it has lost its spring, as it beat off (the goblin) with all its might... And so, indeed, he (Indra) thereby beat off the fiends, the Rakṣas; and in like manner this one (the king) thereby beats off the fiends, the rakṣas. 11. He then makes him step upon the tiger's skin, with (VS 10,15) 'Thou art Soma's beauty'; - For because when Soma flowed through Indra, he (Indra) thereupon became a tiger ... (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, 91 f.).

But let us return to the goddess Vāc, represented by the chief wife of the king, both being identified with the earth. The queen (and earth) is fertilized by the male partner in the 'sacred marriage' of the horse sacrifice. Thus the killed sacrificial victim (often identified with the "sacrifice", *yajña*) is the 'husband' of the goddess Vāc. This is clear also from ŚB 3,2,1,18 ff.; but the chief interest of this passage lies in the author's confession that originally the goddess Vāc was worshipped by Asuras, i.e., 'demon'-worshippers speaking a Māgadhi-like Prakrit (thus also Witzel 1989: 99), but afterwards appropriated from them by the gods, Vedic Aryans worshipping Devas:

> Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, entered upon their father Prajāpati's inheritance: the gods came in for the Mind and the Asuras for Speech. Thereby the gods came in for the sacrifice and [the] Asuras for speech; the gods for yonder (heaven) and the Asuras for this (earth)... 23. The gods then cut her (i.e. Speech) off from the Asuras; and having gained possession of her and enveloped her completely in fire, they offered her up as a holocaust, it being an offering of the gods. And in that they offered her with an anuṣṭubh verse, thereby they made her their own; and the Asuras, being deprived of speech, were undone, crying, *He 'lavah! he 'lavaḥ!* [= *he 'rayaḥ* 'Lo, strangers!'] 24. Such was the unintelligible speech which they then uttered, - and he (who speaks thus) is a Mleccha (barbarian). Hence let no Brahman speak barbarous language... 25. That Yajña (sacrifice) lusted after Vāc (speech), thinking, 'May I pair with her!' He united with her. 26. Indra then thought within himself, 'Surely a great monster will spring from this union of Yajña and Vāc: (I must take care) lest it should get the better of me.' Indra himself then became an embryo and entered into that union. (Transl. Eggeling 1885: II, 30-32).

The last section suggests that Indra, the Vedic war god, was identified with the war-god of the Asura mythology, namely Rudra (Kumāra, Skanda), for Rudra was born of the union of Prajāpati (represented here by the sacrificial victim) and Vāc.

In the Purāṇic ritual, the Goddess is offered the sacrificial victim's blood and head immediately after decapitation. According to ŚB 3,5,1,22-23 and 3,5,2,9 ff., Vāc as the goddess of victory went over to the side of the gods on the condition that the offering should reach her before it reached the sacrificial fire: therefore they pour ghee on the high altar (*uttaravedi*), which represents Vāc, with VS 5,12 "Thou art a lioness, Hail!"... TS 6,2,7,2, in dealing with the construction of the *uttara-vedi*, states: "'Thou art a lioness; thou art a buffalo' (TS 1,2,12,2 *e simhīr asi mahiṣīr asi*), he says, for it (i.e., the high altar) taking the form of a lioness went away and remained between the two parties". The two parties refered to are those of the gods (*deva*) and the demons (*asura*), who were contending with each other. In TS 6,2,8,1 this is continued: "The high altar said, 'Through me ye shall obtain all your desires'. The gods desired, 'Let us overcome the Asuras our foes'. They sacrificed (with the words), 'Thou art a lioness, overcoming rivals; hail! (TS 1,2,12,2 *k simhīr asi sapatnasāhī svāhā*)'. They overcame the Asuras, their foes" (transl. Keith 1914: II, 509). Compare *sapatnasāhī* with *sāhā* (title of the virgin evidently representing the goddess) in Vādhūlasūtra 3: 93 quoted earlier.

In the ŚB (3,5,1,12-36) as well as in the TS, the goddess of victory is called both "lioness" as well as "she-bufffalo". Kālikā-Purāṇa 69,44-45, too, connects both the lion and the buffalo with the Goddess as her mounts (cf. Kooij 1972: 180). The buffalo in this context "underlines her nature of a death goddess, the buffalo being the mount of Yama", the god of death (Kooij 1972: 33; cf. Hiltebeitel,1978: 785).

Kumārī and Kumāra

The myth of a lion- or tiger-riding young goddess killing a demon in the shape of a male buffalo is duplicated by the myth of a tiger-riding young male god (Ayyappan) killing a demoness in the form of a she-buffalo (*mahiṣī*) (cf. Pyyappan 1966: 8-24; Hiltebeitel 1978: 787). On this basis Biardeau (1976a: 146; cf. also Hiltebeitel 1978: 790) has rightly asked whether the buffalo and the goddess are not just each other's doubles or two faces of one and the same supernatural power. The lion/tiger as well as the buffalo are indeed both symbols for the fearless and destructive warrior who personifies war as does the goddess of victory. But in certain respects there is a basic dichotomy between the lion/tiger and the bull/buffalo, connecting them with day and night and other contrasting and complementary forces of nature (cf. Parpola 1984).

However, the myth of tiger-riding Ayyappan slaying the buffalo demoness Mahiṣī underlines the capacity of a divinity to assume either a male or a female appearance. Among the different Semitic tribes, the divinity of war was either the male ʿAṯtar or the female ʿAṯtart. I would like to argue for a similar relationship between the male war-god Rudra or Skanda, and the female goddess of war, Durgā. They share a number of common attributes (such as the peacock and the harp), epithets and myths. Both are youthful, the one being a Kumāra, the other a Kumārī, epithets which imply sexual chastity as well. The Goddess rides a tiger, and in the Veda it is Rudra who is called "the lord of the wild animals" (*araṇyānāṁ pati*, TS 4,5,3 e), an epithet otherwise given to the tiger only (cf. AB 8,6 *kṣatraṁ vā etad araṇyānāṁ paśūnāṁ yad vyāghraḥ*) (cf. Sprockhoff 1981: 40).

We have seen that Vāc as the goddess of victory went over to the side of the gods on the condition that the offering should reach her before the sacrificial fire. In the Vedic ritual, the first part of the animal victim is also said to go to Rudra: it represents the part of Prajāpati's body pierced by Rudra's arrow, when he as a hunter shot his own father who had assumed the form of an antelope (cf. AB 3,33; MS 4,2,12; ŚB 1,7,4,1-8; Biardeau 1976a: 94 f.).

There are many different versions of this last-mentioned, centrally important myth, which deals with Prajāpati's incest and Rudra's birth-the Vedic predecessor of the Hindu myth concerning the birth of the war-god Skanda-Kārttikeya (see especially ṚS 1,71,5-8; 10,61,5-7; MS 4,2,12; JB 3,262-264; PB 8,2,10-11; AB 3,33-34; KB 6,1-9; ŚB 1,7,4,1-4; 2,1,2,8-10; and 6,1,3,8; see further Deppert 1977; Kramrisch 1981: 19 ff., 422 ff.; O'Flaherty 1973: 93 ff.). According to AB 3,33:

> Prajāpati felt love towards his own daughter, the sky some say, Uṣas others. Having become a stag he approached her in the form of a deer. The gods saw him, 'A deed unknown Prajāpati now does'. They sought one to punish him; they found him not among one another. These most dread forms they brought together in one place. Brought together they became this deity here... To him the gods said, 'Prajāpati here hath done a deed unknown; pierce him'. 'Be it so', he replied... Having aimed at him he pierced him... (transl. Keith 1920: 185).

On the tenth day (which once involved a human sacrifice), as we have seen, Prajāpati is abused for his evil deeds, including the incest. Here the gods by uniting their powers create a deity who is strong enough to punish Prajāpati for his sin of illicit intercourse.

Rudra's birth of the "cruel" parts of the various gods is closely parallelled in the Devī-Māhātmya by the birth of Devī from the combined forces of the gods to dethrone the demoniac buffalo demon on the tenth day. While in the Śākta mythology it is the Kumārī herself, the virgin approached by the demon, who does the killing, in the Vedic mythology it is her masculine counterpart, the youthful war-god, the Kumāra, born of this union. This corresponds to the epic version of the Mahiṣa myth, in which Skanda kills the buffalo demon (Mahābhārata 7,141,14... *haniṣyāmi mahiṣaṁ skandarāḍ iva*; and in a spurious half-verse added after 8,5,53: *yathā skandena mahiṣo yathā rudreṇa cāndhakaḥ*, namely *hataḥ*).

Rudra is said to have pierced Prajāpati with a "three-joined arrow" (*iṣu trikāṇḍa*) identified with an asterism of the same name (AB 3,33). It seems to me that the killing of Prajāpati by his son is also ritually enacted at the mahāvrata, the feast of the new year, which marks the replacement of the old year by the new one. At mahāvrata the king, clad in mail, ascends his chariot, drives around the sacrificial area three times and with each round pierces a target made of skin with an arrow (cf. ŚŚS 17,16,5-17,17,6; LŚS 3,10,1-16). According to TS 7,5,10,1, "they pierce the hide; verily they remove the sin (of the sacrificers). 'Do not miss, do not pierce through', he says, verily they now remove their sin" (transl. Keith 1914: II, 628). Some texts specify that the hide should be one of a sterile cow (*vaśā*), an animal normally offered to Mitra and Varuṇa at the end of a sacrifice (cf. ŚB 4,5,1,5-9).

Elsewhere (Parpola 1984; 1988), I have been arguing for an ultimately Near Eastern origin of the Durgā cult. I should therefore like to note that in ancient Mesopotamia a feast very similar to the Durgā-pūjā and the mahāvrata was performed before marching into battle. (The eunuch priests of Ishtar simulated battle, wrestled and cried, "Battle is my play!" Drums were beaten, and so forth.) According to Simo Parpola, who has drawn my attention to this, a Neo-Assyrian text (see Menzel 1981: II, T82-T93) offers a striking parallel to the three arrows of mahāvrata: The king strung a bow in front of the sun god, ascended his war chariot, drove three times around an image of his enemy and shot an arrow three times towards him. Thereafter he in a cultic triumph entered the military camp and "enjoyed himself".

The metamorphoses of Prajāpati

Prajāpati, the creator god, is expressly said to be the 'Lord of Speech' (*vācaspati*) (ŚB 5,1,1,16). Vācaspati also means 'husband of (the goddess) Speech'. In KS 12,5 the creation is described in the following manner: "In the beginning Prajāpati (alone) was this (whole universe). His Voice (*vāc*, fem.) became a second (being). He paired with her. She conceived an embryo. She went away from him. She delivered these creatures. Again she entered into Prajapati..." Another version of this myth may be cited from BĀU 1,4:

> 1. In the beginning this world was Soul (*ātman*) alone in the form of a man (*puruṣa*)... 3... He desired a second. He was, indeed, as large as a woman and a man closely embraced. He caused that self to fall (*pat*) into two pieces. Therefrom arose a husband (*pati*) and a wife (*patnī*)... He copulated with her. Therefrom human beings were produced. 4. And she then bethought herself: 'How now does he copulate with me after he has produced me just from himself? Come, let me hide myself'. She became a cow. He became a bull. With her he did indeed copulate. Then cattle was born. She became a mare, he a stallion. She became a female ass, he a male ass; with her he copulated, of a truth. Thence were born solid-hoofed animals. She became a she-goat, he a he-goat; she a ewe, he a ram. With her he did verily copulate. Therefrom were born goats and sheep. Thus, indeed, he created all, whatever pairs there are, even down to the ants. 5. He knew: 'I, indeed, am this creation, for I emitted it all from myself'. Thence arose

> creation. Verily, he who has this knowledge comes to be in that creation of his. (Trans. Hume 1931: 81, except for the change of Hume's 'person' for *puruṣa* into 'man'.)

Early on, ṚS 5,42,13 speaks of the creator god Tvaṣṭar, "who wanton in his own daughter's womb changing forms made this (form) of ours" (*yá āhanā duhitúr vakṣáṇāsu rūpā́ minānó ákṛṇod idáṁ naḥ*). The Vādhulasūtra (4:30) confirms that the primeval couple consisted of Prajāpati and Vāc. "Prajāpati created (emitted, poured out) the sacrifice (*yajña*, masc.); after it had been created, it went away from him". (The expression *parāṅ ait* 'went away' usually refers to dying; in ŚB 13,2,5,1, it is used of the pouring out of the sap of life - blood, apparently - of the sacrificial horse just slaughtered). He (the sacrifice, the male victim) wished to pair with the muttered formula (*yajus*, neutre) and with the sacrificial song (*sāman*, neutre), but he was unable to do so because in each case they were both male. "He saw the (goddess) Speech (*vāc*, fem.) (in the form of) the anuṣṭubh verse which had a defect (of one syllable, symbolizing the female organ)... he united with her. She became a mare (*aśvā*), he a stallion (*aśva*); she became a female bison (*gaurī*), he a male bison (*gaura*); she a female wild ox (*gavayī*), he a male wild ox (*gavaya*); she a female camel (*uṣṭrī*), he a male camel (*uṣṭra*); she a she-goat (*ajā*), he a he-goat (*basta*); she a female markhor (*śarabhī*), he a male markhor (*śarabha*); she a she-antelope (*eṇī*), he a male black antelope (*kṛṣṇa*); she a female red deer (*rohit*), he a male deer (*ṛśya*). Thus they went through becoming all the beings, both of them taking one form after another (*tāv evam eva sarvāṇi bhūtāni paryaitam anyad anyad rūpam kurvāṇau*)". (What follows is uncertain and is given in paraphrase.) The Vāc went into the man (*puruṣa*) and "made defence walls (*puraḥ*) (against him), namely the teeth" (*puro 'kuruta yad dantaḥ*). Then Prajāpati (who is now the subject instead of the sacrifice) took the form of the rice porridge (*odana*) sacred to Vāc, which he knew Vāc desired. To enhance her lust, he decorated himself with melted butter. Vāc could not resist him; she removed the defence and swallowed him, thus finally being united with him.

This last variant of the myth is important for a number of reasons. It provides one more early reference suggesting the identity of Vāc with Durgā as the goddess of the fort (*durga*) (for Durgās guardian of the fort, see Parpola 1988: 258ff.). Moreover, it is said in the Vādhūlasūtra that Prajāpati and Vāc copulated in the form of all beings (*sarvāni bhūtāni*). This seems to explain the solitary reference of Aitareya-Āraṇyaka (5,1,5) to the mating of many animal couples (*bhūtānāṁ ca maithunam*) at the mahāvrata. Mating of animal couples is by no means unusual in popular festivals of India even today; the marriage of Rāma and Sītā, for example, may be represented by a bull and cow that are made to copulate. From the Vādhūlasūtra (3:92) it appears that during the three days of horse sacrifice there was full sexual licence for all the human participants, as in the later Śabarotsava of Durgā's "tenth day of victory", and (cf. Beck 1981: 117) at present-day festivals of the Goddess in South India.

The sacrificial animals are always decorated: in the aśvamedha, the horse is adorned (*alaṁkṛtya*) by fixing pearls into its mane and tail (cf. Vādhūlasūtra, 3: 87, 90); and its youthful, lamented slaughterer, who originally was to lose his head was adorned, too (3: 94). Decoration of the human victims with flower garlands is continued to the present day, even if their decapitation is usually no longer carried out (cf. Silva 1955). The explanation given for decorating the porridge suggests that this is done for the sake of marriage: the victim is the bridegroom of the Goddess. At the Śabarotsava of the vijayadaśamī day, flesh of all sorts of animals is eaten, and that comes from slaughtered victims (cf. Kālikā-Purāṇa 71, 20-22 quoted in Kane 1955: V.1, 165 f.): they are consumed just as the Goddess eats her husband in the form of the porridge. The rice consumed by the warriors on the vijaya-daśami day was mixed with the sacrificial victim's blood and thus stood for him (cf. Silva 1955). In this respect the rice porridge can be compared to that eaten by the *mahābrāhmaṇa* at the funeral feast, where it symbolizes the body of the dead. The eating of the porridge has a counterpart in the great feasting at the mahāvrata (cf., e.g., PB 4,10).

In the myth quoted from the Vādhūlasūtra, the enumeration of the animals stops at the pair of deer, *rohit* and *ṛśya*. This is the only pair mentioned in a number of other - clearly abbreviated - versions dealing with Prajāpati's incest with his own daughter, among them the earlier quoted passage of AB 3,33. These myths explain that the males and females of all the animal species are different manifestations of just one and the same primeval pair, that of Prajāpati and Vāc. It seems to me that this idea is reflected in the iconography of the Indus civilization, too, for a number of Harappan seals and amulets portray fantastic animals, whose body parts belong to different species. Thus, there is a bull with three heads - the heads of the bison, the "unicorn" urus bull, and the antelope. Another composite animal has the horns of a zebu bull, a human face, the trunk and tusks of an elephant, the forequarters of a ram, the hindquarters of a tiger, and a snake for the tail. (Cf. E. Mackay in Marshall 1931: II, 389f.).

The metamorphoses of the Mahiṣa Asura and the sacrificial victims to the Goddess

The metamorphoses of Prajāpati from one animal species to another (especially such as are noted for their virility, sexual as well as martial) demand comparison with those of the Mahiṣa Asura, the buffalo demon fighting with the goddess. In the Devī-Māhātmya (3,29-42), the demon changes himself from a buffalo into a lion, a man (a warrior), an elephant, a buffalo and a man (a warrior). In the Devī-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (5,18,2-70) the demon first has a human form, then on being attacked by the goddess successively changes over to the forms of a lion, an elephant, a *śarabha*, and a buffalo. In the Śiva-Purāṇa (5,46,48-55), the forms assumed by the demon are those of a buffalo, a lion, an elephant and a man. "Vāmana-Purāṇa 21,42-49 omits the lion and postpones the man-with-sword transformations, but makes explicit that the figure finally emerging from the Buffalo's mouth is 'a man with sword in his hand' (*pumān khaḍgadharaḥ,* 48)" (Hiltebeitel 1978: 782). The Varāha-Purāṇa (94,50-52), too, has a man emerging from the demon's buffalo body. (Cf. Nagar 1988: 50 f.).

Relatively early evidence for the metamorphoses in connection with the Mahiṣāsuramardinī myth seems to be supplied by the 12th canto of the Old Tamil epic Cilappatikāram:

> How is it that you... once stood upon the dark head of the wild buffalo, clad in a tiger's skin and covering yourself with an elephant skin? How is it that you... also stood upon the stag with the dark-twisted horns, after slaying Mahiṣāsura, holding your sword in your bangled hands? How is it that you... stood upon a fierce red-eyed lion, holding a conch and discus in your lotus-hands? (transl. Dikshitar 1939: 185).

The forms of the demon slain by the goddess consist of the males of different animals. Clearly the list could be extended, for these animals undoubtedly correspond to the numerous male animals that may be sacrificed to the goddess. After all, the buffalo sacrifice to the goddess imitates her own action in killing the demon. According to Kālikā-Purāṇa 57,1-6,

> one should accomplish a *balidāna* causing the Goddess to be rejoiced... Birds, tortoises, alligators, he-goats, boars; the buffalo, the lizard, the *sosa* (?) and the nine species of deer; the yak, the spotted antelope, the hare and the lion; fishes and the blood of one's own body are regarded as oblations, which are divided into eight sections. If they are not available, horses and elephants are sometimes (regarded as such); he-goats, and then *śarabhas* and then a man are respectively known as oblation, great oblation, and very great oblation. (transl. Kooij 1972: 52 f.).

In 71,6-18, the same text (quoted from Kane 1955: V.1, 167 and Hiltebeitel 1978: 781, whose renderings of the animal names I reproduce without adjusting them to Kooij's above translation) specifies the length of time that a particular victim's blood or flesh gives the Goddess pleasure; for the same length of time she will bless the offerer:

victim	time
fish, tortoise	1 month
crocodile	2 months
nine species of wild animals	9 months
wild bull, guana	1 year
black antelope, wild boar	12 years
śarabha	25 years
buffalo, rhinocerus, tiger	100 years
lion, śarabha, man	1000 years
three men	100,000 years

The identity of the animal called *śarabha* has remained problematic; in classical Sanskrit literature the word denotes 'a fabulous kind of deer with eight legs, which was supposed to kill elephants and lions' (Eggeling 1882: I, 52 n. 1). In the above list it occupies a prominent place and according to the Kālikā-Purāṇa (57,5-6), "he-goats, and then *śarabhas* and then a man are respectively known as oblation, great oblation, and very great oblation". (transl. Kooij 1972: 52 f.). In another place of the same text (quoted by Kane 1955: V.1, 165 n. 425), exactly the same thing is said about the goat, the water-buffalo (*mahiṣa*) and the man. In the Vedic texts quoted below, śarabha is a wild animal corresponding to the goat among the domestic animals. This fact, and reference to the Neo-Indo-Aryan usage (Turner 1966: no. 12331) reveals that the word originally denotes 'markhor', a wild mountain goat. The meaning 'markhor' fits Kālidāsa's Meghadūta 54, where śarabha is a real, proud animal of the Himalayas, jumping high up into the air at the risk of breaking its limbs. (Cf. Parpola 1988: 263, with a new etymology for the word *śarabha*). The markhor lives only in the mountains of the Northwest; this geographical distribution explains why it early became a mythical animal. The śarabha is equated to the buffalo in importance in the Śākta texts; it is significant that, like the water buffalo, the markhor is prominently depicted in Harappan seals. One of the Indus seals shows a human-faced markhor besides a warrior's severed head, placed upon an altar in front of a deity (probably a predecessor of Durgā) inside a fig tree (cf. Parpola 1985: 215f. and fig. 33; Parpola in press 1).

Prajāpati's metamorphoses and the sacrificial animals of the Vedic ritual

The goat has been the usual victim in the bloody offerings to the goddess, and similarly in the Vedic animal sacrifice the goat epitomizes the five domestic animals (cf. ŚB 1,2,3,6; 6,2,1,18-39; MS 3,10,2; AB 6,8; Lévi 1898: 133 f., 136 f.; Hiltebeitel 1978: 770). In VS 23,17-19, addressed to the sacrificial horse when it is sprinkled before the slaughter, the victim is identified with Agni (Fire), Vāyu (Wind) and Sūrya (Sun): according to ŚB 13,2,7,13-15, the mantra says that the victim will conquer the same realms as these deities (all forms of Rudra, the war god), and attain the lordship of their worlds (earth, atmosphere, sky). The same mantras are used at the Tantric decapitation of the goat (cf. Kane 1955: V.1, 166).

From the Brāhmaṇa texts it appears not only that Prajāpati assumed the forms of the various animals but also that he was sacrificed in these forms. Thus the sacrificial cake offered at the full and new moon sacrifice is explained in ŚB 2,1,3,6-9 to be a substitute for an original bloody sacrifice, starting with the human sacrifice:

> 6. At first, namely, the gods offered up a man as the victim. When he was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of him. It entered into the horse. They offered up the horse. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the ox. They offered up the ox. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the sheep. They offered up the sheep. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the goat. They offered up the goat. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. 7. It entered into this earth. They searched for it, by digging. They found it (in the shape of) those two (substances), the rice and barley... 9. The man (*puruṣa*) whom they had offered up became a mock-man (*kiṁpuruṣa*). These two, the horse and the ox, which they had sacrificed, became a bos gaurus and a gayal (Bos gavaeus) respectively. The sheep which they had sacrificed, became a camel. The goat which they had sacrificed, became a śarabha. For this reason one should not eat (the flesh) of these animals, for these animals are deprived of the sacrificial essence (are impure). (Transl. Eggeling 1882: I, p. 50-52).

Here and in AB 2,8 and in the Vādhūla-Sūtra (4: 19a), two series of animals are equated, with the difference that the first series consists of pure animals which may be sacrificed and the second of impure animals that are unfit for sacrifice (for an interpretation of kiṁpuruṣa, see Parpola 1983: 62 ff.):

1. *puruṣa*	'man'	1. *kiṁpuruṣa*	'war bard'
2. *aśva*	'horse'	2. *gaura(mṛga)*	'bison'
3. *go*	'bull'	3. *gavaya*	'wild ox'
4. *avi*	'sheep'	4. *uṣṭra*	'camel'
5. *aja*	'goat'	5. *śarabha*	'markhor'

The five victims of the first series are those whose heads are placed in the lowest layer of the fire altar (*agniciti*). The mantras (KS 16,17; KapS 25,8; MS 2,7,17; TS 4,2,10; VS 13,41-51), which are employed in placing these heads (prescribed and commented on in KS 20,8; KapS 32,10; MS 3,2,7; MŚS 6,1,7; TS 5,2,9; BaudhŚS 10,34; ĀpŚS 16,27,7-18; ŚB 7,5,2,17-36; KŚS 17,5,17-19) also mention the animals of the second series, here characterized as 'belonging to the forest' (*araṇya*), i.e., wild (they contrast with the animals of the first series, which by implication 'belong to the village', i.e., are tame). These texts give some variants:

1. *puruṣa*	1. *mayu*
2. *aśva*	2. *gaura*
3. *go* (Baudh.: *vṛṣabha*)	3. *gavaya*
4. *avi* (Baudh.: *vṛṣṇi*)	4. *uṣṭra* (MS: *meṣa*)
5. *aja* (Baudh.: *basta*)	5. *śarabha*

Here the mantras are formulae of 'deliverance' or 'removal' (*utsarga*), in which the "burning heat" (*śuc*) is directed from the domestic animals to the wild animals.

Vicissitudes of the water-buffalo (mahiṣa) sacrifice

ŚB 7,5,2,28-37 comments upon these 'deliverance' formulae as follows:

> 28. He then stands by (the heads, revering them) with the Utsargas. For at that time when Prajāpati wanted to slaughter the victims, they, being about to be slaughtered, were distressed (or pained); and by these Utsargas he drove out their distress (*śuc*), their evil (*pāpman*). In like manner does this one, by these Utsargas, now drive out their distress, their evil... 31. Let him remove it outside the fire(-altar); that fire(-altar) being these worlds, he thus puts distress outside these worlds... 37. As to this they say,- The pain (heat), the evil of these animals, which Prajāpati drove out, became these five animals: they, with their pith (sacrificial essence) gone out of them, are pithless, unfit for sacrifice; a Brāhmaṇa should not eat of them: he consigns them to that region; whence Parjanya does not rain in that region where these are. (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, p. 408-412.)

New year festivals usually comprise rituals for the annual renewal of the earth and for the expulsion of demons, diseases and sins. The former often take the form of marriage rites regenerating the year and bringing prosperity and fecundity, while in the latter an animal ('scapegoat') is usually sent away (beyond the limits of the community's territory or to death). (Cf. Harper 1977: 71). This applies to the vrātya rituals as well as to the South Indian feasts of the goddess.

The 30th chapter of Īśānaśivagurudeva-Paddhati deals with the worship of the "Seven mothers" (*sapta mātaraḥ*), who often function as grāmadevatās, guardian deities of villages. Among other things, the text describes a special seven-day festival dedicated to them, called *mahā-śānti* "great pacification". This festival can be performed from the 2nd to the 8th day of any half-month in order to remove various calamities such as various diseases or drought. Every morning and every evening, a man belonging to the Pārasava clan should sing and dance in front of a spear representing the goddesses in the temple, and a sacrificial animal made of flour is offered. On the sixth night, the main victim (*mahāpaśu*) is brought and worshipped. It should be a stag if the sacrificer is a Brahman, an elephant, if he is a Kṣatriya, a buffalo, if he is a Vaiśya, and a goat if he is a Śūdra; or a buffalo may be sacrificed by all. This victim is slaughtered on the seventh day and its blood is offered to the mothers; in addition, cooked rice mixed with its blood is offered in all the directions. (Quoted from Nagaswamy 1982: 130 f.).

In South India it is the buffalo (the mount of the god of death) especially that is "sacrificed to protect the village from deadly epidemics, most notably smallpox. Even Mahiṣāsura, in his final human form that emerges from his buffalo body, is shown in some paintings covered with poxes... And the *Potrāj*, the impersonator of *Poṭu Rāja*..., has his face during a pestilence 'smeared red in spots with vermilion'" (Hiltebeitel 1978: 786). Hiltebeitel (1978: 770) - stating that three out of the wild animals in the Vedic list are "varieties of 'wild buffalo'"- notes that this animal "even though he isn't sacrificed is thus introduced into the Vedic sacrificial literature in connection with the removal of burning pain, evil, and impurity, themes at the heart of the buffalo sacrifice in villages of South India".

Though bison and gayal ox are similar enough to the water buffalo, *mahiṣa*, this particular animal is missing from the above list; moreover, the wild animals enumerated on it are not sacrificed. But in connection with the horse sacrifice, MS 3,14,10 and VS 24,28 have preserved another list of sacrificial animals which are slaughtered, this list being partly identical with the above quoted lists of wild beasts; this list does comprise the water buffalo, too:

> "To the Lord (*īśāna*, Rudra) he sacrifices rhinoceroses (*parasvatāḥ*),
> to Mitra bisons (*gaurān*),
> to Varuṇa water buffaloes (*mahiṣān*),
> to Bṛhaspati gayal oxes (*gavayān*),
> to Tvaṣṭar camels (*uṣṭrān*)".

The water buffalo sacrifice, then, is actually attested in the Veda, too. In fact, the Ṛgveda speaks of the cooking of hundreds, even a thousand water buffaloes, which must refer to their ritual slaughter (according to ṚS 1,162,10-15, the flesh of the sacrificial horse was cooked and roasted, and eaten with great pleasure). Thus in ṚS 6,17,11, "(Agni) cooked a hundred buffaloes" (*pácac chatám mahiṣān*) to Indra. ṚS 5,29,7-8 states that Agni immediately cooked 300 buffaloes (*apacat... mahiṣā trī śatāni*) for his friend Indra upon his wish; "and after Indra had eaten the flesh of 300 buffaloes and drunk 3 oceans full of Soma, all the gods shouted 'Victory!' to him as (people shout) 'Gain!' (to a victorious gambler), because he had killed the snake Vrtra" (*trī yác chatā mahiśāṇām ágho mās trī śárāṁsi maghávā somyāpāḥ / kārám ná viśve ahvanta devā bháram indrāya yád áhim jaghāna*). In ṚS 8,12,8 Indra gains his real strength only after he has eaten a thousand buffaloes (*yádi pravṛddha satpate sahásraṁ mahiṣān ághaḥ / ād it ta indriyáṁ máhi prá vāvṛdhe*).

In ṚS 8,69,15, reference is made to the cooking of a buffalo for the father and mother (by Indra as a boy?); the context is not quite clear, but the preceding verse connects this with ṚS 8,77,10: "All these, indeed, far-stepping Viṣṇu brought to Indra, sent by you: a hundred buffaloes (*śatáṁ mahiṣān*), a mess of rice cooked in milk (and) the boar Emuṣa" (transl. Rau 1976, p. 20). This last-mentioned verse is quoted in MS 3,8,3, where the myth is explained:

> The sacrifice (masc.), verily, was on the other side of the gods (i.e. concealed from them). They did not know: 'Is he here or is he here?' But they did know: 'The sacrifice exists (here somewhere).' Verily, they wished to get in touch with him. They wished to start him from cover. They did not get at him. The birds did not fly right over him (so as to espy him and inform the gods). Indra stepped right on him. He (i.e. Indra) spotted him. He (i.e. the sacrifice) realized: 'Verily, he has spotted me'. He (i.e. the sacrifice) said: 'Who is there?' - 'I am he who slays in the inaccessible place (*durge hantā*). And who are you?' (The sacrifice answered:) 'I am who brings from the inaccessible place (*durgād āhartā*)'. He (i.e. the sacrifice) said: 'Verily, you have called yourself 'he who slays in the inaccessible place'. There is this boar Emuṣa behind twenty-one stone *puraḥ*. Within that place is the dear property of the Asuras. Slay him!' Indra aimed at him with (his) cane-bow, pierced him from the front and rent his heart asunder. To this, verily, the following *ṛc* refers: Although he was not on firm ground, the thrice seven combined mountain ridges were pierced by the bowman. Neither god nor mortal could outdo the (deeds) done by the fullgrown bull. (ṚS 8,96,2.) He (i.e. Indra) said: 'You have called yourself 'he who brings from the inaccessible place'. Bring him! Him, verily, Viṣṇu brought. Viṣṇu, verily, is the sacrifice. The sacrifice, verily, thus brought the sacrifice from the Asuras. By the sacrifice, verily, the gods thus gained the sacrifice from the Asuras. To this, verily, the following *ṛc* refers... (ṚS 8,77,10 quoted above.) Thus, verily, the gods gained sacrifice. (Transl. Rau 1976: 20.)

This text, along with its parallels (KS 25,2 = KapS 38,5; TS 6,2,4,2-3; cf. Rau 1976: 18-21), is important in testifying to the Ṛgvedic Aryans' not originally practising (bloody) sacrifice: they adopted it from their enemies and rivals, the Asuras, who lived in forts with concentric ramparts along with hundreds of buffaloes. (Cattle and other animals, such as horses, elephants, camels and asses, according to Rāmāyaṇa 1,5,13, filled Ayodhyā, the 'unconquerable' city of Rāma, which is in this connection expressly said to be surrounded by deep fortification moats and to be a stronghold impregnable by others: *durga-gambhīra-parikhāṁ durgām anyair durāsadāṁ vājī-vāraṇa-saṁpūrṇāṁ gobhir uṣṭraiḥ kharais tathā;* cf. Schlingloff 1970: 5 f.). That the Asuras sacrificed boars as well as buffaloes is clear from the fact that the hundreds of buffaloes cooked for Indra were brought from the same place, the Asura stronghold, as the boar Emuṣa. There cannot be any doubt that in the Ṛgveda the boar Emuṣa is an enemy slain by Indra. In the Brāhmaṇa texts, however, this demon has become a god and a form of the creator god Prajāpati: in TS 7,1,5,1, the boar raises the earth from the primeval waters, like the later Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The early Ṛgvedic poems also clearly indicate that Indra's feasting on buffalo meat increased his warring powers: it therefore seems that the sacrificial feast was performed just before leaving for a warring expedition."The sacrifice of the buffalo in India is offered exclusively to the Goddess, either at the feast of her temple in the beginning of the spring, or during the Navarātri", says Madeleine Biardeau (1981: 215, translated). This could well have been so already in Pre-Vedic India. In Old Tamil, the word used of the Goddess's temple is *kōṭṭa* 'fort' (references in Subrahmanian 1966: 334f.); and in Nepal, Durgā has a sanctuary in every fort of the country, and her temples are called *koṭ* in Nepali and in Newari *kvāṭha* 'fortress' (cf. Toffin 1981: 77, 60). I have argued that the goddess *Tripurā*, a form of Durgā popular in eastern India, is so called because she is originally the guardian deity of the *tripura*, the three-walled stronghold of the Dāsas exemplified by the Bronze Age temple-fortress of Dashly-3 in North Afghanistan (cf. Parpola 1988: 258ff.). The evidence, then, suggests that the enemies of the Ṛgvedic Aryans, worshipping gods called Asura and having forts, were worshipping Durgā as their goddess of war and victory (the very word *durga* is used in the above-cited passage of MS 3,8,3) in the same manner as she is worshipped in Nepal today: with sacrifices of hundreds of buffaloes.

Interestingly, almost every trace of those enormous buffalo sacrifices to Indra has been wiped out from the Brāhmaṇa texts. This suggests a deliberate discrimination against the buffalo by the conservative circles of the Vedic priesthood. Apparently the buffalo was too conspicuously associated with the main god of the enemy. The water buffalo is native to India and was apparently sacrificed in the Indus civilization, for several Harappan seals and amulets depict its spearing, while others attest to buffalo sports comparable to the bull-baiting in South India and in the Near East (Asia Minor and the Aegean). Thus the early Ṛgvedic attempts to adopt the buffalo cult into the worship of Indra were eventually unsuccessful.

There is some concrete evidence suggesting that sides have indeed been taken for and against the horse and the buffalo. The discrimination of the buffalo in the Brāhmaṇa texts is matched by the express prohibition of ever offering horses to the great Goddess in the Kālikā-Purṇā (71,46) (cf. Kane 1955: V.1, 165), which prescribes (71,57-58) the following mantra to be adressed to the buffalo when it is decapitated: "As you hate a horse and as you carry Caṇḍikā, so kill my enemies and bring happiness, O buffalo; you are the vehicle of Yama, you possess excellent form, you who are deathless; bestow on me long life, wealth, fame, a bow to you who are a buffalo" (transl. Kane 1955: V.1, 167).

Buffalo sacrifice and the Māyā of the Asura

The buffalo sacrifice to the goddess is the cultic counterpart of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī myth, and the metamorphoses of the buffalo demon are an essential element of this myth. I have already suggested that these metamorphoses reflect the cultic practice of sacrificing different kinds of male animals. In addition, it seems, the ritual implied some sort of ceremonial exchange of the severed heads of the victims, as I have suggested in connection with the kiṁpuruṣa (see Parpola 1983: 64f.). Jan Heesterman's splendid paper on "The Case of the Severed Head" (1967) has made it quite plain that the "head of the sacrifice" - i.e., originally, the head of the sacrificial victim - has occupied a central place in the "preclassical" ritual and been a problem for the "classical" ritualists, who wished to purify the sacrifice of violent acts and such revolting things as severed heads.

An exchange of cut off heads is characteristic to the myths concerning the origin of the elephant-headed Hindu god Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa. Īśānaśivagurudeva-Paddhati 30, paraphrased earlier, mentions the elephant as an animal that may take the place of the buffalo if the sacrificer is a king. Gaṇapati's name, on the other hand, associates this son of the goddess with the chief victim of the Vedic horse sacrifice, who is called "the host-leader of the hosts" (*gaṇā́nāṁ gaṇápati*) in a mantra (VS 23,19 < ṚS 2,23,1) addressed to the dead beast at its lamentation (cf. ŚB 13,2,8,1-4). This title undoubtedly refers to the horse's role as the victorious leader of the army during the foregoing raiding expedition. Cf. MS 3,1,3: "In the beginning the gods by means of the horse conquered their dominion; that they go by horse is conductive to conquest (*vijityai*)". Thus even the military role connects the horse and the buffalo sacrificed on the Vijaya-daśamī day.

In the myth of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī, the buffalo is certainly a symbol of the death-bringing warrior and personified death. The wild buffalo is, besides the tiger, the most ferocious and dangerous beast of India. Old Tamil poetics has a theme called *erumai-maṟam* (lit. 'buffalo-like fight'), which compares the determined and ferocious attack of a hero to the charging of a wild buffalo (cf. TL, s.v.). The theme of *ēma-v-erumai*, lit. 'buffalo-like defence' deals with "unyielding resistance" (cf. ibid.). In Puṟam 56,10-14, the Old Tamil poet Nakkīrar compares the Pāṇḍya king Naṉmāṟaṉ to different deities: in his wrath the king is like the god of Death (Kailasapathy 1968: 74). The buffalo is also connected with death more peacefully, as an animal sacrificed in non-Vedic funeral ceremonies - for example, among the Todas of the Nilgiris (cf. Rivers 1906: 349-391), the Khonds, and the non-Brahmanical castes in Kumaon (cf. Hiltebeitel 1978: 786).

In the Ṛgveda, the Aryan war god Indra is not associated only with the obviously Pre-Vedic buffalo sacrifice. Indra is also the god specifically distinguished by the ability to change shape, which in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī myth characterizes the buffalo demon: ṚS 3,53,8 *rūpáṁ rūpáṁ maghávā bobhavīti māyā́ḥ kṛṇvānás tanvàṁ pári svā́m* "the generous one repeatedly appears in different forms, executing feats of māyā on his own body" (Goudriaan 1978: 3); ṚS 6,47,18 "He became corresponding in form to every form. This is to be looked upon as a form of him. Indra by his magic powers goes about in many forms..." (*rūpáṁ rūpáṁ prátirūpo babhūva tád asya rūpáṁ praticákṣaṇāya / índro māyā́bhiḥ pururū́pa īyate*... transl. Hume 1931: 105; cf. Goudriaan 1978: 5). Indra is said to have changed himself into many animal as well as human forms: he has taken the form of a bison (*gaura*), a monkey, a ram, a quail, a horsetail, a leech, a parrot, a pigeon, a jackal (*? śāḷāvṛkī*), sage Gautama, sage Kauśika, and a woman (cf. Goudriaan 1978, p. 5-14).

It is often in explicitly erotic contexts that Indra uses his *māyā*, adopting various animal forms. This outspoken sexuality in Indra appears to be another feature which he owes to the influence of the Pre-Vedic religion. In some hymns of the Ṛgveda, Indra is implored to crush the "worshippers of the phallus" (*śiśnadevāḥ*), an expression which seems to refer to the orgiastic rituals of the Vrātya feasts. I would like to draw particular attention to the beating of the "earth drum" (adressed as the goddess Vāc) with the tail of a bull, one of the many 'sacred marriage' rites at the mahāvrata: the word *śiśna* denotes 'tail' as well as 'penis' (cf. Parpola 1983: 48f.). In other (late) hymns and in the Brāhmaṇa literature, however, Indra himself has become a phallic divinity with many amorous adventures (cf. Rau 1966). But again, this attempt to adopt Pre-Vedic practices in the cult of Indra was not wholly successful: by the time of the Śrautasūtras, the Brahmanical authors have done their best to purge the Vedic ritual of sex rites.

Most significant among the metamorphoses of Indra is that referred to in ṚS 1,121,2b *ánu svajā́ṁ mahiṣáś cakṣata vrā́m* "as a buffalo he desired the lusty female born from himself" (Goudriaan 1978: 11). Here Indra is presented as desiring his own daughter in the form of a water-buffalo. The parallelism with Prajāpati who sexually approached his own daughter (AB 3,33) is obvious. But beyond that, this incestuous approach is connected with the shape of a buffalo.

The magic wonder-power (*māyā*) enabling its owner to change shape at will seems to have originally belonged to the enemies of the gods, the deceitful demons, the Asuras, and especially to the greatest of them, Varuṇa (cf. Macdonell 1897: 24, 156; Parpola 1988: 227f.). The deity to whom buffaloes are to be sacrificed according to MS 3,14,10 and VS 24,28 is also Varuṇa.

I have reecently suggested (in Parpola 1988: 261 f.) that Varuṇa's name is synonymous with and refers to the same Asura deity as that of Dāsa Śambara, one of the foremost opponents of Indra in the early hymns of the Ṛgveda. A later variant of Śambara's name, Śaṁvara, warrants its derivation from the root *vṛ-* 'to enclose, protect', from which also come Vedic *saṁvaraṇa* 'enclosure for cattle' and Avestan *vara* 'citadel of Yima (the first man and the king of the dead)'. The word *śambara* itself supports this "Proto-Māgadhī" etymology, for it appears to be an appellative meaning 'stronghold, citadel' in a couple of places (ṚS 2,24,2; 1,59,6). In this sense it is synonymous with *durga* 'citadel'; Durga, again, is said in the Skanda-Purāṇa to have been the proper name of an Asura vanquished by Durgā, who thus got her name. Śambara's connection with the worship of Durgā is suggested by the repeated references in the Ṛgveda to his "autumnal forts", which, like Fort Śārdi in Kasmir, seem to have been the places where the autumnal feast of the goddess Śāradā ('autumnal') were celebrated. There is also an etymological connection between Śambara and the word *śabara* 'ferocious tribal', after which the feast celebrating Durgā's victory over Mahiṣa Asura is named. Moreover, Śambara or (Cakra-)Śaṁvara is the name of a terrifying divinity of Śaiva origin in the Lamaistic pantheon, a horrific form of the buffalo-shaped god *Heruka* (cf. Snellgrove 1987: 153 ff.).

In Hinduism, Heruka and Heramba are names of Gaṇeśa, but *heramba* is also known from Sanskrit as an appellative meaning 'buffalo'. Both words are likely to come from Proto-Dravidian words for 'buffalo': in addition to Tamil *erumai* and cognates meaning '(female) buffalo' (Burrow and Emeneau 1984: 80, no. 816), mentioned by Mayrhofer (1976: III, 608, s.v.) as the most likely source of *heramba*, compare Tamil *ēṟu* and cognates, meaning 'bull, male of any animal remarkable for physical strength, male buffalo' (cf. Burrow and Emeneau 1982: 88 no. 917); *h-* is known from several other etyma to represent the glottal stop that subphonemically reinforces an initial vowel in North and Central Dravidian (cf. Parpola 1977-78). Mayrhofer, unaware of the possibility that Gaṇeśa could also have had a buffalo's head, does not consider Gaṇeśa's names as related, offering other unsatisfactory explanations for them (ibid. 609).

Prajāpati, one of the most important divinities of the Brāhmaṇa literature, may in certain respects be considered to be a multiform and successor of Varuṇa (cf. Eggeling 1900: V, xviii f.; Heesterman 1957: 88 n. 38; Parpola 1985: passim). Like Prajāpati, Varuṇa is also the deity of the sacrificial horse: "the horse (symbolizes) Varuṇa, it has Varuṇa as its deity" (*vā́ruṇo vā́ áśvo varuṇadevatyaḥ*), says MS 2,3,3. "All other animals are said to have a source of origin ('womb' *yoni*) - their source of origin is the 'man' or 'male' (who begot them) - but the horse is without a source of origin: it was born from the (primeval cosmic) waters" (MS 2,3,3). This means that Varuṇa (as the cosmic horse) was born without being begotten by anyone, directly from the primeval waters: in like manner the king, being anointed by the waters of the royal consecration, is in this ritual born as king in Varuṇa's manner (cf. Falk 1984: 128). "The horse has the waters as its source of origin" (*apsuyoni* TS 5,3,12,2; ŚB 13,2,2,19). But this origin in the waters, which is the realm of Varuṇa in the Veda as well as in classical Hinduism (where Varuṇa becomes almost exclusively the god of water) would seem to fit the water buffalo (which has to bathe every day in order to survive) better than the horse. AS 9,4,2 in fact says of a bull (*ṛṣabha*, not horse): "He who in the beginning became the counterpart (*pratimā́*) of the waters, prevailing (*prabhū́*) for everything..." (transl. Whitney 1905: II, 529).

Speaking of water, it seems possible that one reality behind the conception of *māyā* as an ability to shift shape is the ever-changing form of the cloud, which in India means the rain cloud. Thus Rāmāyaṇa 3,41,6 compares the magic form of the deer assumed by the demon Marīca, a knower of māyā, to the "stronghold of the Gandharvas", which is the Indian term for 'fata morgana' (*asya māyāvido māyāmṛgarūpam idaṁ kṛtaṁ gandharvapurasaṁnibham*; Goudriaan 1978: 4): the citadel of the Gandharvas, like the Tripura of the Asuras, is often imagined to be in the sky. The rain cloud, on the other hand, appears to be one of the things symbolized by the Mahiṣa demon. After Mahiṣa had kept the three worlds in his dark power for a long time, he was eventually vanquished by the beautiful goddess Durgā, a solar deity, whose great festival of victory is held at the end of the rainy season. The rain cloud is also the mate of the goddess, the heavenly bull who fertilizes the earth cow with his seed, the rain. This cosmic model is enacted at the sacred marriage of the horse sacrifice, where the female partner is the chief queen and represents both the earth and the goddess Vāc.

The horse sacrifice culminates in the sacred marriage of the victim to the chief queen of the sacrificing king. The queen has a telling title: *mahiṣī* 'water buffalo cow'. If *mahiṣī* is the first spouse of the king in the Vedic ritual, and the buffalo demon Mahiṣā is the spouse of the goddess in the South Indian rituals as well as in some Purāṇic versions of the myth (cf. Stietencron 1983: 123-127), then it is not unreasonable to suppose that originally the king was called *mahiṣa* and that he was represented in the original pre-Aryan ritual by a buffalo, *mahiṣa*, rather than by a horse. Such a reconstruction is also supported by the etymological meaning of the words *mahiṣa* and *mahiṣī*: 'great, mighty, majestic'. This meaning is reflected in ŚB 7,3,1,23, where the brick-built fire altar (*agni*), representing the sacrificed victim, is identified with the water buffalo bull: "the buffalo (*mahiṣa*) doubtless is Agni, for he, being born (*iṣ*) here great (*mahat*), animated evereything". The title 'great' is also shared by Prajāpati, for PB 4,10,2 explains the name of the mahāvrata rite as follows: "Prajāpati, forsooth, is great (*mahān*), his food is this *vrata* (rite)". Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka 1,5, again, says of the couple uniting sexually at the mahāvrata: "the great male has joined the great female" (*saṁ mahān mahatyādadhat*).

This syllogistic inference is supported also by other considerations. There is no evidence so far for the presence of the horse in the Indian subcontinent before the second millennium B.C. (cf. Meadow 1987), while the water buffalo occupies a very prominent position in the art of the Early and Mature Harappan cultures of the third millennium B.C. In the Vedic list of domestic animals fit for sacrifice, the horse corresponds to the bison (*gaura*) in the list of wild victims unfit for sacrifice. A Harappan seal from Chanhu-daro actually depicts a bison mating with a human priestess, while in Lamaist iconography, Yama's buffalo is likewise shown mating with a female who similarly lies prostrate on the ground (cf. Parpola 1983: 56 and pl. 7A, 8).

Conclusion

Starting from external, non-Vedic sources, I have tried to penetrate into "preclassical rituals" that Jan Heesterman has been reconstructing on the basis of the internal evidence of the Veda. I hope to have made it look probable that the myth and cult of Durgā and the Buffalo Demon have been current in South Asia at least two thousand years earlier than is usually assumed; that Prajāpati and Varuṇa are (in some respects at least) closely related deities and as such largely derived from the Dāsa god Śambara, with all three being among the early doublets of the Mahiṣa Asura; and that the Purāṇic Śākta worship in its left-hand variety as well as the "preclassical" rituals of the Veda go back to very early military and orgiastic cults of Durgā (which may have an ultimately Near Eastern origin).

As one of the central themes of this paper is metamorphosis, I have glanced through James P. Carse's analysis of this phenomenon in the world's religions (1987). Carse distinguishes several types of shape changing that have a common meaning and function. The two most common ones obviously apply in the cases of Mahiṣa, Prajāpati (or Indra) and his daughter, namely "strategic deception (for reasons of agression, seduction or trickery)" and "escape (from another's agression or seduction)". Carse also mentions as "by far the most profound variety of shape shifting... that which has revelation as its design". In my view this also lies behind the metamorphoses of Mahiṣa, Prajāpati and Vāc. Their changes of form underline the idea of unity in variety. In the creation myth, all the different male animals are aspects of one Prajāpati, and all their female counterparts are aspects of one Vāc. In the same way, Mahiṣa's different shapes are all examples of males characterized by great physical strength and virility, models of the brave warrior.

NOTES

1. This paper is a fragment of a much longer article entitled "From Ishtar to Durgā: Sketch of a prehistory of India's feline-riding and buffalo-slaying goddess of victory" and submitted for publication in 1984. However, the book in which it was due to appear has been cancelled. I am therefore publishing it now in several instalments with some editing and modifications. My intention is in due course to enlarge and revise the 1984 manuscript thoroughly and to bring it out as a separate monograph. Some parts of my 1984 manuscript have already been developed further in two publications (Parpola 1988 and Parpola in press) that will also give a condensed idea of the whole scheme.
   I thank Mrs Virginia Curtis Nikkilā for kindly revising my English.

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SACRED KINGSHIP, WARLORDS, AND NOBILITY

H. Scharfe

When the early European travellers and envoys visited the court of Vijayanagar and other Indian states, they recorded their amazement at the wealth and power of the eastern monarchs, and the pomp of their ceremonies; but they were not much exercised by their alleged divinity.[1] It was only in the last few hundred years - when absolutism in Europe had given way to more liberal monarchy or even republican government -that the so-called divinity of Hindu kings was treated with condenscension or even derision. The most striking example of this tendency was perhaps the assertion that people in Cambodia - one of the Hinduized states in Southeast Asia - actually believed that their king was Śiva himself. Anything seemed to be possible in Oriental despotism. We know now, thanks to Filliozat[2] and Kulke[3], that the Cambodians believed no such thing; rather they regarded their king as God's representative on earth - an idea they received from South India.

In time some Indians who had been exposed to Western ideas felt embarrassed that many of their countrymen considered their Maharajas as divine, a distant offspring of the sun or moon, ultimately even of Brahma or Viṣṇu. A.S. Altekar[4] pointedly refers to texts that stress instead the functional resemblance of kings and deities: rather than declaring the king himself a god, they observe that his functions are similar to those of some gods. Altekar[5] rebuts the Western critique with references to the Holy Roman Empire, deified Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, and the theoreticians of absolute kingship in France and England. Attempts to make one's ancestors appear more modern and rationalistic than they were and chauvinistically inspired critiques, in general, created obstacles to the comparative study of the features and development of kingship in India and Europe.

A list of comparable features is quite impressive: medieval Indian kings claimed, through a long line of legendary ancestors, a god or other mythical being as the founder of their line, comparable to the kings in Homer's Iliad, Romulus and Remus of ancient Rome, and some princely families in Anglo-Saxon England and Sweden. The touch of the Indian king purified the sinner, and even his glance or a glance at him, the famous *darśan*, was purifying. The kings of France claimed the gift of healing scrofula (a tuberculous infection of the lymph glands, as we now know) by the laying-on of hands; they soon found themselves copied and outhealed by the kings of England, who could also heal cramps.[6] The Indian king belonged to the *kṣatriya* order and was part of a wider social network of such noble families exclusively linked by intermarriage, and he was served by *kṣatriya*-s in high positions. European rulers were at the apex of a separate social class, the nobility, the people of "blue blood", the *sangre azul* of the Spaniards. The latter expression arose in Spain when the local people noted the blue veins of the light-skinned Visigoths from Scandinavia who had made themselves the rulers of Spain. By such marks, the ruling class, the nobles, seemed to be a race apart.

The similarities appear too striking to be explained by simple coincidence, and geography virtually rules out borrowing. Can they be an inheritance from the common Indo-European past, as the related terms Sanskrit *rā́jan* "king" and Latin *rex* might indicate? But if the Indo-Europeans had kings and called them **rēg*, why did the Iranians who were so close to the Indians culturally and linguistically abandon this title? And what can be said for the Greeks and the Germanic tribes, among whom **rēg* is absent?[7] The equation of Vedic *rā́j*, Latin *rēx*, and Celtic *rīg* has long been a standard example of Indo-Europeanists, and the existence of Indo-European kingship has rarely been questioned. The historian R. Wenskus notes that linguists are generally more inclined to accept ancient inherited kingship than historians and that the equation *rāj/rēx/rīg* "seems to hold up under modern methods", even though the validity of other equations of this type has become doubtful for historical investigations.[8]

An early challenge that had no measurable impact came from L. Erhardt more than a century ago. He argues that *rā́jan* was not yet fixed in the meaning "king" in the oldest Vedic texts and that it differed in formation from Latin *rēx*; moreover Gothic *reiks* in Wulfila's bible translated Greek *árchōn*, not *basileús*. He denies that there was royal power among the Indo-Europeans and assumes that the migrations of the Indo-European tribes into their historical areas made strong leadership necessary.[9] His evidence is too meager to support his far-reaching conclusions. He did not even consider Vedic *rā́j*, which commonly has been equated with *rēx*. Gothic *reiks*, being a loanword from Celtic, is of limited value. Even so Erhardt does touch upon the delicate problem of how much we can relie on a set of corresponding words and whether we can project the social concepts they denote to an earlier period. Such word equations differ from those denoting e.g., body parts, which can be presumed to be essentially unchanged over the ages.

It is legitimate to ask what our Roman authors knew about kingship. The Romans had not known kings for more than four centuries when Cicero defined them with the words *quare cum pene unum est omnium summa rerum, regem illum unum vocamus* "When the totality of all affairs rests with one man, we call this one man 'king'".[10] The title, which is not attested in other Italic dialects, was last worn by the legendary seven kings who supposedly ruled Rome for 244 years, three of whom were Etruscans. All later usage, by authors of the Roman republic, refers to these kings of a mythical past, to foreign potentates like Porsenna, Pyrrhus, and Jugurtha, or sarcastically to Roman politicians like Caesar. The finer connotations that must have defined a Roman *rēx* have been lost in the intervening centuries. The *rex sacrorum* or *rex sacrificu[lu]s* in republican Rome is usually taken for the successor to the ancient kings after those had been deprived of their political role.

I believe that the Sanskritist can make a significant contribution to the problem of ancient kingship. In the Ṛgveda, the king is, according to standard opinion, denoted either by *rā́j* or by *rā́jan,* which is regarded as a late development, because *rā́j* alone has an exact match in Latin *rēx* and Celtic *rīg*. But of the three occurrences of *rā́j* one (V 46,8) is almost certainly feminine, while the other two are ambiguous. The context in each instance is mythological and makes no reference to human kings. In the formula *iyáṃ té rā́ṭ* "This is your strength", common in other Vedic texts, the feminine gender of *rā́j* is obvious. References to a ruler are only found in words where *rā́j* stands as the second member of a compound: *eka-rā́j*, *sam-rā́j*, and *sva-rā́j*. Epic *deva-rā́j* "king of the gods, Indra" replaces older *deva-rājá*. I have previously concluded that Vedic *rā́j* "king" is a ghost word.[11]

A. Sihler[12] questions the traditional derivation of *rāj/rēg/rīg* from the root found in Latin *regere* because it would mean not only generalization of the vṛddhi-stem in the noun[13] but also total loss of the zero grade for the root. He proposed a root *reH$_1$ǵ "be efficacious, have *mana*", of which the full vowel grade would appear in *rā́j* etc., the zero grade in Vedic *ūrj* "strength" and elsewhere. In my earlier paper I pointed out that Sihler's hypothetical paradigm, nom. *rā́j/rā́ṭ* gen. *ūrjás*, might still be alive in early Vedic, where there are only three occurrences of a nominative singular *rā́ṭ* (and nothing else) versus seventy-three forms of *ūrj* in various cases (including a genitive singular *ūrjás* - but no nominative singular). Striking as this pattern is, it is not without problems. There may be no parallels to support or disprove the contention that I.-E. *ṛH$_1$ǵ would appear in Vedic as *ūrj*. Avestan *vərə zvant* "strong" (?) has been related to Vedic *ūrj*[14], and H. Humbach[15] explains Avestan *varəzi* in Yasna 45,9.3 as a hapax legomenon "in Kraftfülle", a locative singular of a noun *varəz*, related to Vedic *ūrj*. Humbach regards his explanation, which separates this word from other occurrences of *varəz*, as "wahrscheinlich", and S. Insler[16] and J. Kellens[17] essentially follow him, even though their renditions differ somewhat. If this connection is admitted, *ūrj* would go back to an older *u̯ṛHǵ and could not be related to *rā́j*. But the question whether *rā́j* and *rā́jan* are related to *ūrj* does not affect the following argument or the equation with Greek *arēgṓn* "protector".

It is not necessary to review here the copious evidence gathered by B. Schlerath[18] on the role of the Vedic *rā́jan*. The word is applied more often to gods than humans, but we can assume that the world of the gods mirrors that of men. There is no permanent *rā́jan* among the gods, and various gods are invoked with that title, even simultaneously. Indra as the "king of the gods" (*deva-rā́j*) is a much later concept. In the Ṛgveda he is frequently called *rā́jan*, where he "is, after all, king particularly as a war-lord. Coming from the outside he fulfills a task and then apparently withdraws again".[19] The office of *rā́jan* may have fallen to men of a proven family for successive generations, to become permanent at an early time.[20] If *rā́jan* did not originally denote a position held in permanency, *dámpati* (also archaic *pátir dán*) "master of the house/family" and *viśpáti* "master of the clan/settlement" surely did, and these titles are matched by Avestan *dengpaiti* and *vīspaiti*, Greek *despótes*, Lithuanian *vëzpats*, Latvian *veszpatis*. B.W. Leist pointed out a century ago that "Das Königthum gilt als ein erweitertes Haushalterthum".[21] The secular and ritual authority that characterized the Indian *viśpáti* as it did the Roman *pater familias*, was subsequently transferred to the Indian *rā́jan*. It may be significant that the wives of the *dámpati* and the *viśpáti* seem to participate ritually in their husbands' roles. The Ṛgveda has the expressions *dámpatī* and *viśpátī*, both denoting "the master and mistress of the house", literally "the two masters of the house", and Greek has the archaic form *déspoina* "mistress of the house". There is, in contrast, no old correspondence to the *rā́jan*, whose wives are often simply called *patnī* or *jāyā*.[22] *rājñī* "queen" first appears in the younger Saṃhitā-s and has only a superficial similarity with Latin *regīnā* and Irish *rīgain*.[23] If the *rā́jan* was originally a warlord, it is fitting that his wife was not ritually involved and carried no special title.

In the oldest Indian text, the Ṛgveda, nothing is said about the divine ancestry of a *rā́jan*; Trasadasyu was called an *ardha-devá* "half-god" in ṚV IV 42,8 merely because his birth was credited to his mother's prayers to Indra and Varuṇa. The Vedic Indian king did, however, get a fleeting taste of divinity during his anointment when he is identified with various gods such as Varuṇa and Indra[24], or when he stands on his throne with hands raised high, symbolizing the *axis mundi*.[25] All men are said to derive from Manu, son of the mythical Vivasvant, or made from parts of the mythical Puruṣa. Only centuries later, in the Epics and Purāṇa-s, do we find claims that the first king was begotten by Viṣṇu or was a composite of several gods. These texts trace the royal lineages to various gods, frequently involving the Sun or the Moon, for Manu's father Vivasvant was now identified with the Sun and one of his kin with the Moon.

If we look at royal inscriptions, we find that Aśoka made no claim to divine ancestry (even his title *devānāṃpriya* cannot be viewed as staking out such a claim, whatever it means)[26], and the Gupta kings very clearly listed their human ancestors, including two rulers who preceded the dynasty's ascent to paramountcy and stopped there. It is only from about the seventh century A.D. on that Indian kings claimed divine ancestry[27], linking their family tree to the popular epic heroes and Manu. We read again and again of solar and lunar dynasties with Brahman or Viṣṇu as their first ancestor. I tentatively attribute the delay to the influence of

Vedic brahmins at the royal courts, which is so evident in the Arthaśāstra and in the horse-sacrifices of the Śuṅgas and Guptas.

In neighboring Iran, Darius listed his ancestors through several generations back to Haxāmaniš and then stopped. We may add that the king, while stressing his pedigree, did not claim to belong to an inherently superior class. He declared with pride that he was of Aryan seed[28], that his family had been noble (? *āmāta*) for a long time, and that eight previous family members had been kings.[29] Only centuries later, Arsakes was said to be the first Persian king counted as a divine person[30], and still later Shahpur II, in a letter to emperor Constantius, called himself "brother of the Sun and the Moon".[31] The exception that indeed proves the rule is the address of the defeated king Croesus of Lydia to Cyrus, in which he flatteringly alluded to Cyrus' divine descent through his ancestor Perseus, the son of Zeus.[32] Almost a century later, Xerxes allegedly used the same legend to divide his foes, Sparta and Argos, by claiming that his ancestor Perses, son of Perseus, made him a distant relative of the ruling house of Argos. He urged his "relatives" to stay out of the conflict.[33] There is not a trace of these Greek tales, actually just political ruses, in the Old Persian inscriptions. The play on the names Perseus and Pārsa "Persia" has no historical justification.

The community of the gods in the Ṛgveda mirrors the social condition of men; since *rā́jan* did not denote the holder of any fixed position, we find several gods that are called *rā́jan* at one time or another. Similarly, we find among men that the *rā́jan*-s (in the plural!) go to the assembly.[34] In the Brāhmaṇas *rā́jan* denotes not only the ruler but also the male members of his family (the so-called *rāja-putrá*-s) and all members of the ruling class - presumably more distant offspring of former rulers.[35] *rājanyà* "belonging to a *rā́jan*", in the Puruṣa Hymn (Ṛgveda X 90), denoted members of the ruling class in contrast with brahmins, vaiśya-s and śūdra-s; in the Brāhmaṇas it often denoted the lower members of this class who were not eligible to be rulers themselves.[36] Were these men the ruler's descendents in a more distant degree, or were they the king's officials? This is the same basic question about the origin of nobility that arises again in the study of pre-classical Greece and the Franconian state. W. Rau offers an answer to it. There are statements in the Brāhmaṇa-s that the *rājanyà*-s and the *víś* were *árājānas* and could not be kings, and that men who were *árājānas* were the kingmakers (*rāja-kṛt*) - among them the *sūtá* and the *grāmaṇī́*. Rau concludes thst the *sūtá* and the *grāmaṇī́* were *rājanyà*-s, i.e., members of the lower nobility, and asks: "Rekrutierte sich der niedere Adel hauptsächlich aus Ministerialen?".[37] This inference is not valid in itself, and we know positively that the *grāmaṇī* was a *vaíśya*, i.e., belonged to the *víś*.[38] Prominent officials, like the *puróhita*, the *sūtá* and the *grāmaṇī́*, were not *rājanyà*-s, nor did they develop into *rājanya*-s or *kṣatriya*-s in later times. I suggest that the members of the ruling class, called *kṣatriya* from the epics onward, were the descendents of former rulers. Since there were many petty rulers in the past, the number of their descendents was understandably rather large.

At the earliest stage of Indian society, we find, then, the *rájan*-s as temporary leaders in times of war, chosen probably from among the various *viśpáti*-s, the clan chiefs that ruled the settlements. In the course of time, many a powerful warlord usurped permanent power and established a dynasty. Their descendents formed a privileged class.

Many kings in Homer's Iliad trace their lineages to gods.[39] M.P. Nilsson has argued that the Iliad reflects the society of the Mycenean age[40], but the continuity is more limited than Nilsson thought. The king was called *wanax* in Mycenean texts (equal to classical Greek *ánax*), whereas in the Iliad and in the early Greek states he was called *basileús*. The Iliad shows us a multitude of petty kings, joined in a campaign under the leadership of one of them, the *hēgemṓn*, viz., king Agamemnon of Mycene. Nilsson's vision of the Mycenean king as the ruler of a vast empire is now rejected, and it is thought more likely that a respected petty king would be chosen as leader for military campaigns.[41] These heroes are, at one point, called "half-gods" (*hēmithéōn*) in Iliad 12,23, and the expression is common in Hesiod, who tells that the heroes met their death in the epic battles for Troy and Thebes.[42]

Several dynasties in early Greek history claimed heroic ancestry. Dorian royal dynasties linked themselves to Herakles, making the famous king Leonidas of Sparta seventeen generations removed from Herakles.[43] The powerful Athenian family of the Alkmeonidai traced themselves back to the epic hero Nestor, the Penthelidai of Lesbos to Atreus, the Aiakidai of Aegina to Aiakos.[44] Though such lineage would imply descent not only from the Homeric heroes but also from their divine ancestors, the latter point is never brought up. The important point was the descent from an ancient hero; the Bakkhiadai ruling over Corinth thus claimed descent from Bakkhis, the fifth king of Corinth.[45] The hero worship beginning in the eighth century B.C. had its roots in the Homeric poetry as well as in regional cults.[46] The charisma of such an ancestor conferred various benefits to the living, enhancing therewith the status of the present ruler of the lineage.[47]

Divine ancestry of kings was, as we can see, characteristic for Homeric society but played no role in early historic Greece. The divinity of kings in the Hellenistic age, under Alexander the Great and his successors, constitutes a new development virtually unconnected with the old mythology and usually conferred on kings posthumously. It creates a parallel of sorts to the Indian development[48], making the Hellenistic king and, later, the Roman emperor a counterpart of the Indian *mahārāja*. But little, if anything, of this similarity goes back to a common Indo-European root. Even though Homeric Zeus, the most active progenitor of heroes through his innumerable liaisons, has his counterpart in Vedic Dyaus, no such amorous traditions exist concerning the latter. Poseidon and Thetis have no counterpart in Vedic mythology at all.

Among the Germanic tribes until the second century B.C., the prevailing archaeological evidence[49] of cemeteries points to an egalitarian society of small peasants. Clear social differentiation is evident only in cemeteries (*Urnengräber*) of the first century B.C. in Central and Eastern Germany, brought about, according to Todd[50], by the agricultural progress that opened up heavier soil in the lands west and south of the Baltic Sea and led to greater prosperity. Almost all cemeteries that were studied contained burial sites distinguished by their placement as well as by the costly weapons placed with the dead-pointing to regional chiefs.

The differentiation became more pronounced[51] in the first and second centuries A.D. when the burial sites of the chiefs were separate from the common cemeteries. While the commoners were cremated, most of the chiefs were inhumed; even where placing weapons in the grave was common, the burial sites of the chiefs now show no weapons, but expensive luxury items, including Roman imports. These *Fürstengräber* of the Lübsow[52] group also accent the graves of female members, suggesting 'dynastic' concepts. "They are distributed from Bohemia to southern Norway, and from the Elbe valley to the Vistula; in other words, they cover the heartland of the Germanic tribes... Significantly, none have been recorded from the Rhine-Weser regions, entered by Germanic tribes late in the pre-Roman Iron Age".[53] During this time Tacitus noted that the Goths were ruled by kings more strictly than other Germanic tribes[54] and that the eastern tribes, in general, were more submissive to their kings[55]; he makes even stronger claims regarding the Suiones (Swedes).[56]

It has apparently not been noticed that this region coincides with the currency of the old word for "king": Gothic *þiudans*, Old Norse *þjóđann*, Old English *đeoden*, and Old Saxon *thiodan*, going back to **þeuđanaz*; only traces of it are found in Old High German.[57] The antiguity of the term is assured by the Germanic tribal name Teutoni (attested by the Romans before 100 B.C.), and outside Germanic in the Illyrian *teutana* "queen" and personal name Toutonos from Gaul.[58] It is derived from **þeuđō* "folk, people", attested in Gothic *þiuda*, Old High German *diot*, Old Saxon *thiod*, Old English *đeod*, Old Norse *þiođ*, and related to Old Irish *tuath*, Oscian *touto*, Umbrian *tota[m]*, Lithuanian *tauta* "folk" and Cymric *tud*, Old Prussian *tauto* "land", with the suffix found in Gothic *kindins*, Latin *dominus*: "lord of the people/land". It is thus parallel to Indian *viśpati*, but functions on a larger scale, since **toutā* denotes a larger entity than **u̯iḱ*.[59] The Germanic term thus reflects the development towards larger political units, while it retains the earlier traditional values.

Even though the distinctive burial sites of royal families are absent from the western area of Germanic settlement, it does not mean that social differentiation was absent. Archaeologists have noted the emergence of opulent fortified residences, with stables and workshops attached, outside common settlements, obviously centers of wealth and power.[60] In this area - where according to Caesar and Tacitus the old tribal structure had undergone great changes[61] - we find **kuningaz* (Old High German and Old Saxon *kuning*) as the name for a ruler[62]; Old Norse *konunger* is probably a loan word from West Germanic (if inherited, it should have been **kunungr*!)[63]; Old English *cyning* has replaced *ðeoden* (which is restricted to poetry) as the common word for king[64] - all this change in terminology possibly under the influence of the powerful Franconian kingdom that served as a model. **kuningaz* is missing in Gothic altogether. The etymology of the word is disputed; it may denote a man of the *kunja* "the *regia stirps*, the royal lineage".

Yet another word denoting "ruler" emerged, but its exact function has not been recognized. The king of the Cimbri who was defeated by C. Marius in 101 B.C. carried the Celtic sounding name Boiorīx[65], which recalls the well-known Celtic names Orgetorix, Dumnorix, and Vercingetorix.[66] The Boii (who gave their name to both Bohemia and Bavaria) were Celts, and so was the element *-rīx* which is the Celtic correspondent to Sanskrit *-rāj* and Latin *rēx*. This type of name caught on, as the later Germanic names show: Ermanaric, Theoderic (**þiuda-reiks*), Alaric, Gaiseric, Eiríkr etc., common among Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Scandinavians, and others.[67] The Byzantine historian Prokopius could therefore claim that the barbarians called their leader *rhēx*, i.e., *rīks* in contemporary pronunciation.[68] Actually, the work *reiks* in Ulfila's Gothic did not denote the king at all, but a high official, translating Greek *árchōn*[69]; the king was called *þiudans*, e.g. *þu is þiudans Iudaie* "Are you the king of the Jews?" (Matthew 27,11). H. Wolfram expresses surprise: "Yet the Goth Ulfilas still used *thiudans* for king and understood by the term *reiks* only a rank inferior to king, although the loanword *reiks* had originally meant not only 'king', but 'greater king'".[70] However, Orgetorix, Dumnorix and Vercingetorix in ancient Gaul were not traditional kings but warlords trying unsuccessfully to restore tribal kingship on a grander scale.[71] Much of Gaul had abandoned the old tribal structure and sacral kingship in a movement dubbed "The Celtic Revolution", and several adjacent West Germanic groups followed this trend; aristocratic oligarchies replaced traditional kingship.[72] This distinction may be parallel to an observation made by Tacitus (Germania 7,1) in which he said that the Germani choose their kings (*reges*) according to their nobility, their military leaders (*duces*) according to their manly qualities. Inspite of a large literature on this topic, the relation between these two dignitaries is not clear. It is obvious, though, that not all tribes had *reges*.[73] Equally unclear is the role of the *principes*.

Tacitus does not spell out what he means by nobility, nor does he indicate any special divine ancestry for kings. All *Germani* trace their origin to the sons of Mannus, himself the son of the earth-born god Tuisto (Germania 2,9 f.). Only in the early medieval period do we read of claims that the royal families trace their lineages to divine ancestors. The Swedish Ynglingar dynasty claimed Yngvi/Frey as their ancestor, seven of the Anglo-Saxon royal lineages Woden, the kings of Essex Seaxnet, and the kings of the Ostrogoths as well as the Langobards Gaut/Gaus, which is probably only another name for Wodan.[74]

The Merowingians had a legend that their ancestor Chlodio, the successful military leader, assumed the form of a bull to beget Merovech. The conversion and baptism of his grandson Clovis I led to the abandonment of this origin myth but not of the idea of nobility, as we learn from a letter written by Bishop Avitus of Vienna: *Vos de toto prisciae originis stemmate sola nobilitate contentus...* "You, of all the pedigree of ancient origin content with nobility alone..."[75] Since all references to such divine ancestry of Germanic kings are recorded well after the Germanic people had converted to Christianity, the authenticity of these legends has been questioned. Could they be learned Christian elaborations under the influence of euhemerism? The evidence for these traditions is, however, too strong and manifold to justify this extreme scepticism, and most scholars accept the pre-Christian, i.e., authentic pagan origin of these genealogies.[76] The silence of Tacitus on this topic does suggest that such genealogies were not yet current in the first century A.D. and that they became accepted only between the first and fifth century A.D. Tacitus' *ex nobilitate*, just like Avitus' *sola nobilitate*, does not comprise the notion of divine ancestry, but only of birth in a family with long traditions of honor, valor, wealth, and probably rule.

The Germanic king is credited with the power to secure victory, good harvests, and general well-being through his *heil* "luck". A great king can continue to give his blessings even after his death. This power has sometimes been identified with the impersonal force called *mana* by ethnologists, but De Vries sees here a religious rather than magic connection and derives the king's power from his divine ancestor[77], though Chaney[78] professes to "see no essential difference here". Is it accidental that Tacitus fails to refer to this power of kings, inasmuch as the Germanic kings did not claim divine ancestry in his time? Conversion to the Christian faith was not compatible with the divine ancestry of kings, but it did little to diminish their exalted status or the ascription of extraordinary powers. Kings were "holy and the Anointed of the Lord" and could occasionally be adressed as "Holy Father" or "Your Holiness".[79] The absolute king has variously been called a demi-god, little god, or even god.[80] Influential families acquired special status as noblemen as well[81], perfecting the parallel to Indian society of the classical period.

A comparative study of these developments is bound to shed some light on the forces that shaped these parallel evolutions, and comparison with rulership and nobility in other unrelated cultures might reveal even more general tendencies. In the study of kingship among the various Indo-European peoples a new approach is needed. We should not look to an IE *rēǵ* as the source for early kingship but to the humbler heads of tribal units.

NOTES

1. E.g., the chronicles of Domingo Paes and Farnão Nuniz, in R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (London, 1900; reprint New Delhi, 1980).
2. J. Filliozat, Indica 3 (1966), pp. 95-106.
3. H. Kulke, *The Devarāja Cult*, trans. I.W. Mabbet (Ithaca, 1978).
4. A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, 3rd ed. (Delhi, 1958), pp. 91f.
5. Ibid. pp. 92-95.
6. M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, New York, 1961.
7. J. Gonda, *Selected Studies* (Leiden, 1975), vol. I, p. 432; J. de Vries, Saeculum 7 (1956), pp. 303-305; R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (Köln, 1961), pp. 307f., 345; H. Wolfram, Viator 1 (1970), p. 4.
8. R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung*, p. 307.
9. L. Erhardt, *Aelteste germanische Staatenbildung* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 24f.
10. De re publica I 26, 42.
11. H. Scharfe, JAOS 105 (1985), pp. 543-548.
12. A. Sihler, Journal of Indo-European Studies 5 (1977), pp. 221-246.
13. E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1969), p. 15.
14. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1896), p. 25.
15. H. Humbach, IF 63 (1957), pp. 47f.
16. S. Insler, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra* (Leiden, 1975) pp. 77, 260: "in effectiveness".
17. J. Kellens and E. Pirart, *Les textes avestiques* (Wiesbaden, 1990), vol. 1, p. 157; vol. 2, p. 299: "dans le plaisir".
18. B. Schlerath, *Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda* (Wiesbaden, 1960).
19. H.-P. Schmidt, Iranica 7 (1978), pp. 374f.
20. For reference see H. Scharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition* (Leiden, 1989, pp. 27-29.
21. W.B. Leist, *Altarisches ius gentium* (Jena 1889), p. 81.
22. Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa XIII 2,6,7 and 4,1,8.

23. A. Ernout & A. Meillet, *Dictionaire étymologique*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1959), under *rēx*; A. Walde & J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd ed. (Heidelberg, 1954), under rēx.
24. ṚV IV 42; cf. H. Lommel in *Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* (Fs.W. Schubring, Hamburg, 1951), pp. 32-37 (=Kl.Schr. pp. 275-280) and J.C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal COnsecration* ('s'Gravenhage, 1957), pp. 86, 136f.
25. J.C. Heesterman, ibid. p. 101.
26. For my suggestion on a much disputed problem cf. H. Scharfe, KZ 85 (1971), pp. 211-225.
27. J.G. de Casparis, in *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, ed. R.J. Moore (Delhi, 1979), pp. 105-111 and H. Scharfe, *The State*, pp. 94f.
28. Darius, Naqs-i-Rustam, line 14f, *ariya-ciça*.
29. Darius, Behistan I 7f.
30. Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 6,4-4.
31. Ammianus Marcellinus XVII 5,1f.: *Rex regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae, Constantio Caesari fratri meo salutem plurimam dico*. For a Zoroastrian, the restraints against calling himself a son of God were similar to those valid for the Christian kings of Europe.
32. Xenophon, Kyropaideia VII 2,24: *prōton mèn ek theōn gegonóti*; in I 2,1 Kambyses is said to belong to the lineage of the Perseidai.
33. Herodotus VII 150.
34. Ṛgveda X 97,6.
35. W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien* (Wiesbaden, 1957) pp. 67-70.
36. W. Rau, ibid. pp. 67f.
37. W. Rau, ibid. p. 68.
38. W. Rau, ibid. p. 56 and p. 68 fn. 1.
39. Achilleus, son of Thetis (a minor seagoddess) and Peleus, himself a grandson of Zeus through Aiakos

    Agamemnon and Menelaos, grandsons of Tantalos, son of Zeus

    Alkinoos, son of Nausithoos, son of Poseidon

    Helene, daughter of Zeus and wife of Menelaos

    Nestor, son of Neleus, son of Poseidon

    Priamos, a fifth generation offspring of Dardanos, son of Zeus

    Telamon, brother of Peleus (see above)
40. M.P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1933); *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1950).
41. H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (München, 1960), p. 44, who thinks it possible, however, that the Argolis may have been temporarily under unified rule.
42. Erga 156-173; cf. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 313.

43. G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer* (Baltimore, 1990), pp. 180 n. 140, 299f. For the Eratidai of Rhodes, derived from the Heraclid dynasty of Argos, cf. ibid. p. 175.
44. G. Nagy, ibid. pp. 154-158, 176f.
45. G. Nagy, ibid. p. 155.
46. W. Burkert, ibid. pp. 312-319.
47. W. Burkert, ibid. pp. 317f.
48. The title *theopatōr* "son of a god" for a king whose late father has been deified is the source of the Indian title *deva-putra* common under the Kushan rule: H. Scharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition*, -pp. 76f.
49. R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung*, pp. 308-313, mentions impressive burial sites from the late neolithic and Bronze age but notes their absence in the early Iron Age. An exception may be the finds in the moor at Hjortspring on the Danish island of Als, dating from the third or second century B.C.: R. Much, *Die Germania des Tacitus*, 3rd ed. (Heidelberg, 1967), p. 203. Wenskus, ibid. p. 312f., sees in the early sites evidence for *Heerkönigtum*, rather than traditional kingship.
50. Much, p. 203; M. Todd, in *Burial in the Roman World*, ed. R. Reece (London, 1977), p. 40b.
51. Note, though, that "[t]here is nothing to suggest the arrival of a new aristocracy from without: no known tribal or national boundary defines the revolutionary mode. An inter-tribal fashion, based upon an acces of wealth, had swept across central Europe..." (R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*) [London, 1964], p. 34).
52. Named after an important site in Pomerania.
53. Todd, ibid., p. 40b.
54. Germania 43,22f. *trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes* "Beyond the Lugii are the Gothones, who are ruled by kings, a little more strictly than the other German tribes". The translations are taken, with a minor adaptation, from *Complete Works of Tacitus*, trans. A.J. Church and W.J. Brodribb, ed. M. Haddad (New York, 1942).
55. Germania 43,25f. *harum gentium insigne... erga reges obsequium* "The badge of all these tribes being... servile submission to their kings".
56. Germania 44,6 *eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi* "... and so a single ruler holds sway with no restrictions, and with no uncertain claim to obedience"; cf. the critical remarks by R. Much, *Die Germania*, pp. 500 f. J. de Vries (Saeculum 7 [1956], p. 291) and Much (ibid. p. 492) have suggested that the stronger position of the king among the eastern tribes was a consequence of the conquest and colonization of some of the eastern territories, and perhaps also the wide open plains east

of the Elbe. R. Wenskus (ibid. p. 410) prefers to see here the traditional kingship strengthened by territorial gains.

57. R. Wenskus, ibid. p. 308: proper names and a possible Salian Franconian *theod* "rex". He suggests, on p. 265, that the range of the burials of the Lübsow group coincides with the area inhabited by the Suebi; but the Suebian area is much smaller even on his own map (Tafel 1).
58. J. de Vries, Saeculum 7 (1956), p. 301; D.E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford, 1967), p. 268.
59. F. Specht, (Kuhns) Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 66 (1939), p. 48.
60. R. Much, *Die Germania*, pp. 205f.; cf. R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung*, p. 415.
61. R. Wenskus, ibid. pp. 412-419 with Tafel 2.
62. R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung*, pp. 320 and 322.
63. de Vries, ibid., pp. 291f.
64. J. de Vries, Saeculum 7 (1956), pp. 301f.; H. Wolfram, Viator 1 (1970), p. 6.
65. Plutarch, Marius 25 and Florus I 37; the report (Livy XXXIV 46,4-48,1) of the uprising of a certain Boiorix in Italy during the year 194 B.C. was viewed sceptically by Livy himself (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, vol. 3, col. 636).
66. D.E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, pp. 243-249.
67. There was an extensive exchange of names and name elements between the Celtic and Germanic people; cf. A. Scherer, in *Corolla linguistica* [Fs. F. Sommer] (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. 199-210.
68. De bello Gothica I 1,26.
69. J. de Vries does not even regard it as a noun but an adjective "superior", comparable to Old Norse *ríkr* "powerful": Saeculum 7 (1956), pp. 303f.
70. H. Wolfram, Viator 1 (1970), p. 4.
71. R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung*, p. 423.
72. R. Wenskus, ibid. pp. 413-417 with Tafel 2.
73. R. Much, *Die Germania*, pp. 154-157; cf. J. de Vries, Saeculum 7 (1956), pp. 289f. Caesar, de bello Gallico 7,4, reports that Vercingetorix's father, Celtillus, who had held the chieftainship of all Gaul, was put to death because he aspired to be king (*Vercingetorix... cuius pater principatum Galliae totius obtinuerat et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat, ab civitate erat interfectus*).
74. O. Höfler, in *Regalità Sacra*, pp. 668-671, 677; K. Hauck, Saeculum 6 (1955), pp. 206, 215; R. Much, *Die Germania*, pp. 500f.; W.A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley, 1970, pp. 7-42, esp. pp. 19f., 28f.
75. K. Hauck, Saeculum 6 (1955), pp. 196, 203.

76. K. Hauck, ibid. pp. 188-1980.
77. de Vries, Saeculum 7 (1956), p. 295.
78. W.A. Chaney, *The Cult*, pp. 15f.
79. M. Bloch, *The Royal touch*, pp. 30 and 41.
80. M. Bloch, ibid., pp. 198-200.
81. L. Genicot, in *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*, ed. F.L. Cheyette (New York, 1975), pp. 128-136, suggests three possible origins of this class, whose relative importance may have varied by region: the *principes* mentioned by Tacitus, the right-hand men of kings (especially the Carolingians), and descendants of the aristocracy of the Roman empire.

THE PLACE OF ṚGVEDA 4.42 IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN ROYAL RITUAL

H.-P. Schmidt

The hymn 4.42 of the Ṛgveda is of special interest and importance inasmuch as it contains some unique features. The most striking one is the identification of the gods Indra and Varuṇa which is extremely rare also in later Vedic texts. Without parallel is the sacrifice a woman has to perform in order to obtain a son who is singled out as *ardhadevá* "demi-god", a term otherwise unknown. Since no consensus has been reached on the interpretation of any of these problems, it seems worth the while to take them up again.

I

The Sarvānukramaṇī considers Trasadasyu, the *rājarṣi*, as author of the hymn, and explains stanzas 1-6 as Trasadasyu's *ātmastava* "self-praise" of which he himself is the deity, and gives Indra-Varuṇa as the deity of sts. 7-10.

Of the events that led to the birth of King Trasadasyu the native tradition gives two conflicting interpretations. The older one occurs in ŚB 13.5.4.5:

> *viśvajídatirātras téna ha purukutsó daurgahéṇeja aikṣvākó rā́jā tásmād etád ṛ́ṣiṇābhyánūktam "asmā́kam átra pitáras tá āsant saptá ṛ́ṣayo daurgahé badhyámāna" íti.*
>
> "An All-conquering Overnight Somasacrifice: with that Purukutsa, the king of Īkṣvāku-descent, once performed the sacrifice of the (horse) *daurgaha*. Therefore the *ṛṣi* refers to it by RV 4.42.8 'Then our fathers, the seven *ṛṣis*, were present when *daurgaha* was bound'."

The passage occurs in the context of the *aśvamedha*, and it is obvious that *daurgaha* means the victim which is bound to the sacrificial pole. In the Nighaṇṭu 1.14 *daurgaha* is quoted among the words for "horse", and the native commentators discussed by Sieg (97) treat it as such.

The more recent interpretation is represented by the Ṛgveda-commentators Venkaṭamādhava and Sāyaṇa. Sāyaṇa quotes three *ślokas* telling an *itihāsa*:

purukutsasya mahiṣī daurgahe bandhanasthite
patyau arājakaṃ dṛṣṭvā rāṣṭraṃ putrasya lipsayā

> *yadṛcchayā samāyātān saptarṣīn paryapūjayat*
> *te ca prītāḥ punaḥ procur yajendrāvaruṇau bhṛśam*
> *sā cendrāvaruṇāv iṣṭvā trasadasyum ajījanat*
> *itihāsam imaṃ jānann ṛṣir brūte ṛcāv iha*
>
> "When her husband, the son of Durgaha, was in captivity and she saw the kingdom without a king, the chief wife of Purukutsa venerated the seven ṛṣis, who had happened to arrive, in the desire for a son. Pleased they said: 'Sacrifice quickly to Indra and Varuṇa!' Having sacrificed to Indra and Varuṇa, she gave birth to Trasadasyu. Knowing this *itihāsa*, the *ṛṣi* speaks the two stanzas (RV 4.42.8-9)."

Sts. 1-7 are not used in the later ritual. Sts. 8-9 are, as already mentioned, recited at the *aśvamedha* in ŚB. Sts. 8-10 occur among the verses to be recited on the sixth day of the *dvādaśāha* (ŚŚS 12.11.14), where they are followed by the hymn 7.82 to Indra-Varuṇa. The use is probably motivated by the fact that Trasadasyu was known as performer of a three year *sattra* (PB 25.16.3) and of an *agnicayana* which, after three years, was followed by an *abhijit* (KS 22.3; TS 5.6.5.3), both of which are supposed to have resulted in a thousand sons.

In the following I give an annotated translation of the hymn and then a detailed discussion of the main problem and the purpose of the hymn as a whole.

II

1 *máma dvitā́ rāṣṭrám kṣatríyasya viśvā́yor víśve amṛ́tā yáthā naḥ,*
krátuṃ sacante váruṇasya devā́ rā́jāmi kṛṣṭér upamásya vavréḥ.

> "Mine again is the dominion of a lifelong ruler; all the immortals (are) ours. The gods follow the will of Varuṇa. I rule over the boundary of the highest cover (= the whole world)."

a The meaning of *dvitā́* is a matter of controversy. Most recently the word has been studied by Tichy 1983. In this instance she has (226) "nach wie vor" = "now as ever", following Ludwig and others. However, it is difficult to bring this meaning into consonance with the otherwise attested meanings "another time" and "also". The few passages which Tichy (224f.) claims for the meaning "now as ever" are better explained by "again" or "also": 3.49.2 *yáṃ nú nákiḥ ... dvitā́ tárati* "whom also now nobody defeats"; 9.97.24 *dvitā́ bhuvad rayipátī rayīṇā́m* "(Soma) shall again become the lord of the riches". In our passage Geldner's "aufs neue" is justifiable if the hymn belongs to a periodically repeated ritual.

a-b Renou points out that *kṣatríya* belongs to the Varuṇa terminology (cf. 7.64.2; 8.25.8; 5.69.1) while Indra does not receive this epithet. On the other hand, *viśvā́yu* is supposed to be an Indra-epithet; but cf. 7.34.11 *ánuttam asmai kṣatrám̐ viśvā́yu* "lifelong rule was conceded to him (Varuṇa)".

b "all the immortals are ours" (thus Hillebrandt 1913: 87, Brown, Gonda 1974: 240) suits the context if Varuṇa is speaking of himself. An ellipsis of *viduḥ* (cf. 5.59.7; 8.67.2), assumed by Geldner and Renou, cannot be ruled out; cf. also Oldenberg who suggests: "as all the immortals confer on us" or "as it is established fact for us", referring for the latter to 4.37.3 *deváhitam yáthā vaḥ* "as it is destined for you by the gods". Lommel suggests: "as all the gods (invoked at the *rājasūya*) have bestowed this rule upon me and confirmed it". *naḥ* is generally taken as pluralis majestatis, but if Trasadasyu is the speaker, the Īkṣvāku dynasty can be meant.

c Similar, but of Indra, 10.48.3 *máyi devā́so 'vṛjann ápi krátum* "the gods bent their will towards me (= followed my will)".

d Cf. Thieme 1971: 249f. who takes the pāda to refer to the function of Indra, but parallels can be adduced in favour of Varuṇa, and it is preferable to assume a unified sense of the stanza. Gonda thinks that the hemistich c-d states a division of functions, Varuṇa being the guide of the gods, Indra the ruler of excellent men. The latter is based on his interpretation of *kṛṣṭí* and *vavrí* in which he depends on Geldner. There is, however, no good reason to construe an opposition between Varuṇa as ruler of the gods and Indra as ruler of men. In support of Thieme's "furrow = boundary" for *kṛṣṭí* cf. in addition to the Avestan parallels Thieme himself adduces also *karšō.rāzah* "regulating the boundaries" (cf. Gershevitch 1959: 210; Belardi 1977: 17-31; 1979: 697-700). *vavrí* "cover" can have the sense "skin" as Thieme deduces from Avestan *(a)hąm.vaori payō* "milk with(out) skin". The highest cover or skin may refer to the firmament; we could then compare the expression *kṛṣṭér upamásya vavréḥ* to 10.8.1 *upamā́n divás ántān* "the highest ends (= boundaries) of heaven". The expression would thus refer to the universe. Lüders (in Schlerath 1960: 42) had suggested "das Volk der obersten Hülle = der Erdoberfläche", for which one could compare 1.145.5 *úpa tvacy ùpamásyām ní dhāyi* "(Agni) is placed on the uppermost skin (of the earth)". An intentional ambiguity cannot be ruled out.

2 *ahám̐ rā́jā váruṇo máhyam̐ tā́ny asuryā̀ṇi prathamā̀ dhārayanta*, cd = 1cd

"I am king Varuṇa; these first lordly powers are assigned to me".

a Thus with Lommel, Brown, Renou, Gonda against Hillebrandt's and Geldner's "Ich Varuṇa bin der König".

b cf. 7.66.2 *yā́ dhārayanta devā́ḥ ... asuryā̀ya* "whom (Mitra-Varuṇa) the gods assign to lordship". The injunctive is used in general sense according to Hoffmann 1967: 169. Besides Varuṇa's *asuryā̀ṇi* Brown considers also Indra's *catvā́ri asuryā̀ṇi nā́mādabhyāni* 10.54.4 which Indra alone knows (they are secret names as we can gather from 10.55.1-2; the fourth name is mentioned in 8.80.9, but intentionally we are not told what it is). Brown apparently thought that the poet was skillfully fusing the functions and characteristics of the two gods.

3 *ahám índro váruṇas té mahitvórvī́ gabhīré rájasī suméke,*
tváṣṭeva víśvā bhúvanāni vidvā́n sám airayaṃ ródasī dhāráyaṃ ca.

"I (am) Indra, (am) Varuṇa; with my might I fitted these two wide, deep spaces together well-fixed and held the two world-halves, knowing all the beings like Tvaṣṭṛ".

a Sieg's view (102 n. 2) that *índra* is here = prince = *rā́jan* is untenable since this use of the name *índra* is not Vedic. Renou assumes an identification of the type Agni = Indra 2.1.3, Agni = Varuṇa 2.1.4; 5.3.1 (cf. also his note on 1.136.3) in the sense of "I, Indra, encompass Varuṇa in my essence" (or *vice versa*). This is unnecessary if Trasadasyu is the speaker. Moreover, the identifications with Agni (and Soma) are of a different type (cf. Schmidt 1968: 61). To compare 10.124.5 where Indra invites Varuṇa to the *adhipatya* of his dominion is hardly acceptable because there Indra does not usurp the function of Varuṇa as one would have to assume if 4.42 were a contest. Kuiper (1979: 23) thinks that Varuṇa tries to disguise the difference between himself and Indra and translates "I, Varuṇa, am (also) Indra". - The interpretation which does not assume an identification of the two gods goes back to Bloomfield who thought that the dual deity was speaking as one person (adopted by Gonda). Brown and Lommel, who recognize Trasadasyu as speaker, do not face this difficulty.

b = 4.56.3c. Bloomfield thinks that the pāda is secondary here, as is usual with formulas in *atmastutis*. Possibly 4.42.3 as a whole is modeled on that mantra because the agreements go beyond the repeated pāda. The details are discussed by Gonda 238. If 4.56.3 is the model, the author of 4.42 may have taken Tvaṣṭṛ as the deity of that mantra (Geldner and Renou have Sūrya or Agni as fire and sun). - On the meaning of *suméke* cf. Oldenberg 1905: 100ff. The adjective should be interpreted predicatively.

d Hoffmann 1967: 169 takes the injunctive *dhāráyam* here, as *dhārayanta* in 2b, in general sense. But here we have the opposition to the imperfect *sám airayam*, so that it is preferable to assume augment deletion according to the hypothesis of Kiparsky 1968: 35ff. Hoffmann himself (213 n. 199) recognized augment deletion in 6.18.10 and 9.97.54; cf. also Lazzeroni 1977: 10ff. - Gonda 238 adduces parallels for the establishing and supporting of heaven and earth by each of the gods Indra and Varuṇa separately.

4 *ahám apó apinvan ukṣámāṇā dhāráyaṃ dívaṃ sádana ṛtásya,*
ṛténa putró áditer ṛtā́votá tridhā́tu prathayad ví bhū́ma.

"I made the sprinkling (growing) waters swell; I held the heaven at the seat of truth. Through truth the truthful son of Aditi spread out the earth threefold".

According to Bloomfield ab goes with Indra, cd with Varuṇa. Lüders 569 and Brereton 93 take the whole to refer to Varuṇa; cf. also Gonda 238.

a Brown's translation is incorrect. - *ukṣámāṇa* is ambiguous; cf. Geldner and Kiehnle 1979: 170. - Renou maintains that the theme of swelling and sprinkling is characteristic of Varuṇa, but does not substantiate this. The same is said of other gods, among them of Indra (2.11.2). Gonda's approving remarks are weakly founded. Both gods are equally concerned with the flowing of water.

b *dhāráyam* is parallel to *ápinvam* in a; accordingly augment deletion must be assumed as in 3d. Mitra and Varuṇa hold heaven from highest heaven: 6.67.6 (cf. Lüders 55 and Schlerath 95). - *ṛtá* belongs to Varuṇa's sphere rather than to Indra's, but it is not totally alien to Indra. Gonda 239 refers to 4.21.3 where Indra is said to be at the seat of *ṛtá*, which in the context refers only to the great distance because the seat of *ṛtá* is the beyond (*parāvát*) above the visible sky (cf. Lüders 586). For *ṛtā́van* as an epithet of Indra in 3.53.8 Lüders 547f. convincingly argues that it is chosen as a sort of word-play with *ánṛtupā*. Exceptional is the eulogy of *ṛtá* in the Indra-hymn 4.23.8-10. It picks up antithetically 7a *drúhaṃ jíghāṃsan dhvarásam anindrā́m*. In the eulogy *ṛtá* refers to the truth of the hymns; cf. also 4c *devó bhuvan návedā ma ṛtā́nām*. Cf. further 10.27.1 *ahám asmi prahantā́ satyadhvṛ́taṃ vṛjināyántam*; 10.111.4 *dādhā́ra yó dharúṇaṃ satyátātā*.

d *prathayat* is also imperfect with augment deletion; the general sense of the injunctive is here most unlikely. The spreading of the earth is attributed to Varuṇa in 7.86.1 together with the stemming apart of the two worlds, similar 8.42.1, to Indra in 1.62.5; 1.103.2 (cf. 2.15.2); 8.3.6; 8.89.5; Indra-Soma 6.72.2. *bhū́ma* could also be understood as the whole world, then *tridhā́tu* would refer to heaven, earth and the intermediate space (thus Lüders 15); but one can also think of the three earths which are mentioned together with the three heavens in 7.87.5 and 2.27.8 (cf. also Renou).

5 *mā́ṃ náraḥ sváśvā vājáyanto mā́ṃ vṛtā́ḥ samáraṇe havante,*
kṛṇómy ājím maghávāhám índra íyarmi reṇúm abhíbhutyojāḥ.

"The men with good horses call me when competing for the prize, me when they are surrounded in battle. I, Indra, the bountiful, make the contest, I, of superior strength, raise the dust".

a Brown considers that *náraḥ* refers to the Maruts who are often called so. He says that in the Vṛtra-fight "when hard pressed they called upon Indra". I do not know on which evidence this statement is based. Brown supposes that "in that case the raising of dust would refer to Indra's dance after the battle is over", but 2.22.4, to which Brown refers, does not say that Indra danced after the battle; his being a dancer may well refer to his behaviour in battle. In 1.56.4 and 4.17.13 and 4.17.13, adduced by Gonda 241, the raising of dust occurs during the fight, and *bṛhádreṇu* 6.18.2 also refers to Indra's warlike conduct.

c *kṛṇómy ājím*: Kuiper 42 insists that Indra "institutes the race, which was a form of socio-religious contest", pointing out that *kṛ*, not *yā* is used. I agree, but think that the raising of dust indicates that Indra is not only causing the contest but also standing it; cf. 8.45.7 *ājíṃ yā́ty ājikṛt.*

6 *ahám̐ tā́ víśvā cakaraṃ nákir mā daívyaṃ sáho varate ápratītam, yán mā sómāso mamádan yád ukthóbhé bhayete rájasī apāré.*

"I have done all these things; no divine power hinders me, the irresistible, when the soma draughts, when the hymns have excited me, (then) both the boundless spaces are afraid".

a *cakaram* is remodeled to avoid the form *cakara* (which occurs only once in 1.165.8) according to Renou and Hoffmann 1967: 247 n. 264.

c ≈10.48.4d. Lommel connects this pāda with ab only and takes d as separate clause, but most likely it goes with both.

d Brown refers to p. 29 where he quotes 1.63.1 and 3.54.7 for the fear and separation of heaven and earth (the translation "fly apart" for *víyute* "separated" is unjustified), but the fear is mentioned only in the former passage. Cf. rather 2.11.9 *árejatāṃ ródasī bhiyāné ... vájrāt*; 10.54.1 ... *yát tvā bhīté ródasī áhvayetām, prā́vo devā́m̐ ā́tiro dā́sam ójaḥ;* 10.55.1-2 ... *yát tvā bhīté áhvayetāṃ vayodhaí, úd astabhnaḥ pṛthivī́ṃ dyā́m abhī́ke ...*

7 *vidús ṭe víśvā bhúvanāni tásya tā́ prá bravīṣi váruṇāya vedhaḥ,*

> *tvám̩ vṛtā́ṇi śṛṇviṣe jaghanvā́n tvám̩ vṛtā́m̐ ariṇā indra síndhūn.*
>
> "All the beings know this of you. You proclaim these things to Varuṇa, o master. You are famed as the one who has struck down the resistences. You let the streams flow when they were held back".

Lommel and Gonda attribute this stanza to the poet, Vāmadeva, Geldner and Renou however to Varuṇa; as I shall argue later, both interpretations do not exclude each other. Gonda 242 points out that Indra addresses his self-laudation 10.49.11 to his fellow gods.

a Brown compares 1.11.6;7 *vidúṣ ṭe tásya kārávaḥ ... vidúṣ ṭe tásya médhirāḥ*, which also refer to the deeds of Indra. - Compositionally the pāda takes up 3c.

b Brown refers to 1.55.4 *cā́ru jáneṣu prabruvāṇá indriyám* "(Indra) proclaiming his dear Indrian (name or power)"; cf. 1.57.3 *nā́mendriyám*, 9.109.14 (Soma) *bíbharti cā́rv índrasya nā́ma yéna víśvāni vṛtrā́ jaghā́na*, 10.54.2 *bálānīndra prabruvāṇó jáneṣu*. - The exact meaning of *vedhás* is doubtful, cf. Mayrhofer III 258f.

d = 4.19.5d. Bloomfield's argument that the pāda is secondary in our hymn is unconvincing since it is based on his assumption that *śṛṇviṣe* in c must refer to a thing which is reputed to have taken place.

8 *asmā́kam átra pitáras tá āsan saptá ṛ́ṣayo daurgahé badhyámāne,*
tá ā́yajanta trasádasyum asyā índram̩ ná vṛtratúram ardhadevám

> "Our fathers were here, the seven seers, when Daurgaha was bound. By sacrificing they obtained for her (Purukutsa's wife) Trasadasyu, a demi-god, overcoming the resistence like Indra".

a 4.1.13 *asmā́kam átra pitáro manuṣyā̀ḥ*, the Aṅgiras who drive the cows out of the cave; cf. Sieg 96ff., Geldner, Gonda 243.

d Renou's comment on *ardhadevá* is incomprehensible to me: "L'ép. convient sans doute à I.-héros mieux qu'à Vr., qui n'est ardha- que dans la mesure où il est 'roi'". Gonda 243: "Trasadasyu, a conquerer (slayer) ... like Indra, demi-god (like Indra, or like either component of the dual deity to whom he owed his existence)". Brown gives a punning alternative translation: "like Indra the slayer of Vṛtra, the Lord of the Two World-halves". While for the interpretation of *ardha* one could refer to 2.27.15 (though there *árdham* may be = *kṣáyam*, cf. Renou EVP VII 90), *devá* is not attested in the sense of "lord". Sāyaṇa has *ardhadevam̩ devānām ardhe samīpe vartamānam*, which is wrong. As an alternative he compares TS 5.4.8.3 where Indra is *sárveṣām árdha*, viz. of all the dual deities invoked at the *vasor dhārā* libation of the *agnicayana* (TS 4.7.6). In AV 6.86.3 the human king is called *devā́nām ardhabhā́g* which according to the commentator applies to Indra who has a share equal to that of all the gods together; I think that the human king rather shares one half of the gods' power, which would make the term the closest parallel to *ardhadevá*. Scharfe 1989: 75 says that Trasadasyu is *ardhadevá* since his birth is credited to a prayer to Indra and Varuṇa.

9 *purukútsānī hí vām ádāśad dhavyébhir indrāvaruṇā námobhiḥ,*
áthā rā́jānaṃ trasádasyum asyā vṛtrahánaṃ dadhathur ardhadevám.

"For Purukutsa's wife honoured you, Indra and Varuṇa, with libations, with obeisance, so you gave her the king Trasadasyu, the resistance-breaking demi-god".

b = 7.84.1b; in 1.153.1b *mitrāvaruṇā.*

c On apodotic *átha* cf. Dunkel 1988: 67 who translates after *hí* by "deshalb", but postulates that the main function of *átha* is simply to introduce principal clauses.

10 *rāyā́ vayáṃ sasavā́ṃso madema havyéna devā́ yávasena gā́vaḥ,*
tā́ṃ dhenúm indrāvaruṇā yuváṃ no viśvā́hā dhattam ánapasphurantīm.

"May we rejoice in the wealth we have won, (may) the gods (rejoice) in the libation, the cows in the pasture. You, Indra and Varuṇa, grant us always that cow which does not refuse to be milked".

≈VS 10.7 (to Mitra and Varuṇa). The stanza is probably a multi-purpose prayer; cf. Gonda 244f.

a On *sasavā́ṃsaḥ* for expected **sasāvā́ṃsaḥ* cf Hoffmann 1976: 545 and also Oldenberg on 3.22.1. The sense is obviously that the priests want to share in the wealth they have helped to win by their prayers etc.

c According to Brown the cow is probably the *sudúghā dhenú*. Geldner refers to 6.48.11 *sabardúghāṃ dhenúm ... ánapasphurām.*

III

In Western scholarship the hymn was first interpreted in some detail by Geldner and Kaegi (1875: 26f.). They did not even mention the attribution to Trasadasyu given by the Anukramaṇī, and for a long time scholars continued to ignore or reject it. Geldner and Kaegi attributed sts. 1-4 to Varuṇa, 5-6 to Indra, 7 to the priest, and considered 8-10 as accidentally added. The identification of Indra and Varuṇa was inexplicable to them, and accordingly they conjectured to read *indra* instead of *índro*. Thus they could construe the hymn as a contest between Varuṇa and Indra.

According to Oldenberg (I 302, where references to other opinions are given) sts. 1-2 belong to Varuṇa, 5-6 to Indra, while 3-4 are doubtful because the deeds mentioned there could belong to both. Oldenberg thinks it probable that in 4 Varuṇa is speaking of himself although it is possible that Indra is speaking of himself in ab, of Varuṇa in cd. However, he adds that in the context it is unlikely that one god praises the deeds of the other. In order to retain the contest interpretation, but to avoid the conjecture of Geldner and Kaegi, he sides with those who interpret the identification in 3 as "I, Varuṇa, as the (true) Indra", or *vice versa*. He does not take a position on the problem of sts. 8-9.

Bloomfield (1916: 233) contended that the hymn is neither dialogue, drama, nor disputation, but simply a self-laudation of the dual divinity. In 3 he assumes that "the pair Indra-Varuṇa, conceiving itself for the nonce as a unit says, by itself and for itself, in the singular: 'I am Indra, Varuṇa'", and in 4 he sees a blending of the salient qualities of the two gods, ab being Indra's, cd Varuṇa's. In 7 the poet says something that easily creates the fiction of the gods' vying with each other, but in Bloomfield's view these words are natural because "the two gods are felt to be so distinct that the qualities of one may be impressed upon the other". Bloomfield does not mention a motive why the poet has attempted to present such a close fusion of the two gods.

In his final translation (1951) Geldner stresses against Bloomfield that a certain opposition or rivalry between the gods is unmistakable. Varuṇa insists on his older rulership (1-2); he claims for himself the cosmic activity which is partly attributed also to Indra. Geldner considers to ascribe 3 to both gods who speak in unison, which comes close to Bloomfield's view. In 5-6 Indra praises only his own merits as slayer of Vṛtra and as the war-god superior to all, which Varuṇa concedes willingly in 7. The occasion for the controversy is alluded to in 1a if *dvitā́* is correctly translated by "aufs neue": Varuṇa has assumed his royal powers again after he had relinquished them to Indra during the Vṛtra-period (cf. 4.19.1 where Indra is chosen by all the gods as the only one in the Vṛtra-fight). The poet lets the gods demarcate their claims on might and glory in the form of a self-praise. Geldner compares places like 7.82.2; 6; 83.9; 85.3; 6.68.3, where we have clear antithetical statements which are lacking in 4.42. Neither in 3 nor in 4 is there a hint of antagonism perceptible. In 8-9 Geldner sees an addition commemorating the service the two gods have rendered to the Pūrus by granting to Purukutsānī a son in gratitude for her horse-sacrifice. St. 10 is supposed to be a personal prayer of the poet.

The opinion of Renou must be inserted here since he ignores the articles of Brown and Lommel which appeared in 1946 and 1951 respectively. Renou (VII 77) assumes a dialogue of rivalry which ends in compromise like that between Varuṇa and the Atharvan in AV 5.11, and he also compares the invitation of Indra to Varuṇa in RV 10.124.5-6. From his translation (V 97) it appears that he follows Geldner in taking Daurgaha as the victim in the sacrifice.

The native tradition regarding sts. 1-6 as self-praise of King Trasadasyu was taken up by W. Norman Brown (34-36) who interpreted King Trasadasyu as an incarnation of Indrāvaruṇā. He took st. 7 as part of the self-praise, but admitted that it was not clear to him. In the interpretation of the birth-story he followed Sāyaṇa.

Independently of Brown Herman Lommel (275-280) reached the same conclusion as to the self-praise of Trasadasyu, but in the birth-story he followed Sieg (96ff.) who had based himself on the identification of *daurgaha* as a horse in ŚB. The occasion for Trasadasyu's self-praise was his royal consecration. At that occasion the reference to his birth as the result of a horse-sacrifice was quite approppriate as it enhanced the dignity of the newly consecrated king and justified his self-identification with Indra and Varuṇa by referring to the favour these gods granted his mother which also entitled him to the epithet "demi-god".

Lommel pointed out that the identification with Indra and Varuṇa perfectly fits the *rājasūya* where the king is equated with Varuṇa *dharmapati* and Indra *vṛtrahan*. The Indra-nature is expressed by the relation of the *aindramahābhiṣeka* to the king's *mahābhiṣeka* in AB 8.12ff. and by many details in the *rājasūya*. Several times the sacrificer is identified with Indra (ŚB 5.3.5.2; 4.3.1; cf. 3.5.27; 5.4.11) and indirectly with Varuṇa (ŚB 5.3.3.9; KS 15.6).

The interpretation of Lommel was accepted by a number of scholars (Schmidt 1958: 109 n. 23; Alsdorf in Lüders 569 n. 2; Schlerath 160; Hoffmann 1967: 169 n. 120; Thieme 249 n. 5; Santucci 94; Scharfe 1989: 46 n. 168), but rejected by Gonda (1974: 246f.).

In the following I shall argue that Lommel's view is indeed the only one which allows a consistent interpretation of the hymn in its entirety. In particular I shall attempt to show from salient features of the later Vedic royal ritual that the hymn was meant to highlight a climactic phase in the king's ceremonial life.

IV

In the great unction of Indra (*aindra mahābhiṣeka*, AB 8.12-14) the god, when seated on the throne, is proclaimed emperor (*samrāj*) etc. by the All-gods (*viśvedevāḥ*). He is also called overlord of all creation, eater of the people, breaker of fortresses, slayer of Asuras, protector of the brahman and protector of the law (*dharma*). Before the unction Indra is adressed by Prajāpati with the mantra RV 1.25.10 (with extensions, here given in brackets):

> *ni sasāda dhṛtavrata varuṇaḥ pastyāsv ā sāmrājyāya (bhaujyāya svārājyāya vairājyāya pārameṣṭhyāya rājyāya mahārājyāyādhipatyāya svāvaśyāyātiṣṭhāya) sukratuḥ*
>
> "Varuṇa of firm vows has sat down in the dwellings for imperial rule (providership, self-rule, wide rule, supremacy, kingship, great kingship, overlordship, independence, superiority), the wise one".

There can be little doubt that here an identification of Indra with Varuṇa is expressed; Keith's translation: "Varuṇa ... has sat him down" is wrong since the verb *sad* is not used transitively. The last title which Indra is given in the proclamation, protector of law, clearly expresses the Varuṇa-function.

The great unction of kings (AB 8.15-23) is modeled after that of Indra. Instead of by the All-gods the king is proclaimed by the kingmakers (*rājakartāraḥ*) who represent the people, and in place of Prajāpati it is the *hotṛ* who adresses the king with RV 1.25.10.

This mantra is also used at the enthronement in the *rājasūya* (TS 1.8.16; KS 15.8; MS 2.6.12; VS 10.27). In the *rājasūya* the enthronement is not accompanied by an unction which originally must have been part of it (Heesterman 1957: 147). The unction of AB is not attested elsewhere and not used in the ritual sūtras. It is obviously meant for a king who strives for imperial power; there are other rituals to achieve the same purpose, e.g. the *vājapeya*, also called *indrasava* (when performed by a *kṣatriya*).

If in the *rājasūya* it is not clearly expressed that the sacrificer as Indra is anointed to become Varuṇa, this is probably due to the fact that the sacrificer is basically Indra in the ritual. There are indications which lend support to the hypothesis that the identification with both the gods, Indra and Varuṇa, runs through much of the *rājasūya*.

MS 4.3.10 identifies the *abhiṣecanīya* as *varuṇasava* and states that the waters are Varuṇa's, and thus the sacrificer is made Varuṇa. The drawing of the waters for the unction is accompanied by a formula saying that by the waters Mitra and Varuṇa were anointed and Indra led beyond his enemies (TS 1.8.11; MS 2.6.8). This seems to presuppose that there was also an unction for Indra as war-lord. When the waters are put in a vessel, a piece of gold is placed in it for purification. Then the waters are distributed into four vessels with a formula stating that Varuṇa has taken his seat in his dwellings (*pastyāsu*; on the meaning cf. Brereton 94 n. 45), which are the waters, as the child of the waters in the best of mothers (MS 2.6.8; TS 1.8.12. VS 10.7). The waters are thus charged with Varuṇa whose powers will be transmitted to the sacrificer. ŚB 5.3.5.19 gives a different interpretation: the *pastyāḥ* are identified with the *viśaḥ*, the people, in whom Varuṇa takes his station (*pratiṣṭhā*), and the sacrificer is the child of the waters. If we compare this with ŚB 5.3.4.11 where the waters are identified with the people and the king is called their embryo (*garbha*), it is obvious that the *pastyāḥ* refer also to the waters in the former ŚB passage.

During the unction ceremony the sacrificer is handed a bow identified as Indra's resistence breaker or Vṛtra-slayer (*vārtraghna*), and the sacrificer himself is identified with Indra (ŚB 5.3.5.27). The bow is later used in the chariot-drive. The adhvaryu strikes the sacrificer's arms, identifying them as Mitra's and Varuṇa's (28). Thus we have a virtual identification of the king with Indra and Mitra-Varuṇa in the same context. Before the king steps on the tiger skin, on which he will be anointed, a piece of lead is placed on it. He kicks it off with his foot. This piece of lead represents the demon Namuci whose head Indra struck off with lead (9). Here again it is clear that the king as Indra is going to be anointed as Varuṇa.

The *mahendra*-cup (of the soma-sacrifice forming part of the *rājasūya*) is exclusive to Indra as are the *niṣkevalya stotra* and *śastra*, and the sacrificer is Indra. Since the unction takes place simultaneously with this ceremony, the sacrificer is consecrated in his own place (ŚB 5.3.5.2), which is of course also Indra's place. Before the *mahendra*-cup is drawn a tiger-skin is spread out in front of the *maitrāvaruṇa*-hearth with the words "you are Soma's glow, may your glow be mine" (VS 10.5). It is because when Soma flowed through Indra, Indra became a tiger (3). The same is repeated when the king is made to step on the tiger-skin (5.4.1.11). The unction proceeds when the *mahendra stotra* is sung (cf. ĀpŚS 18.15.10).

During the chariot drive the same constellation occurs, though with a different emphasis. The chariot is taken down with the words: "You are Indra's mace" (VS 10.21); the chariot is the mace, the sacrificer Indra (ŚB 5.4.3.4). The chariot is yoked by the direction of Mitra-Varuṇa, identified with the arms of the *rājanya* (5). The king mounts it, identifying himself with Arjuna, the secret name of Indra (7). The right yoke-horse is goaded by the formula "conquer by the instigation of the Maruts, Indra's companions" (8).

When the king, before stepping down from the chariot, looks down on the earth, he says: "Mother Earth, do not injure me, nor I you" (VS 10.23). The Brāhmaṇa adds that once the Earth was afraid of Varuṇa who had become great by his consecration and might render her apart, while Varuṇa was afraid that the Earth might shake him off (ŚB 5.4.3.20). Thus the king is still identified with Varuṇa while on the chariot impersonating Indra.

Concluding the rites of the chariot-drive is the offering of a dish of curds to Mitra-Varuṇa in front of the Maitrāvaruṇa-hearth. The adhvaryu draws the king's arms down to the dish with the words: "I draw you down, the arms of Indra, the performer of heroic deeds" (VS 10.25). The dish is for Mitra-Varuṇa because the king's two arms are these deities (ŚB 5.4.4.27). Clearly then, the king is Indra, his arms are

Mitra and Varuṇa, and he still incorporates both aspects at the same time. The enthronement, at which the king is identified with Varuṇa, as at the unction, follows. When enthroned the king is declared *brahman* by the four chief priests and also identified with the gods Savitṛ, Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa (KS 15.8; MS 2.6.12; TS 1.8.16; ĀpŚS 18.18.10-13). The White Yajurveda replaced Mitra by Rudra which is certainly secondary (VS 10.28; ŚB 5.4.4.9-12). The inclusion of Savitṛ in the identifications is motivated by his function as initiator.

Heesterman (1957: 170) points out that the sacrifice of a cow, barren after having borne one calf (*sūtavaśā*), at the end of the soma ritual into which the unction is inserted must originally have been connected with the unction itself. He concludes this from MS 4.4.3 where Indra is born from the *sūtavaśā* which is identified with the sacrificer's apparel, the wicker basket and wild rice. In the *somasava*, a consecration without the *soma*-days, a *sūtavaśā* is immolated for Soma simultaneously with the unction (TB 2.7.4; ĀpŚS 22.25.9-13; BaudhŚS 18.5). Also the *vaiśyasava*, which does not include the whole ritual of the *rājasūya*, includes the immolation of a dappled four-year old cow for the Maruts during the unction (TB 2.7.2; ĀpŚS 22.25.2-5; BaudhŚS 18.3).

Heesterman maintains "that the *sūtavaśā* sacrifice for Indra was originally meant to be the frame of the unction". Going a step further he suggests an historical development: Varuṇa is the presiding deity of the *rājasūya* - as we have it in the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras- and in particular of the unction and the enthronement. Indra was paramount in the unction sacrifice reflected in MS 4.4.3 and in the unctions of AB. In Heesterman's view two traditions met and mixed in the *rājasūya*; in the process the sacrifice for Indra was relegated to the outskirts of the festival.

As stated above, the unctions of AB are not that exclusively Indra's as generally assumed; they rather identify Indra with Varuṇa. Through the *mahendra*-cup Indra is present at the time of the unction in the *rājasūya*. This did not allow for the simultaneous sacrifice of the cow which may have been the central part of a different form of royal consecration and at one point was integrated into the *rājasūya* as we know it. The particular place where it was inserted seems to have been carefully chosen: the cow is offered between the final bath and the *traidhātavīyeṣṭi* to Indra and Viṣṇu which marks the leaving of the place of sacrifice. At the final bath the king divests himself of his apparel (or most of it), and at the *iṣṭi* he gives all of it to the *adhvaryu*. The king emerges out of these concluding rites of the unction ceremony as Indra, shedding his identity with Varuṇa he had assumed in the unction and the enthronement.

There is little doubt that the *rājasūya* as our sources present it is of a composite nature, incorporating many features of different origin, difficult to disentangle. But the ritual also telescopes features of nature and human life and we have to look for them in the much overgrown jungle of the artificial constructs the Vedic ritualists have left us.

Weber (3) saw in the special role Indra had in the *rājasūya* a trace of popular ritual which along with the *vājapeya*, the *aśvamedha*, the *puruṣamedha*, etc. had only secondarily been included in the holy *śrauta* ritual in order to bring these important festivals under priestly control. However, he was also of the opinion that the connection of the *rājasūya* with Varuṇa was older than that with Indra, basing this on general hypotheses concerning the greater antiquity of the Varuṇa-cult and (8) on the statement of ŚSS 15.12.1 according to which Varuṇa was the inventor and first performer of the *rājasūya* who then taught it to Hariścandra (AB 7.15.7). There is no convincing evidence that the Varuṇa-cult is historically older than the Indra-cult; for all we know they co-existed in the oldest Vedic period and were actually part of one cult. It is a different matter that Varuṇa can be regarded mythologically and cosmogonically older than Indra.

The main result of the foregoing remarks is that the royal consecration emphasizes the identification of the king with Varuṇa and Indra in a rather intricate and consistent manner. More than it was clear to Lommel, the ritual reflects the identity of Varuṇa and Indra in the human king. Thus the self-praise of Trasadasyu impersonating both gods is more and more taken out of its isolation.

V

Gonda (245f.) is prepared to accept Brown's interpretation as an alternative theory, considering it completely compatible with his own. Only in the attribution of st. 7 does he differ.

One wonders why Gonda (246f.) is so staunchly opposed to Lommel's interpretation if he can accept Brown's as an alternative. He concedes that at the unction the king impersonates Varuṇa and at the chariot-drive Indra. His main reason for rejecting the connection of the hymn with the *rājasūya* is that it is never quoted or prescribed in the later ritual texts and that "the tradition" does not mention the *rājasūya* in this connection. This is a pure *argumentum ex silentio* based on the completely unjustified assumption that "the tradition" would in every case have preserved knowledge of the original ritual application of a hymn. Gonda's objections to minor details of Lommel's interpretation are irrelevant to the issue at hand. When Lommel explains *ardhadevá* as an attempt to do justice to the deification of the king and to reality, Gonda remarks that one would expect rather *devá*. However, kings are called *deva* only much later (cf. Scharfe 1989: 75ff. 93), a fact acknowledged by Gonda in an earlier publication (1966: 24 n. 174).

Schlerath (102) tried to support Lommel's view by pointing out relations between kingship and water. In 5.34.9, 2.25.4 and 1.54.7 the waters stream or swell for the king. Gonda objects on the ground that in 4.42.4 the speaker makes the waters swell, and accordingly he is a divinity rather than an earthly king, a statement by which he unwittingly withdraws his support from Brown. I cannot accept Gonda's argumentation. If the king impersonates the deity, there is no conflict. In the epics and in Buddhist literature there is ample evidence for the view that the king's conduct is responsible for rain or drought, and Lommel, Schlerath (152) and Scharfe (1989: 46) have placed 4.42.3-4 in this context, referring to parallels from other countries (cf. also Meyer III 255 n. 2, III 268 and n. 3; Rau 90ff; and Gonda himself 1966: 7ff.).

In discussing the relations between Indra and Varuṇa as they appear in the *rājasūya* ceremonies Gonda takes up two points:

1. Varuṇa is omitted from the *saṃsṛp* offerings in ŚSS 15.14.4, but Indra is retained. Gonda asks whether Varuṇa was ousted by that school, but does not attempt an answer. Heesterman (1957: 177 n. 16) assumes that Indra replaces Varuṇa in this case; but this is unlikely since Indra was always present in the *saṃsṛp* offerings.
2. In one version of the interpretation of the *daśapeya* Varuṇa when consecrated loses his *indriya vīrya* (MS 4.3.9) or his *bhargas* (PB 18.9.1), in another one it is Indra (TB 1.8.2.5). Gonda asks whether this shifting points to a certain interchangeability between the gods or to the often supposed rivalry. He thinks that there is no reason "for supposing that the relations between the two gods were in all Vedic milieus and at any moment viewed in the same way". Possibly "the tendency to accentuate their co-operation and even to regard them as coalescing was partly due to what with some exaggeration could be called a reaction to those views of these figures which emphasized some form of antagonism". We shall see later that such vague and unsubstantiated guesses are not needed to understand this alternation between the two gods.

VI

Kuiper (22f.) considers 4.42.1-6 as a verbal contest. In 1-3 Varuṇa is speaking, in 4-6 Indra. This distribution entails that in 4ab Indra is speaking of himself, in cd of Varuṇa. The repetition of the verb *dhārayam* would then indicate that Indra claims for himself a function which is actually Varuṇa's and concedes to Varuṇa only the triple spreading of the earth or the world. Since in 3 Indra and Varuṇa are identified, this does not seem very likely. It is also improbable that Varuṇa would try "to disguise the difference between himself and Indra" by claiming to be also Indra, as Kuiper has it, if he was in a verbal contest with his opponent.

Kuiper (25) is of the opinion that Indra is a seasonal god who mainly functions during the seven days in which later the *indradhvaja* is erected. This would be quite in consonance with the fact that in the RV Indra was placed at the head of the gods when Vṛtra had to be slain (1.131.1; 8.12.22; 4.17.1). It is also significant that in 10.124.8 it is said of the rivers that, when they turned away from Vṛtra, they chose Indra like the clans choose a king. If Indra was only in charge of the killing of Vṛtra and then withdrew again, he would have the world he created to be ruled by others. I have myself considered such an interpretation (1978: 374f.; cf. also Schlerath 112; Scharfe 1989: 74). In this context we can possibly also place AVŚ 3.4 = AVP 3.1 where the king, whom the clans (*víśaḥ*) and the directions (*pradíśaḥ*) are to choose (*vṛṇatām*) (2), is asked to hurry here from the farthest distance (5). Heaven and Earth shall be propitious to him, and it is King Varuṇa who called him (5). The king is then addressed as Indra who has agreed, being in concord with Varuṇa (*váruṇena saṃvidānáḥ*, with AVP, AVŚ has *váruṇaiḥ* which can be understood as an elliptic plural including the other gods mentioned in the hymn). Bloomfield (1897: 331) suggested that *váruṇa* is here to be understood as "chooser, elector" in a pseudo-etymological play on the root *vṛ* "to choose" used in 2. This is quite likely, but it raises the question who impersonates King Varuṇa in the ritual. It can only be a priest, in the Atharvavedic context probably the *brahmán*. The fact that Varuṇa calls Indra to become king can be paralleled with RV 4.42.7 where the priest says that Indra proclaims his deeds to Varuṇa who apparently is impersonated by the priest. There is a difference in perspective: while in the AV hymn the king as Indra is invited, in the RV hymn the king introduces himself as Indra, probably after shedding his Varuṇa-self, as I shall argue later.

In mythology the appearance of Indra seems to be only of short duration, sufficient for accomplishing his heroic feat, in particular the slaying of Vṛtra, and a ritual like the *indradhvaja* festival may highlight such a climactic event. But it is not very likely that Indra would be thought present only in this short period. It is rather to be expected that he would be in charge of events during the whole season of raids and war. Since the *indradhvaja* festival is meant to ensure victory for the king (cf. Gonda 1967: 416) it is improbable that Indra would be absent when the warfare is on and have his hand in only the final and decisive battle.

Kuiper (23) says that "the question as to a possible ritual context in which this cosmic *vívāc* [of 4.42] may have been dramatized is not relevant for our purpose", but later (43) he refers to Heesterman's hypothesis that the *rājasūya* was originally a yearly festival and states that "there is no contradiction between Lommel's interpretation and the cosmological explanation as a *vívāc*". He does however not explain how the identification of Trasadasyu with both Indra and Varuṇa can be brought into consonance with a verbal contest of the two gods.

In support of Heesterman's view on the repetition of the consecration one may also refer to Rau (88) who concluded that the unction ceremonials could be repeated according to exegencies. In the Mahābhārata (2.30-36; 12.40) Yudhiṣṭhira is consecrated twice, once before the exile, the second time after the victory over the Kurus. In spite of Yudhiṣṭhira's actual loss of power his rival Duryodhana cannot be consecrated by the *rājasūya* as long as the consecrated king is alive

(3.241. 20ff.). Clearly the repetition is not an inauguration, but a confirmation. There is more evidence for repeated consecrations than Scharfe (1989: 83) admits. Heesterman (1985: 117 with n. 58) mentions the *punarabhiṣeka* of AB 8.5-11 and the yearly repetition of the *rājyābhiṣeka* in VDhP 2.162 (on the latter cf. Inden 59). From Nepal we now know a *saṃvatsarābhiṣeka* (Kuiper 43; Witzel 425).

According to Kuiper (29f.) Varuṇa is not subordinated to Indra in 10.124.5, but the two gods are equal in rank, each *ádhipati* in his own sphere. This may be true generally, but in 10.124 it seems that Varuṇa submits to Indra and keeps only his function as guardian of truth (5). In 7 Varuṇa is said to release the waters *áprabhūtī* which Kuiper (84 n. 317) translates by "without being compelled", which is not a meaning one can infer from the use of *prábhūti*. Renou (VII 28) has noted a link between *áprabhūti* and *prábhūti* in 8.41.1, a hymn solely concerned with Varuṇa's cosmic activities and repeatedly stressing his connection with the waters (2, 7, 8, 9). Irrespective of whether we interpret *prábhūtaye* in 1 as "so that he may have power" or "to the powerful one", we have here a situation in which Varuṇa is endowed with power and in charge of the waters. In 10.124.7 he lets go of the waters which follow in 8 Indra's mightiest power (*jyéṣṭham indriyám*), choosing him like the clans a king. It stands to reason that Varuṇa has lost his power in this context in contrast to 8.41.1 where he is very much in possession of it.

Looking for a similar situation, Varuṇa's loss of *indriya vīrya* or *bharga(s)* in the consecration comes to mind (MS 4.3.9; TB 1.8.1.1; ŚB 5.4.3.2; 5.4.5.1; JB 2.201; PB 18, 91). Varuṇa regained it with the *saṃsṛp iṣṭis*, followed by the *daśapeya* soma-sacrifice which has the same purpose. In one instance it is Indra who loses his *indriya vīrya* (TB 1.8.5.1). Considering the constant shift from Indra to Varuṇa and back and the frequent simultaneous presence of these gods, this apparent discrepancy may be based on an original alternation which was obliterated in the course of the systematisation of the classical ritual. Heesterman (1957: 189 n. 51) thought of collisions and syncretism of the mythologies of Indra and Varuṇa, but also referred to the view that both mythologies were intimately related. He mentions the formulation of Johansson (157, 162) who called Indra "einen Wechselgott zu Varuṇa". Later (1985: 234 n. 89) Heesterman spoke of an alternation between Varuṇa and Indra in more definite terms: when Varuṇa loses his power Indra takes over and *vice versa*. Indra's phase corresponds to the raiding period, that of Varuṇa starts upon the return of the war band. He also points to the *varuṇapraghāsa* as the beginning of the rule of Varuṇa. For the following I take hints from Heesterman and Johansson, trying to tie up some loose ends. In the *varuṇapraghāsa* Varuṇa is identified with winter (*hemanta* MS 1.10.12; KS 36.6), while Indra is quite generally the god of summer (*grīṣma*) in the lists of seasons (e.g. TS 7.5.14). There is also a connection of barley with summer (TS 7.2.10) which does not contradict that with winter if we consider that barley is the bone of contention in the *varuṇapraghāsa*: the creatures stole the barley, the winter grain, from Varuṇa and were therefore seized, fettered by Varuṇa and fell sick with dropsy (ŚB 2.5.2.1-2). The Maruts wanted to slay the creatures (10), but first stole their evil (*pāpman*) which was obviously the barley the creatures had stolen themselves (24). In order to prevent the Maruts, identified with the *víś*, from also stealing (and destroying) the creatures, Prajāpati appealed to Indra, identified with *kṣatra*, as their restrainer (*niṣedhr̥*, 27). Heesterman has quite convincingly translated the mythology into social reality (1985: 136f.): referring to the seasonal activities of the Kuru-Pañcālas as described in TB 1.8.4.1-2 (1957: 211; Rau 15) in the *prayujāṃ havīṃṣi*, yoking offerings of the *rājasūya*, he states that from the end of the hot season to the beginning of the cool season one tilled one's fields and harvested the monsoon crop, while beginning with the cool season transhumance started with the raids into other peoples' lands, including of course seizing the winter crop, barley.

KB 5.4(5.5) and GB 2.1.22 identify Varuṇa with Indra in connection with the milk mixture offered to the former in the *varuṇapraghāsa*. Gonda (1974: 232) thinks that this is due to the connection of both gods with water. KB gives a clear hint to another reason: the Maruts - who get a milk mixture together with Varuṇa - are Indra's, and milk is Indra's. Thus Varuṇa is Indra because Indra is the Lord of the Maruts.

The *varuṇapraghāsa* is an atonement for the sins of the raiding period. The question why in the ŚB version the Maruts are set against the creatures has so far not been addressed. I venture the guess that the episode refers to either violent weather which destroys the crop or/and to the disease caused by Varuṇa which left the creatures helpless and open to be robbed of their sustenance. It also seems that the Maruts were, in this context, a rulerless gang which could be brought under control only by Indra.

It thus appears that in the end the creatures in danger of perishing at the hands of first Varuṇa and then the Maruts are saved by Indra. Thus it is Indra who replaces Varuṇa as the dominant deity, and this substitution also foreshadows the next seasonal sacrifice, the *sākamedha*, in which Indra is central.

If we view RV 4.42 in the light of these features of the ritual which connect the dominance of Varuṇa and Indra with different seasons, the pieces fall into place. King Trasadasyu impersonates both Varuṇa and Indra by performing their functions according to the demands of the seasons. The hymn refers to the transition from the Varuṇa-phase to the Indra-phase. It unambiguously starts out with the identification with Varuṇa, in the third stanza the king affirms that he is not only Varuṇa but also Indra and thus announces the transition to his Indra-like activities which he details in the fifth and sixth stanza. The fourth stanza stresses Varuṇa's concern with *r̥tá*, which seems to be quite significant since truth remains Varuṇa's domain also after Indra's take-over.

Stanza 7 must be spoken by another person than the king himself since it would make little sense if the one personality would address the other. The only candidate conceivable is the priest, Vāmadeva. If the gods Indra and Varuṇa were the subject of sts. 1-6 and were engaged in a verbal contest, the priest would clearly take Indra's side and emphasize his superiority over Varuṇa. If however we assume that Trasadasyu impersonates both gods alternately according to their seasons, we get a more consistent picture. By the time of the RV the king had the function of both Indra, the war-lord who lead the people in the annual raids, and of Varuṇa, the lord of truth and law. When the king leaves for war, he must instal a caretaker in the settlement. There is only scanty evidence for this arrangement, but it is probable that it existed once permanent or semi-permanent settlements were established. Kauṭalya knows a *śūnyapāla* "keeper of the void" (9.3.10; cf. Scharfe 1968: 211-215; 1989: 134) who in the king's absence rules in his stead. In the Mbh Prince Uttara substitutes for his father Virāṭa (4.33.11), and Yudhiṣṭhira instals his uncle Yuyutsu as caretaker together with the *purohita* (15.30.15). The appearance of the *purohita* in this context is of interest because in JB 3.23-24 Vasiṣṭha is deputed to take care of Sudās's horses. In the *aśvamedha* the *adhvaryu* substitutes for the king (ĀpŚS 20.2.12f; BaudhŚS 15.4). Although in the classical ritual the king remains on the place of sacrifice, originally he will have accompanied the horse on its yearlong roaming and conducted an expedition of raids and conquests (cf. Schmidt 1968: 203; Heesterman 1985: 125).

On the basis of the statement of a formula that Indra was led beyond his enemies by the unction waters I have surmised (above IV) that at one point there was a consecration of Indra as war-lord; the substitution of Varuṇa by Indra in the *daśapeya* (TS 1.8.5.1), referred to above, points to the same conclusion. One can also suspect that the *punarabhiṣeka* of AB 8.5-11 is a consecration of the king as Indra. Although no direct identification is given, the ceremony ends up with clear references to war (10-11). Heesterman (1985: 234 n. 89) seems to have something similar in mind when he refers to the cow-sacrifice (to Indra) which forms one of the conclusions of the *rājasūya* and leads directly to the *punarabhiṣeka*.

In this context a more general problem may be mentioned. Hopkins (215 f.) stated in connection with Karṇa's consecration as commander-in-chief (Mbh 8.6.36-43) that royal power grew to be different from battle-power and that the ceremony may have been a survival, implying that the king who originally covered both functions was consecrated before going to battle. He also emphasized (222) that the early king was his own commander. This was certainly the case in Vedic India, but in the opposition between the two gods Indra and Varuṇa one may suspect an original double kingship. A division between juridical rule and warlike prowess is also reflected in the Avesta (Yasna 9.10) where two brothers are mentioned of whom one, Urvāxšaya, is a law-regulating teacher (*tkaēšō dātō.rāzō*), the other, Kərəsāspa, a superior, curly-haired, club-bearing youth (*uparō.kairyō yava gaēsuš gaδavarō*). As far as I see, the sources do not provide sufficient evidence to form a definitive theory of the development of kingship in Indo-Iranian. One can only surmise that an original double kingship was replaced, in one line of evolution, by single kingship encompassing the juridical and martial functions, in the other line by subordinating the martial to the juridical function.

VII

The stanzas 4.42.8-9 do not have any direct connection with the preceding ones. For this reason they were treated as a later addition by some early Western interpreters. Although this view has long been abandoned, the relationship to the main body still requires some clarification. According to Gonda (1974: 242) the mention of Indra's victory over Vṛtra in 7 gives the poet the opportunity to commemorate in 8-9 an important historical episode in which Indra and Varuna had answered a prayer and saved the royal dynasty. Though the text is not completely clear to him, he thinks that Purukutsa's wife was childless and got a son after worshipping Indra and Varuṇa. He does not discuss the problem of *daurgahe badhyamāne*, simply saying (243) that the Indian traditions are divided about it which "need not detain us here". It is however of considerable relevance to the proper understanding of the background of the hymn to know which of the conflicting native interpretations is correct.

According to the *itihāsa* reported by Sāyaṇa Daurgaha was in captivity and the country without a king; *daurgaha* is here clearly understood as a patronymic of Purukutsa. His wife, advised by the seven *ṛṣis*, worshipped Indra and Varuṇa and her wish for a son, Trasadasyu, was granted. Purukutsa is mentioned side by side with Sudās as a protégé of Indra in 1.67.1. In 7.19.3 Sudās appears side by side with Trasadasyu. It is possible that Sudās and Purukutsa were contemporaries although other protégés the poets mention belong to different generations. As Purukutsa and his son Trasadasyu were kings of the Pūrus, and as Vasiṣṭha, on behalf of Sudās, prayed for the defeat of a Pūru (7.18.13), it has been assumed that Purukutsa was taken prisoner or even killed in the battle of the ten kings (Macdonell-Keith I 542). If he was without a son, the situation would have been precarious for the dynasty and the queen had to resort to the gods for a son. There is no indication that Indra and Varuṇa were considered the real begetters as was the case with Rāma and the Pāṇḍavas in the epics. What Brown adduces is of more than doubtful value. The story of Indra Vaikuṇṭha (Bṛhaddevatā 7.50-60) is of too late a date to be considered. The alleged identification of the poet Bṛhaddiva with Indra (RV 10.120.9), first proposed by Bergaigne, even if it were acceptable, does not yield anything for the purpose of 4.42.8-9, as the identification of the poet with Indra would not refer to Indra's parentage, but rather to the function of the god as victor and winner of goods, a function the poet can ascribe to himself because he assumes that he makes the god perform it.

If the version of the *itihāsa* is made the basis of the interpretation, three questions arise which have not been addressed by anybody so far:

1. With her husband in captivity, the queen would have performed a sacrifice of her own. This could have been a domestic sacrifice in which the wife can substitute for the husband (cf. Hillebrandt 1897: 70; Gonda 1980: 200; however, ĀpGS 3.8.3 states that the gods reject the sacrifice of a woman). A sacrifice for a son may well have been performed by the woman alone, as e.g. that in Ṛgvidhāna 2.28.5 (cf. Gonda 1980: 204). Whether she would be entitled to a *śrauta*-sacrifice, is more than doubtful. According to the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras of Jaimini (6.1.6-16) and the commentator Śabarasvāmin women were capable of and entitled to performing Vedic sacrifices just as well as they could own property. D.R. Bhandarkar (1945) refers to a Nānāghāṭ inscription in which Queen Nāganikā is mentioned as performer of Vedic sacrifices when she apparently acted as regent for her minor son Vediśri. This is an isolated case and it would be unwise to generalize on its basis.

2. In reality the favour of the gods would not be sufficient to beget a son in the absence of the husband. Purukutsānī would have to practice *niyoga* during his lifetime if he was in captivity. This form of levirate is known in the dharma-texts and in the Mahābhārata; it applies when the husband is incapable of begetting a son, be it because of infertility, old age or prolonged absence (cf. Kane II 599 ff.; Scharfe 1989: 125; Kauṭalya 3.4.37-42). In the context of royal succession in case of a calamity Kauṭalya does not mention the possibility, but he advises *niyoga* as one of the alternatives for an old or sick king if the only son is a misfit (1.17.50). Vedic sources do not provide any evidence for the specific situation given in the *itihasa*. When we consider the third point, it will become clear why provisions for such a situation are unlikely to have existed in Ṛgvedic times.

3. If the heir to the throne was not yet born at the time of the king's disappearance, either by death or capture by the enemy, this would have entailed a long interregnum. From Vedic times such an interregnum is not known. There is no evidence for the regency of a queen and it is quite unlikely that a woman would have been acceptable because, as a rule, she could not fulfill the ruler's martial duties; also in later times a queen's regency was a rare exception (Scharfe 1989: 122). The possibility that a male member of the royal family - as Bhīṣma for Vicitravīrya at the request of the dowager queen Satyavatī in Mbh 1.95-96 (cf. Hopkins 137 n.) - would have acted as regent for the minor king can be ruled out, too. In a semi-sedentary society which depended on strong leadership during the raiding season it is highly improbable that

anybody could be found to substitute for the minor king during a prolonged period of time; the acting leader would most certainly usurp the throne himself. We cannot assume that in Ṛgvedic times we would find conditions comparable to those in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra (5.6), where a minister would take charge and asure the continuance of the dynasty by various, often devious means, or, on the advice of the cynical teacher Bhāradvāja, instigate the members of the royal family against each other, and when they have killed each other, assume power himself.

Having eliminated Sāyaṇa's *itihāsa* as a likely interpretation, we are left with that based on the reference to *daurgaha* in ŚB 13.5.4.5 where the word obviously refers to a horse. It can hardly be denied that this makes good sense also in the Ṛgvedic hymn. It is the *aśvamedha* in which the queen plays a central role by her cohabitation with the immolated horse and accordingly it is not too surprising that she is here credited with performing the ritual. If then the phrase *daurgahe badhyamāne* refers to the horse bound to the sacrificial stake, the name can have been transferred from the sacrificer, Purukutsa, son of Durgaha, to the victim and most probably express the identification of the sacrificer with the victim which is commonplace in the ritual (cf. Heesterman 1987: 91). TB 3.9.17.4 identifies the sacrificer with the horse, and in the story told, about the origin of the *aśvamedha* in TB 3.9.22 Prajāpati, when seized for sacrifice, became a horse. It is probable that Daurgaha is Purukutsa's patronymic; RV 8.65.12 mentions descendents of Durgaha.

The queen's lying with the horse is obviously meant to produce offspring and this is explicitly stated in the texts. The queen addresses the horse, asking to lay the seed (*retas* VS 23.20; SB 13.5.2.2) or to produce the embryo (*garbha* TS 7.4.19; TB 3.9.6.4) or a son of the (royal) family (*kulaja* ĀpŚS 20.18.1). When the TB says that the embryo means progeny and cattle, this is an extension of the primary purpose, as the *aśvamedha* is also a fertility ritual for the whole country. In the ritual as we have it there is generally no prominance given to Indra and Varuṇa although it has been surmised on the basis of RV 3.53.11 and ŚB 13.5.4.9; 11; 13 that the horse was once dedicated to Indra, but either before or after that to Varuṇa according to TS 2.3.12.1 and other passages which identify the horse as the victim for Varuṇa (Dumont xiiiff.). These conclusions have been questioned by Bhawe (49, 59, 67). If we consult the two *aśvamedha* hymns of the Ṛgveda, 1.162-163 (which are used in the later ritual just before the killing of the horse: ŚB 13.5.1.16-18), we find that quite a number of gods are associated with the horse, among them of course also Indra and Varuṇa. This might favour Bhawe's view that rather the gods in general are the recipients of the horse; Prajāpati was introduced only in the Brāhmaṇa period. It is however not possible to completely discount the evidence cited from ŚB which reports that a certain king dedicated horses to Indra. Nor can the explicit dedication to Varuṇa in TB 3.9.16.1 be dismissed. This passage, an explanation of TS 7.4.16, can actually be understood as a compromise between the older dedication to Varuṇa and the later one to Prajāpati. Meyer (III 249) emphasizes the identity of the horse with Varuṇa and maintains that Varuṇa is the old Prajāpati. The TS formulas run as follows: "Obeisance to the king! Obeisance to Varuṇa! Obeisance to the horse! Obeisance to Prajāpati! Obeisance to the overlord! You are overlord. Make me overlord. I want to become overlord of the creatures". The prominance of Varuṇa is noticeable in TB also in the identification of the overlord (*adhipati*) with the law (*dharma*) which is the domain of Varuṇa. Indirectly the formulas identify the sacrificer not only with Varuṇa but also with the horse.

The vagueness of the sources as to the deity to whom the horse is offered points to the conclusion that there were options. For this reason I think that there is no difficulty in interpreting Purukutsānī's sacrifice to Indra and Varuṇa with her husband's *aśvamedha*. The dedication to these gods was determined by the desire to conceive a son worthy of succeeding to the throne, in particular in his military abilities as a human counterpart to Indra. The exact sense of *ardhadevá* may elude us, but one will agree with Gonda (1974: 243) that it has something to do with the dual deity to whom Trasadasyu owes his existence. I would consider the interpretation as part-sharer of the divine power as the most likely, as already stated in my note on st. 8.

Hillebrandt, in his review of Sieg's book (1987: 573f.) maintained that the interpretion of *daurgaha* as a horse by the ŚB and as a patronymic by Sāyaṇa are not mutually exclusive: *daurgaha* can be a horse released by Durgaha for the *aśvamedha* and a patronymic. He thought that a decision as to whether the word referred in 4.42.8 to the horse or to Purukutsa is not possible. If the latter were the case, we would have a situation not devoid of irony: Purukutsa, taken prisoner, is referred to by the name of Durgaha's, his father's, *aśvamedha* horse. Only a malevolent priest could have invented such a cruel pun which would have pleased Vasiṣṭha who likened Sudās's enemies to sacrificial offerings (7.18.6). It is inconceivable that a priest in the employ of Trasadasyu would have dared to make such a joke.

VIII

Close comparison with the later Vedic royal consecration ritual shows that Ṛgveda 4.42.1-7 fits into this ritual if we accept the statement of the Anukramaṇī that King Trasadasyu is the speaker of stanzas 1-6 and thus identifies himself with the gods Varuṇa and Indra. The hymn probably refers to a juncture in the ritual when the king passes from his function of Varuṇa to that of Indra. This corresponds to the time when the king leaves for his annual raiding expedition. He transfers his Varuṇa-power in the residence to a priest who acknowledges the king's assumption of the Indra-power (7). The explicit identification with both

Varuṇa and Indra at the same time (3) stresses the fact that the king is actually representing both gods permanently which is also reflected repeatedly in the later ritual. The reference to the circumstances of Trasadasyu's birth favours the assumption that the consecration was connected with his succession to the throne. A son born as the result of an *aśvamedha* was born "to the purple" and thought to be specially endowed with divine powers which entitled him to be called *ardhadevá*, "demi-god".

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AB = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
ĀpGS = Āpastamba-Gṛhya-Sūtra
ĀpŚS = Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra
AVP = Atharvaveda Paippalāda
AVS = Atharvaveda Śaunaka
BaudhŚS = Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra
Bṛhaddevatā
GB = Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa
JB = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
Kauṭalya, Arthaśāstra
KB = Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa
KS = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā
Mbh = Mahābhārata
MS = Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā
PB = Pañcaviṃsa-Brāhmaṇa
RV = Ṛgveda
ŚB = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚŚS = Śānkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra
TB = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TS = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
VDhP = Viṣṇu-Dharmottara-Purāṇa
VS = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā

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DEVANA AND DAIVA

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In the unfolding of the central narrative line of the *Mahābhārata*, all roads lead to and from the pivotal moment of the dice-game (*dyūta*). It is a moment pregnant with fateful consequences, for this kingsmen's game (*surḥddyūta*) contains within it, in proleptic outline, the ultimate self-destruction of the Kuru clan in internecine division (*bheda*). Memories of their defeat and humiliation in the dicing *sabhā* propel the Pāṇḍavas forward in their struggle for restoration, which ends in war; even Yudhiṣṭhira, the least prone among the heroes to considerations of honor and retaliation, cannot free himself from the traumatic scars imprinted on his consciousness by this game. Suffice it to note that when he has the opportunity to enact his hidden fantasies in disguise, during the thirteenth year of exile spent at Virāṭa's court, he chooses the compensating persona of a Brahmin gambler, Kaṅka, so skilled at dice that he *never* loses a contest.

Again and again, in the interminable discussions that fill the pages of the Epic, the brothers and Draupadī return to the terrible memory of the dice-match and its immediate sequel, the public disrobing of Draupadī in the *sabhā*. It is largely because of these brutal acts that Duryodana and his cohorts must be fought and, in the end, at unthinkable cost, destroyed. With respect to the Kauravas' gratuitous humiliation of Draupadī, the rationale motivating the Pāṇḍavas' outrage is clear. As to the dice-game, however, things are a little less cut and dried. The recurrent complaint voiced by the Pāṇḍavas - sometimes also by Kṛṣṇa[1] - is that Yudhiṣṭhira, who was not very skilled at the game (*anakṣajña*), was cheated by his ruthless opponent Śakuni, a true master of deceit. The game, in short, was rigged from the start. This perception has, no doubt, much to commend it; indeed, it has been more or less generally adopted by the medieval Indian visions of the Epic tale, embodied in Sanskrit as well as vernacular texts. South Indian folk versions of the story even insist that Śakuni used loaded dice made from the ground-up bones of his brothers, who died after being imprisoned by the Kuru king Vicitravīrya; Śakuni thus brings to the game a compelling motivation to take revenge upon all the Kurus, and his inevitable success in the contest logically determines the entire subsequent disaster that overtakes the clan.[2]

For all that, I wish to argue that this way of looking at the episode in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* is too simple, and that it distorts or ignores certain basic elements in the game of dice. We need not simply adopt the Pāṇḍavas' own reading of their history. Moreover, as de Vreese has recognized,[3] the medieval versions seem to have superimposed a later form of the dice-game on the earlier, and rather different, type represented in the Epic. Crucial to our understanding of this earlier perspective is the issue of the dice-game's intimate relation to what the Epic calls *daiva*, which we tend to translate, a little obliquely, as "fate". The following pages seek to fill in the details of this relation, to draw out the implications for a more nuanced view of the game of dice, and to trace something of the transformation that this episode has undergone in the later tradition. I wish from the start to acknowledge my indebtedness to Jan Heesterman's penetrating discussion of the dice-game in the context of the Vedic *Rājasūya*;[4] I hope this brief essay can suggest, however inadequately, both my gratitude and my awareness that here, as in so many areas, Jan has pointed the way.

2.

We had best begin by admitting that we have only an imperfect notion of how the dice-game was actually played in ancient India.[5] The classic study by Lüders is uncertain on many points, some of which have been debated at length in the literature; probably the best we can do is to offer an abstracted and synoptic reconstruction, based on the principles that our (relatively rich) sources suggest. It is clear, for instance, that the dice-game was highly ritualized, and that metaphysical concerns were central. Thus the dicing-board or circle (*adhidevana*) apparently modelled the cosmos, with its four cardinal points marked by two intersecting axes merging over the central fifth point or zenith. According to one reconstruction, in play movement took place in a counter-sunwise fashion around this model - an inauspicious circuit associated with death.[6] The dice, *akṣa*, made from the nuts of the Vibhītaka tree, were distributed singly along these axes in consecutive throws or "takes" (*glaha*) by opposing players, the object being to end *with no remainder* on the eastern point: this is the winning throw, *kṛta*. Each player took up, in his turn, a large number of the dice-nuts from the reserve or pile (*durodara*); if this *glaha* were divisible by four - or, perhaps if it brought the number of nuts already on the board up to a multiple of four[7] - the player won that round. By this logic, a round could consist of a single *kṛta* throw, or of several alternating non-*kṛta* throws until there were no more available dice.[8]

A more recent reconstruction, by Harry Falk in his detailed and closely argued study, offers a very different picture: the earliest form of the game is said to have involved removing a quantity of dice-nuts, the *glaha*, from the original repository; these were then laid out in units of four until the final result - the *aya* - became apparent. The "game" was executed by single players until the *kali*-result, the remainder of one, was obtained; this marked the loser, who was to kill the sacrificial offering. There was thus no proper winner, only a necessary loser. Falk stresses the social and cultic context of the Vrātya bands, and their association with the inauspicious deity Rudra, who is linked with the *kali* result. It is also striking that the rearrangement of the dice in units of four, after each *glaha*, resonates strongly with the more general theme of recomposing the sacrifice; in both cases, an initial act of taking away, or of disarticulation, issues into a formal process of re-ordering. We will have more to say about this conception and its implications for the Epic story.

Whatever the original form of the game, its reflection in the Epic leaves relatively little scope for pure chance; *pace* de Vreese, this is far more a game of knowledge and skill. Since the numbers of dice involved were relatively high, the real art of the game lay in making rapid and precise calculations. Indeed, as we shall see, the knowledge involved is, in a sense, total and unconditional. Nor is it a matter of estimating probabilities.[9] "All seems to depend on the skill of the player in computing at a glance the number of dice to be separated, taking at the same time into account the number of dice to be left for his adversaries."[10] Successful computation and manipulation in the *glaha* produced, in effect, an image of the ordered universe, parcelled out in the balanced distribution of the dice. Similarly, non-*kṛta* throws, with a remainder of one (*ekapara, kali*), two (*dvāpara*) or three (*tretā*), could be correlated to a cosmos that was off balance, uncentered, and potentially destructive.

It should be stressed again that this summary is, at best, an approximation. The game may have had variant, context-sensitive forms; certainly, the dice-game incorporated into the Vedic *Rājasūya* had its own specific, textually frozen features. Another view - perhaps another form of the game - has it that the dice were marked, so that only those dice which fell on one side were counted, the rest being referred to as *śeṣaṇa*, "the remainder".[11] It is also apparent that at some point the game based on *vibhītaka* dice gave way to a very different set of rules, and to the marked quadrilateral tokens with which we are familiar (*pāśaka*); this is the dice-game as we so often find it represented in paintings and sculptures from medieval times, and that seems also to underly the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha's explication of Yudhiṣṭhira's game in *Mbh.* II. Note that in the two last forms - the so-called *pāśaka* game, with the familiar tokens, and the type based on markings and remainders - opportunity for loading the dice or otherwise cheating definitely exists. This is not, however, the case with the more ancient pattern, the *vibhītaka*-nut game: here, where counting and knowledge are critical, it is not at all readily apparent how anyone could truly cheat. What, then, is the basis for the Pāṇḍavas' obsessive complaint against the "trickster" Śakuni?

Before attempting to answer this question, we must mention van Buitenen's compelling argument about the strategic placement of the dicing match in the *Mahābhārata*. The point is that it is wholly logical and necessary for the game to take place when it does, and for Yudhiṣṭhira to accept, however reluctantly, the proffered challenge.

Since the dice-game follows directly upon, and in some sense may even be said to fulfil the process inaugurated by, Yudhiṣṭhira's *rājasūya* (and the building of the Pāṇḍavas' magical *sabhā* by the demon Maya), we are probably justified in seeing here a reworking or transposition of the Vedic royal consecration, which leads up to a game of dice played (if that is the right word) in the presence of the newly consecrated king: thus, in van Buitenen's phrase, the *Sabhāparvan* is "structurally an epic dramatization of the Vedic ritual."[12] There is, indeed, good reason to read this part of the Epic as a condensed narrative essay on becoming king - both in terms of the ritual progression and of the wider cultural implications of this process. Nevertheless, we have to remember that in the Vedic *rājasūya* the king never loses the match but is, rather, reborn rich in power at the cosmic center through the movement of the dice; whereas Yudhiṣṭhira fails spectacularly to win at this game which is, in a sense, a culminating moment of his own *rājasūya*. If the Epic dice-match is a reflection of, or even a commentary upon, the Vedic model, then it clearly stands in a somewhat ironic relation to this prototype. This, too, is a question which deserves closer analysis.

3.

Let us briefly examine the several stages leading up to the dice-game, each with its dialogic discussions of what the game really means. As so often, the Epic presents us with a considerable range of opposed perspectives and understandings, without actually seeking to resolve them in any unilateral fashion. In the same vein, we might also try to suspend judgement until the entire set of attitudes is laid out - and then enacted in the game itself. Recall, however, that our major concern is with the relation between dicing and the question of *daiva*, with its affiliated notion of cosmic process and the ever-present issue of "fateful" determinacy. How do the "players" of this drama perceive the game?

1) *MBh 2.50-51.* First, the immediate setting: Duryodhana is smarting from his humiliation at Yudhiṣṭhira's new *sabhā*, where crystal pavements look like ponds of water, and pellucid pools deceive one into thinking they are dry; Duryodhana has fallen into just such a pool, to the great amusement of his Pāṇḍava hosts. Note how illusion is built into the very structure of the *sabhā* in this way, as befits, no doubt, a monument built by an *asura*-artisan; and there is every reason to imagine that this *sabhā* is a model of the Epic universe, which must also, then, contain inherent elements of deceit. We will return to this point. For now, suffice it to observe that the dice-match proceeds directly out of the Kauravas' tour of the *sabhā*. Duryodhana wants revenge, but there is some doubt as to whether the Pāṇḍavas (who have, after all, just celebrated a *digvijaya* and a *rājasūya*) can be defeated by arms. Śakuni suggests an alternative plan: Yudhiṣṭhira is fond of dicing (*akṣapriya*) but not good at it (*na sa jānāti devitum*) - and he cannot refuse a

challenge. Śakuni, on the other hand, boasts that he is the best gambler on earth (indeed, in all the three worlds!). He will thus easily defeat Yudhiṣṭhira and take all his wealth for Duryodhana. Note the stress on skill as the key to Śakuni's optimistic prognosis; so far, no-one has said anything at all about using trickery or deceit in the game.

Duryodhana is, naturally, taken with Śakuni's suggestion. He stages a conversation with Dhṛtarāṣṭra, at which Śakuni repeats his claims: he has a means, *upāya*, for taking away the Pāṇḍava's good fortune. "I am familiar with the dice, I know their heart, the stake, and the 'niceties'[13] of the game" (2.51.67). Yudhiṣṭhira has no chance against him. But Dhṛtarāṣṭra wavers, wanting Vidura's advice. In the meantime, out of love for his son - though he is well aware of the evils (*doṣa*) of gambling - he orders the dicing-*sabhā* built and the dice made ready for play.

Vidura rushes to advise the king against allowing the match to take place: "Because of this game, division (*bheda*) will come between your children." Dhṛtaraṣṭra, curiously, refuses to believe this: "There will be no quarrel (*kalaha*) among my sons. The gods will show us grace. For better or for worse, this family game must proceed (*pravartatām*), as has been prescribed (*diṣṭam*). My decision cannot be reversed: I regard *daiva*, through which all this is evolving, as supreme" (2.52.83-87).

With this, and with a fine sense of irony, he sends Vidura himself to bring Yudhiṣṭhira to the match.

2) This triadic council is recapitulated at much greater length, at the request of Janamejaya to the Epic narrator, in chapters 52-54.28.

Duryodhana expands upon his envy of Yudhiṣṭhira, his humiliation at the latter's palace, and his determination to triumph over him. He also presents Dhṛtarāṣṭra with his philosophy of dicing:

> "The ancient ones have ordered this game; there is no vice involved in it, and no combat... As we play, the gate to heaven opens up, as is fit for us, deeply engaged in the game; everyone is equal here." (54.14-15)

Dhṛtarāṣṭra cannot accept this; he knows a disaster, foreseen by Vidura, is in store. But his mind is clouded by *daiva* (*daivasammūḍacetāḥ*), and he thinks *daiva* is supreme and ineluctable- so the building of the *sabhā* must proceed. When Vidura again protests, Dhṛtarāṣṭra declares: "There will be no strife here, for otherwise *daiva* would be reversed (*pratiloma*). In any case, everything is controlled by what the Creator has decreed (*diṣṭa*); this world does not move by its own power (*sarvaṃ jagac ceṣṭate na svatantram*, 54.27).

3) Vidura thus travels with a heavy heart to the Pāṇḍavas' royal residence. He breaks the news gently: Yudhiṣṭhira is invited to come see the new *sabhā*, equal to his own (!), constructed by Dhṛtarāṣṭra - and there he will be asked to play a happy kinsmen's-game of dice.

Yudhiṣṭhira is not taken in: "Who in his right mind would be eager to play at dice? Conflict is endemic to the game." However, he will abide by whatever Vidura recommends. Vidura now confesses: "I know this dicing is the root of a great disaster. I tried to stop it but failed, and the king sent me to fetch you. Do as you think best."

Yudhiṣṭhira asks who will be his opponents in the game, and Vidura at once mentions Śakuni, the Gāndhārarāja, a knowledgeable gambler (*matākṣa*) who throws the *kṛta* (*kṛtahasta*), and who plays to the limit (or beyond it? - *atidevī*). Yudhiṣṭhira knows what this means: the gamblers gathered for this match are great in *māya*, rich in deceit (*māyopadhāḥ*, 54.42). Still he, unwittingly, repeats Dhṛtarāṣṭra's own reluctant conclusion: everything is controlled by what the Creator has decreed. Both Yudhiṣṭhira and Dhṛtarāṣṭra feel themselves driven toward this game, and the former explains this compulsion in the following terms: "I cannot *not* go, when invited by Dhṛtarāṣṭra... Nor will I play with Śakuni unwillingly, without desire (*akāma*). Once challenged, I will never refuse (*āhuto 'haṃ na nivarte kadā cit*, 54.44)." So, unhappily, he sets out, aware that "*daiva* robs us of intelligence, as light blinds the eye" (54.46).

4) There are verbal preliminaries to the match itself. Śakuni speaks first: "The *sabhā* is ready; let us agree as to (the rules of) playing." At this, Yudhiṣṭhira launches into an attack on dicing per se: the game is *nikṛti* - we will return to this term, which for the moment we translate as "deceptive action" - and, indeed, evil (*pāpa*); there is neither warrior's prowess in it, nor any wisdom (*nīti*). No one praises the tricks (*māyā*) of a gambler (*kṛtin*, *kitava*). And a plea: "Śakuni, do not win cruelly, in a way that is no way (*amārgeṇa*)."

Śakuni outlines, in response, his understanding of the game. "The gambler who wins is one who can count, who knows the rule (or order, or manner) of *nikṛti* (*nikṛtau vidhijñas*), who arranges the dice tirelessly and cleverly. Taking the dice in hand is one way to defeat an opponent; through this, as you say, Time itself comes into being (*tenaiva kālo bhavatīdam āttha*, 55.5). So let us play now, without anxiety." We will return to this speech - Śakuni's professional creed, as it were. For now, let us note simply that Yudhiṣṭhira utterly rejects it, citing as his authority the sage Asita Devala, who wanders at the gates of the world: "Dicing is evil if played with deceitful gamblers. Victory in battle, through *dharma*, is better than the dice." Moreover, asserts the king, Aryas do not speak enigmatically or act deceitfully; the vow of a real man is to fight in battle without crookedness or deceit. And, finally, a *cri de coeur*, wholly characteristic of this hero: "I want neither pleasures nor wealth if I have to win them through 'deceit' (*nikṛti* again)."

This carries conviction. Yudhiṣṭhira's protest, in the question of the dice-game as in so many other matters, strikes at the element of crookedness that, alas, seems to be embedded in almost any reality he comes to experience. He will have none of it - not in battle, not in language, not in the dice-*sabhā*. But Śakuni also protests, with equal conviction: A person who *knows* overcomes an ignorant opponent precisely through *nikṛti*, even in the case of scholars (*śrotriya*). Indeed, one can hardly call this *nikṛti* at all (in the meaning of "deceit"- *nāhus tāṃ nikṛtiṃ janāḥ*). "If you think I am about to work *nikṛti* on you, turn back now from the game - if you are afraid!" Caught, Yudhiṣṭhira can only repeat his earlier statement to Vidura: "I have sworn not to refuse a challenge. Vidhi is strong, and I am controlled by fate (*diṣṭasyāsmi vaśe sthitaḥ*)."

So we have two opposing visions, lucidly articulated by the two players even before the game begins. Only the play can, perhaps, resolve them. Yudhiṣṭhira is suspicious of the dice-match as such, as an arena of treacherous deceit; Śakuni asserts that dicing is an arena where knowledge and skill come into play, and that such informed and dexterous manipulation cannot be considered trickery. Each will, as we know, live out their viewpoint in the match. First there is one more matter to be settled: Duryodhana announces the initial stakes and, at the same time, informs Yudhiṣṭhira that Śakuni will be playing for him, Duryodhana. Yudhiṣṭhira has, it appears, foreseen this eventuality, but he protests nevertheless: "It seems unfair (*viṣama*) for one man to play for another." Note this term; it expresses a notion that plagues Yudhiṣṭhira throughout his career. He is, after all, committed to a vision of straightness, rectitude, balance, and evenness, in a story in which nearly everything is continually swayed in the destructive direction of the uneven (this is *viṣama* at its most literal), the unbalanced, the unfair.

5) The game can begin. We will not summarize again its familiar contours - the twenty throws (*glaha*) won by Śakuni as Yudhiṣṭhira, trapped in play, stakes successively his wealth, his brothers, himself, and, finally, Draupadī. We must note that Śakuni is repeatedly said to have resorted to *nikṛti* (*nikṛtiṃ samupāśritaḥ*) in the course of the throw - whatever precisely this may mean. The unfolding of the game is not quite clear; generally, it appears that Śakuni takes only one winning *kṛta* throw each time, but in 56.9 Śakuni - "who knows the truth of the dice" (*akṣatattvavit*) - seems to take up the dice (*pratyapadyata*) in response to Yudhiṣṭhira's move. It is after this throw, too, that Yudhiṣṭhira protests at Śakuni's use of the gambler's "trickery" or "crookedness" (*kaitavaka*).

After the first ten throws, Vidura intervenes in a futile attempt to put a stop to the game and forestall disaster. He speaks of the intoxication that has taken hold of Śakuni and his party: they are going too far (*atimātram*, 57.23), and the result will be universal destruction. Moreover - this is his final plea - Śakuni clearly knows the ways of *nikṛti*, and his manner of playing is obvious; let him, this tricky master of illusion (*māyāyogī*) go back whence he came (57.28). This impassioned outburst inspires a venomous attack on Vidura by Duryodhana, which silences the former. The play resumes, leading to the horrific denoument as Draupadī is dragged into the *sabhā.* The "dreadful, crooked door to hell" (*dvāraṃ sughoraṃ narakasya jihmam*)- the phrase is Vidura's, an inversion of Duryodhana's earlier assertion that the dice-game is the gateway to heaven - gapes open.

4.

The *Mahābhārata*'s description of the actual play at dice is maddeningly elliptical, in contrast to the long-winded build-up to the match. Nevertheless, the basic contours of this episode are reasonably clear and point toward several tentative conclusions. Let us first address as best we can the issue of *nikṛti.* Was Śakuni cheating in the course of the game, as the later tradition unequivocally insists? If so, how are we to interpret this in the context of the ancient dice-game as described, in broad outlines, above?

Notice, first, that the *Mahābhārata* includes at least one outright defense of Śakuni. At the start of the *Udyogaparvan*, when the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa are deliberating as to the best course of action, Balarāma remarks: "Although there were thousands of players there whom Yudhiṣṭhira could have defeated, it was Saubala [Śakuni] whom he challenged, and who defeated him. The dice turned their faces away from him as he played, and so he lost: no fault whatsoever attaches to Śakuni in this matter (*tatrāparādhas śakuner na kaś cit*, 5.2.10-11)."[14] Balarāma may be exaggerating a little; the challenge was, after all, Duryodhana's, with Śakuni standing in for the latter, and Yudhiṣṭhira was, properly, *responding* to this challenge, not initiating one of his own. Still, the assertion that Śakuni is without taint - the implication being that he was simply activating his acquired, unrivalled, skill - is important in its own right, especially when it comes from someone who is in some sense external or marginal to the family quarrel.

Could Balarāma be right? How are we to read the course of this contest? The basic point of departure, already intimated above, is that this was never really a game of chance. It is certainly not "luck" that allows Śakuni to triumph, and, the later tradition notwithstanding, there seems to be no reason to believe that the dice were loaded in advance. Such a move is never even hinted at in the Sanskrit text; and we should recall that Śakuni says nothing of cheating in the long and rather explicit discussions prior to the game. Nor is Śakuni like the gambler mentioned in the *Dīghanikāya*, who cheated by *swallowing* the extra *akṣa* when it would have ruined his throw (i.e., produced a non-*kṛta* result).[15] Rather, Śakuni's victory proceeds out of his total control of the game - and also, perhaps, out of a basic resonance between this hero's skillful playing, in all its aspects, and the structure of the cosmic process within which the game, and indeed the entire history of the Kuru family, is set. Like this process, dicing is an inherently "tricky" business. Yudhiṣṭhira himself admits this - indeed, it is the basis of his initial objection to the match - while Śakuni, as we have seen, happily identifies himself with this side of the game. Calculated, clever manipulation of the dice, including, perhaps, sleight of hand, is what the game is all about. Already in the *ṚgVeda*, the dice are said to be *nikṛtvānas* (10.34.7) - deceptive, full of *nikṛti*. This is hardly Śakuni's fault. On the contrary, as his very identity (Dvāpara incarnate) requires, he is naturally aligned with the "negative" or "deceitful/illusionary" aspects of the cosmic reality. The forces of *daiva* - we will try to define them more carefully in a moment - play into his hands, and his complete command of the game reflects the inner structure and functioning of these forces. It is for this reason that the outcome is never in doubt.

The Pāṇḍavas' perception of their opponent flows from this simple fact. As Don Handelman remarks, "any determinism of outcome contravenes from the outset the probabilistic logic of game and contest, and is perceived as 'rigging' the play, as cheating."[16] Śakuni's perfect knowledge of dicing translates into a burning sense of injury on the part of the Pāṇḍavas. He is not, however, alone in the Epic: let us recall how Nala learns the secret of dicing, the *akṣahṛdaya*, which allows him to count large numbers of objects rapidly and with great precision. Nala uses this knowledge to triumph over his brother in their final, all-or-nothing, game of dice.[17] No-one accuses Nala of impropriety in this matter. Total mastery and the internalized knowledge that sustains it produce a result that appears fixed in advance, hence unfair. Śakuni, of course, has a different "flaw" which is crucial to the developing disaster - he is intoxicated by his own skill and his success and thus, egged on by Duryodhana, goes too far, needlessly humiliating Yudhiṣṭhira. Both parties to the game are swept along, in their passion, through the destructive process unleashed by the playing at dice.

And this is the other sense in which the game is determined. The *Mahābhārata* war has to come - not because it is predetermined in a calculated way by some conscious intelligence, but because it is part of a cosmic structure with inherently violent and destructive components, which also, it should be emphasized, motivate the regeneration of cosmos. The dice-game is one of the principal moves in the particular actualization of this process that constitutes the Epic story. Both Śakuni and Yudhiṣṭhira act within this context, the former in relative harmony with it, the latter vigorously protesting against its partly crooked and uneven nature. *Nikṛti*, seen against this background, is a very different thing from simple, out-and-out deception. Straining the semantics only slightly, we might see the verb *ni-kṛ* as a kind of transitive form of *ni-vṛ*, the verb of cosmic retraction, withdrawal, entropy, *nivṛtti* - all, in a word, that belongs within the dis-integrative side of the Epic world. This is, after all, a world that is taking itself apart, at enormous emotional cost to the individuals involved, before ultimately reconstituting itself after the holocaust. The dice-game shows us the heroes in an active mode, fuelling this unfolding; Śakuni's *nikṛti* thus becomes more a necessary, cunning "artifice" (that is, as such, quite properly connected by the text with the notion of *māyā*) than a form of premeditated, malicious deceit.

No wonder he wins, while Yudhiṣṭhira is left, as it were, with a *kali* throw - a throw that is one off, uneven, unbalanced (*viṣama*). Although this is the situation this hero most dreads and detests, his own path seems paradoxically always to take him *through* the destructive forces in the direction of some painful reintegration. It is not without meaning that he ends his career, and finally reunites with his divine identity, through a bitter curse that he pronounces against *dharma* and the gods. In this sense, losing the dice-game is a logical part of his process, and we can agree with Held, from our own perspective, that "Yudhiṣṭhira is the Dharmarāja not in spite of but exactly because of his passion for dice."[18] *Dharma* apparently renews itself through the entropic, *nivṛtti* aspect of its own inner structure. In this context, it is also interesting that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* at one point identifies *kali*, Yudhiṣṭhira's disastrous result, with the winning or "encompassing" *abhibhū*, linked to the transcendent zenith in the cosmic scene embedded in the dicing diagram.[19]

5.

The overt relation between dicing and *nikṛti* helps explain the significance of *daiva* in this connection. Contrary, perhaps, to expectations nourished on Greek models, *daiva* is not deterministic on the individual level. Rather, *daiva* represents the connecting link between microcosm and macrocosm, i.e. the individual's situation within the deeper structure of reality. That structure is dynamic, processual, and transformative - a ritualized game - oriented in what might appear to be a "negative" direction. Indeed, negativity, in the sense of destructive, dis-integrating, crooked and unbalancing forces, is the very essence of *daiva*: the *nikṛti* aspect of the dice-game, like the illusion built into the structure of Yudhiṣṭhira's *sabhā*, correlates precisely with this vision of a world that is innately deceptive and disintegrative, and that can be known as such at critical moments of transition when the surface opens up to reveal the hidden depths.

What does the *Dyūtaparvan* tell us specifically about *daiva*? First, we know that it clouds the mind (this is the level at which the rationalizing notion of *diṣṭa*, "that which has been ordained", as articulated by both Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Yudhiṣṭhira, finds its proper context; the self-fulfilling belief in *diṣṭa* conduces to the working out of the *daivic* process). *Daiva* drives and intoxicates; neither Dhṛtarāṣṭra nor Yudhiṣṭhira is capable of holding out against it; both are drawn by an inner power toward the dice-game, although its destructive potential is clear to them. Śakuni, too, is driven beyond the limit (*atidevī*); the game, a primary arena for *daiva*, takes over, and balance is destroyed.

Secondly, Duryodhana is undoubtedly correct in describing dicing as the gate to heaven (as Vidura is right about its opening the gates of hell). Here, as elsewhere, *daiva* entails the rupture of existential planes. Paradoxically, connection to unseen levels of reality is always, in the *Mahābhārata*, won through destruction. As in sacrifice, one gets past the surface only by taking something away. In fact, the problem can be restated more generally as one of relating surface to depth. Yudhiṣṭhira normally sticks to the surface, i.e. to images of propriety and order; this is where the universalistic values of *dharma*, which he espouses, are to be found. But the underlying structure is, it seems, anything but proper. Such order as it has must be off balance, riddled with falsehood and illusion. The game of dice, a re-ordering of the cosmic map, creates Time (or Death, *kāla*), with all its terrors. Such is the nature of this type of map: an ordered surface that suggests, encompasses, and activates the unbalanced forces beneath or behind it. Visible, orderly "truth" never exhausts the real: thus the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* speaks of the tree whose trunk and branches are truth (*satya*), while its roots are embedded in untruth (*anṛta*). Therefore one should speak truth, so as not to dry up the source.[20] *Daiva*, in short, working through the dice-game, reveals the dynamic connection, essentially destructive in nature, with hidden levels of the cosmic totality.

Thirdly, *daiva* is correctly linked (by Vidura, among others) with the notion of *bheda*, "division". The two branches of the Kuru family are divided, torn apart, by the game; they will come together again only in battle. There is a progression here which reflects an important tension in the Epic, between *bheda* - a process of continuous division and demarcation - and the ultimate result of this process, *saṃhāra*- undifferentiated, destructive "completion" and reunification. Note that the root *sam-hṛ* means both "to destroy" and "to unite, bring together, complete": the reintegration of the violently divided Epic world is achieved through universal destruction. The completion of the cycle expresses, again, on the level of the whole, the notion of the destructive linkage between parts. In practice, however, the negativity built into the cosmos works itself out in the social realm portrayed in this story through unending *bheda*, focused and externalized in the divisive game of dice.

There is much more to say about *daiva*, but its major features in the present episode should now be clear enough. The dice-game tears the surface of everyday experience to reveal the dynamic forces at work in the universe; deceptive "artifice", in an active mode, is part of the structure of this game, as it is in the world at large; Time, or Death, are naturally brought into play, as elements in the general rupture of planes and the creation of (always destructive) linkages between levels of being. It is not by chance that the real stake in this game is one's own self, as we see by Draupadī's "riddle", *praśna*, to the court after Yudhiṣṭhira's final throw (had he lost himself before losing her?). More abstractly, we discover the existence of a divine structure - *daiva* is etymologically linked with *deva* - in the cosmos, replete with "negative" powers that erupt through the impassioned game. There is a sense in which this structure is itself a kind of *devana*, a play at dice, that is, an engrossing, deceptive, and potentially destructive playing among levels. This game, which takes the world apart and reconstructs it, is not, properly, a process that happens *to* reality but rather a characterization - perhaps the major such definition repeatedly offered by the Epic - of the inner mechanism of reality itself.

6.

A final note on the place of the Epic dice-match relative to both earlier and later understandings of the game. We have already cited van Buitenen's argument about the paradigmatic role of the Vedic *rājasūya* for the *Sabhāparvan*. Yudhiṣṭhira is summoned to the match as part of the ritual course initiated with the Pāṇḍavas' *digvijaya* and Yudhiṣṭhira's consecration at Indraprastha. Yet how different is his role at the game from that played by the king at the Vedic ritual! There the king takes no active part in the game at all; he "wins" only in the sense that the cosmos wins as a whole - or, as Heesterman states the matter, "It is the king himself who is to be 'won', produced by the gambling; he is the regulating and connecting principle of the quinquepartite universe, the embodiment of the cosmic order that 'bursts forth' from the dice."[21] If Yudhiṣṭhira is also, in some sense, the hidden stake of the Epic contest, his active role *within* the game precludes his being "won" by the world; instead, sucked into the destructive vortex of *daiva*, he can only lose himself to and for himself. The Vedic ritual produces an ordered and tightly connected universe, that has successfully gone through the inauspicious zone of danger, death, and rebirth (manifest in the dice, with their anti-sunwise movement). In stark contrast, Yudhiṣṭhira takes part in, and loses at, the game which leaves the world dis-articulated, unravelling rapidly toward the moment of still greater destructiveness that is to come. The Vedic *rājasūya* optimistically works its way toward a reordered, in effect predetermined cosmic result; the *Mahābhārata* finds reintegration only in violent loss and decomposition, a process which is also determined by the latent structuring of the Epic world. In so far as the *Dyūtaparvan* may be thought to comment on the Vedic *rājasūya*, it appears, on the surface, to present us with an ironic inversion of the latter; this is a *rājasūya* gone awry, with the king unaccountably trapped inside the ritual, producing a result that is the very opposite of what is meant to be achieved.[22] A further irony lies in Yudhiṣṭhira's fatal insistence that the ritual *should* work, that there is no place in the game for deception or crookedness of any kind - in short, that the ideal form, unadorned by artifice or illusion, should correspond perfectly with the external world of flux and failure. This constant assertion of the ideal on the part of the Dharmarāja, while admired by many throughout the text, is itself an essentially destructive move (as the result of the dice-game shows), and thus part of Yudhiṣṭhira's peculiar implication in the process of *daiva*. We recall, too, that his own palace, the site of Duryodhana's humiliation, incorporates in its structure conspicuous, apparently unavoidable, elements of illusion.

But we can go a step beyond this somewhat schematic, too simple contrast. The essential point, again, is that, judging only from the Vedic model, Yudhiṣṭhira should not be at this game in the first place. As the exemplary subject of the *rājasūya*, in theory an instance of wholeness and perfection, he should, at most, witness the game from a neutral situation of detachment outside it. That he does not do so speaks eloquently of his real situation: this king-inside-the-world lacks the central encompassing character of his divine prototype and father, Dharma, although he continues to represent an idealized vision of the latter's wholeness. Now we might ask ourselves why, in truth, he agrees to participate in the game - and, as he says, "not unwillingly" (*nā cākāmaḥ*) at that. Latent desire appears to motivate a gesture rationalized as *noblesse oblige*. But desire for what? Throughout the whole length of the Epic, Yudhiṣṭhira is compelled by an epistemological hunger; he seeks truth about the world, about *dharma*, about knowledge, about himself. This type of knowledge can, however, only be won on the slippery border between inner and outer, at moments of unexpected externalization, where reality stands revealed in all its shifting and devious power. The dice-game is one, particularly powerful moment in this series. It unmasks the world - from the standpoint of the cosmos in motion, a profoundly reflexive act. (In this, despite the contrast Yudhiṣṭhira tries to build in his dialogue with Śakuni, the *dyūta* is remarkably like the war.) But reflexivity on this level appears, in the Epic cosmos, to be highly dangerous: there is a sense in which the whole, whether embodied in the *dharmic* hero or in some other, more encompassing figure (Kṛṣṇa, Śiva), must *never* fully and consciously confront itself. When it does, destruction ensues - indeed, the greater the reflexivity, the more severe is this potential for destruction. In such a system, God cannot be allowed to know himself. This is the real issue focused by the game: once engaged, once inside it, Yudhiṣṭhira can only be brought face to face with the flawed and fragmenting process that consumes the wholeness he yearns for, and consistently articulates; moreover, it is precisely as the representative of this notion of the whole that he is driven to wager his ultimate resource, his own freedom, his unconstrained presence to himself. He cannot play without entangling himself in the distorting mirror of a crooked, time-bound, self-annihilating cosmos - that is, without knowing himself, however partially, as bound up in the destructive spirals of desire, intoxication, and self-subversion. Such knowledge is inherently part of the *daivic* process of destruction. The dice-game is thus not merely an ironic inversion of the *rājasūya* prototype but, much more to the point, a dangerous exposure of the latter's hidden presuppositions. When the king, the cosmic center, finds himself inside the game, the world tears itself apart.

The medieval tradition, which knew an altogether different form of the game, proceeded from assumptions quite different from these. For one thing, hostility to dicing per se becomes far more consistent: as the Telugu poet Nannaya (11th century) says, through Vidura, dicing embodies deceit that is base, vile, and cruel (*ukkivamu*).[23] It is precisely because Yudhiṣṭhira lacks these qualities that he is sure to lose.[24] By the same token, Śakuni, who has them, loses the somewhat unsettling ambiguity that attaches to him in the Sanskrit text. In Villiputtūrār's Tamil *Bhāratam* (early 15th century), for example, Śakuni has become a slick, unscrupulous, and mendacious trickster. Unlike the Śakuni of the Sanskrit text, who describes the dice-game quite truthfully according to his own lights, Villi's Śakuni lies outright to Yudhiṣṭhira: victory and defeat are equally possible for both players, he blandly states, even while taunting Yudhiṣṭhira for being miserly, greedy for the possessions he might lose, and, surprisingly, fearful "like the killer of a cow."[25] When the game itself actually commences - on an ivory dice-board (*palakai*), on which red and black pawns (*karuvi*) are set out in advance of the throws, of white dice (*kavaṟu*), by each of the two players[26]- Śakuni wins the first round by virtue of a trick or device "which no one could notice" (*oruvaruṅ kuṟikkalāv upāyamāy iruttalāṉ*). This pattern continues: Śakuni is "the hero skilled at playing falsely" (*poyttav āṭal valla mīḷi*), and Yudhiṣṭhira is clearly no match for his cheating.[27] Vidura quite correctly tells Dhṛtarāṣṭra that what is happening is "unnatural" - i.e., a far cry from the free fall of the dice - and that Duryodhana and his brothers are working evil (*tīmai*), their twisted hearts full of deceit (*tiruku neñciṉ vañcar āki*).[28] All of this fits the later understanding of the dice-match as the scene of Yudhiṣṭhira's cruel and gratuitous victimization at the hands of an opponent who has loaded the dice against him.

Perhaps even more striking, in the light of our discussion above, is the way the notion of *daiva* becomes attenuated in these medieval versions of the Epic. If, in the Sanskrit text, the dice-game is part and parcel of the entire process of *daiva* at work in, and through, the heroes' lives - at once a condensed symbolic articulation of this process and its fulfilling enactment in the real world - for Villiputtūrār, the play is only a weak simile for such a notion, and it is Śakuni himself who seems to take the place of "fate". Here, for example, is Śakuni's promise to Duryodhana *before* the game:

> "I will fight him [Yudhiṣṭhira] with the dice (*cūtu*) - filled with illusion, cruel, their very nature being to confuse the mind - *as if*

> this were fate (*vitiy eṉa*); thus I will destroy him so that he loses his life, his kingship, his position, and everything else."[29]

Note the hierarchy - first life, then kingship and honour; the Kaurava plan is ruthless and all-embracing - and the crucial "as if" which turns fate into but another aspect of Śakuni's calculated deceit. The sense of a divine structure playing itself out mysteriously, destructively, in human passion has given way to a competing notion of fate as cumulating human action and intention, in a field of force constituted by the interrelations of *dharma*, *karma*, and (perhaps most important) the destabilizing presence of the *bhakti* god.

NOTES

1. E.g. 8.107.4-5, in the context of Karṇa's death (Kṛṣṇa's final reproach to the dying hero). All references to the *Mahābhārata* here are to Southern Recension, ed. P.P.S. Sastri (Madras, 1931).
2. Personal communication, A.K. Ramanujan and V. Narayana Rao (for Kannada and Telugu variants, respectively).
3. K. de Vreese, "The Game of Dice in Ancient India". *Orientalia Neerlandica* (Leiden, 1948), pp. 349-62.
4. J.C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague, 1957), pp. 143-57.
5. On dice in ancient India, see Heinrich Lüders, "Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien", *Abhandlungen der Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaftlichen zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. IX, 2 (Berlin, 1907) pp. 3-74; C. Panduranga Bhatta, *Dice-Play in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi, 1985); A.B. Keith, "The Game of Dice", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1908), pp. 824-28; de Vreese, *op.cit.*; G.J. Held, *The Mahabharata, An Ethnological Study* (Amsterdam, 1935), pp. 265-78. And now see Harry Falk, *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel* (Freiburg, 1986) for a reevaluation of previous views and a new synthesis of the Vedic evidence.
6. Heesterman, p. 153.
7. Thus David Gordon White, "Dogs Die", *History of Religions* 28 (1989), pp. 291-92.
8. De Vreese offers a somewhat different reconstruction based on the notion of a prior fixed result (*purvokta*: see *Mahābhāṣya ad* Pāṇini 2.1.10) - i.e., apparently, either an odd or even number as the desired result of the throw. Keith, *op.cit.*, argues that while the *purvokta* need not always be 4, the game eventually settled on this number for the *kṛta* throw.

9. Ian Hacking, *The Ermergence of Probability* (Cambridge, 1975) p. 7.
10. Heesterman, p. 146; similarly White, p. 292.
11. Thus Held, pp. 268; see also Eggeling's note to his translation of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Sacred Books of the East, Oxford, 1882) 5.4.4.6.
12. J.A.B. van Buitenen, *The Mahabharata*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1975), p. 6; cf. idem, "On the Structure of the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata", in J. Ensinck and P. Gaeffke *India Maior: Congratulatory Volume Presented to Jan Gonda* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 68-84.
13. This is van Buitenen's suggestion (p. 114) for *viśeṣajñaś ca devane.*
14. Similar, in Tikkana's Telugu version of this passage Śakuni won because of his "mature skill in this art" (*tatkalākauśalambuna pariṇatuṇḍu gāvunan*); he was not in any way at fault.
15. *Pāyāsisuttanta*, cited by de Vreese, *op.cit.*
16. Don Handelman, "Traps of Trans-formation: Theoretical Convergences Between Riddle and Ritual", to appear in a volume on enigmatic modes of culture, edited by D. Shulman and G. Hasan-Rokem.
17. See discussion in D. Shulman, "Nala's Riddles", in press.
18. Held, p. 326.
19. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 5.4.4.6; and cf. Heesterman, p. 152; White, p. 292, on the changed names of the dice-throws.
20. *Aitareya Araṇyaka* 2.3.6; see Charles Malamoud, *Cuire le monde* (Paris 1989), pp. 251-52; also *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8.191.39-40. We might note the particular role played by language, the connective medium par excellence, in this type of cosmological vision; there is logic in the persistent Upaniṣadic identification of *vāc* with (inherently destructive) Agni/fire.
21. Heesterman, p. 156, but see Falk pp. 163-74.
22. I am indebted here and in what follows to Don Handelman for extensive observations on the dice-game in Vedic ritual and the Epic.
23. Nannaya, *Sabhāparvan* 2.131.
24. *Ibid.*, 2.123.
25. *Villiputtūrār pāratam*, with commentary by Vai. Mu. Kopālakiruṣṇamācāriyar (Madras, 1971), 2.2.166-67.
26. *Ibid.* 2.2.174, 176. The dice-game described by Villi, like the so-called *pāśaka*-game outlined by de Vreese, may thus have resembled somewhat the modern game of Pachisi.
27. *Ibid.*, 2.2.176-77.
28. *Ibid.*, 2.2.183-84.
29. *Ibid.*, 2.2.29.

STYLE AND STRUCTURE OF RĀJAŚEKHARA'S KĀVYAMĪMĀṀSĀ

with special reference to chapter X on the relation between king and poet

H. Tieken

1

In order to characterize the style of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, a well-known treatise on poetry composed around 900 A.D. (hence *KM*),[1] Gerow has introduced the very apt term 'anecdotalisme'.[2] The author rambles on in a seemingly aimless manner from one subject to another. As a result the text seems to lack a plan.

The table of contents (*prakaraṇādhikaraṇasamuddeśa*) in chapter I does little to take away this impression. For one thing, the list merely enumerates the *prakaraṇas* or topics, fifteen in all, and not as its title indicates, the *adhikaraṇas* or chapters as well. The text itself is divided into eighteen Adhyāyas. Furthermore, the order of the topics in the text differs on several points from the one in the *samuddeśa*. Thus, the fourth topic, *padavākyaviveka*, is the subject of chapter VI. Stchoupak and Renou have changed the title of chapter IV, which is *padavākyaviveka*, in conformity with its contents into *śiṣyapratibhe*. The fifth topic, *pāṭhapratiṣṭhā*, is found in chapter VII together with the eleventh, *kākuprakārāḥ*.[3]

K.S. Ramaswami, who is responsible for the third edition of the *KM*, has so far been the only one who has tried to establish some kind of order in the text. According to him (p. XIX), the main part of the text (chapters IV-XVIII)[4] consists of three separate groups of chapters: IV-IX, which deal with 'the equipment necessary for a poet', X, dealing with 'the rules to be observed by him' and XI-XVIII, on 'the methods harmful to him'. One of the problems with Ramaswami's suggestion is that his descriptions of the respective groups lack precision, which may explain why it has subsequently been ignored.

However, in the course of his argument Ramaswami does refer to a number of lines in the text which seem to me of the utmost importance here. It concerns the last verse of chapter IX and the first sentence of chapter X: *Itthaṁkāraṁ ghanair arthair vyutpannamanasaḥ kaveḥ/ durgame'pi bhaven mārge kuṇṭhitā na sarasvatī//* (end chapter IX) and *Gṛhītavidyopavidyaḥ kāvyakriyāyai prayateta* (beginning chapter X). In my opinion these words mark a major shift in the focus of the text at the beginning of chapter X. While the first group of chapters, IV up to and including IX, is apparently concerned with topics for the education of the poet, the part which follows turns to the more pragmatic aspects of his profession. Of course a further division within the two groups of chapters, IV-IX and X-XVIII, is possible, but it would be a division within the same category. The topics covered in the chapters X-XVIII, for instance, are all somehow concerned with 'Kāvyakriyā'. Thus, chapter X deals with, among other things, royal support as a necessary condition for a poet, chapters XI-XIII with controversies concerning plagiarism, while XIV-XVII provide exhaustive lists of conventional material at the disposal of the poet.

The contrast between the two parts of the text may be illustrated by the following example. In the second part endless lists are given of the names of the various countries, mountains and rivers, which constitute the material available to a poet. Chapter IX, on the other hand, mentions countries, mountains and rivers as categories and is concerned with their proper use and their effect (*yas tu saridadrisāgarapuraturagarathādivarṇane yatnaḥ// kaviśaktikhyātiphalo vitatadhiyāṁ no mataḥ sa iha*, verse 17).[5]

This brief discussion of the structure of the text as a whole should suffice to show that there is a bare outline of a plan: from topics for the training of the poet it proceeds, almost logically, to aspects of the poetic profession. This division itself is, however, implicit. Only the transition is indicated, and that only in the scarcest possible way.

2

The 'rambling' style of the *KM* is most clearly visible within the chapters. A clear illustration is provided by chapter VI, called *padavākyaviveka*. The chapter indeed begins with a discussion of Pada and Vākya (p. 21, line 17 - p. 22, line 20 and p. 22, line 21 - p. 24, line 25). After that it continues with a polemic on the propriety of instructing pupils in Kāvya at all if it teaches them things which are not true (*asatya*), which are immoral (*asad*) or which are vulgar (*asabhya*). In the course of this discussion an extensive quotation is given from the *Mahābhāṣya* on the term Apaśabda.

The transition from the discussion of Vākya to literary truth is indicated by one brief, quotation-like sentence: *Guṇavadalaṁkṛtañca vākyam eva kāvyam*. This sentence provides the link between Vākya and Kāvya,[6] but in no way does it prepare the reader for the type of discussion which actually follows. It is to the reader to supply the arguments for the juxtaposition in one chapter of such technical topics as Pada and Vākya, and of falsehood, immorality and vulgarity in poetry. It is interesting to note that in the conclusion of the chapter the author in fact admits of being guilty of diffuseness: *Padavākyaviveko'yam iti kiñcit prapañcitaḥ.*

3

Fortunately in most other cases the relation between the individual topics in a chapter is considerably more obvious. In chapter VII, for instance, the exposition on the foundations of recitation (*pāṭhapratiṣṭhā*) is followed by one on intonation (*kākuprakārāḥ*). Another interesting example is found in chapter X which covers the *kavicaryā-* and *rājacaryā-prakaraṇa* respectively (the numbers 9 and 10 in the *prakaraṇādhikaraṇasamuddeśa* of chapter I). The *kavicaryā-prakaraṇa* is a curious mixture of the ideal and the real. Passages depicting the living conditions ideally suited for a poet-in-action are varied with practical advice and cynical observations on the relation between the poet and his audience. The *rājacaryā-prakaraṇa* gives a more or less coherent description of the king as the ideal patron of poets and of scholars in general.

Even though no connection is made, at least not explicitly, between the two successive *prakaraṇas*, we may safely assume that some sort of connection or interaction has been intended. The basis for this assumption is found in the personal circumstances of Rājaśekhara, who himself was an enthousiastic court poet at Kanauj.[7] The chapter is in fact one of the first scholarly treatises on the relation between poet and king, and as such it is often quoted and referred to.[8] In what follows, however, it will be studied instead as an example -- an extreme example, as will become clear -- of the 'rambling' style of the text.

4

From what has been said above regarding the rambling style of the text it will be obvious that we should not expect a coherent, flowing argument on this relation between poet and king. What we find, instead, is a succession of independent blocks of text, each in complete isolation as it were, treating an aspect of the topic at hand. On this point the *kavicaryā-prakaraṇa* presents a problem in that, though its sections all deal indeed with the poet, it it difficult to detect any system at all in the presentation. The rambling style seems to have been carried through to the extreme. One may be tempted even to speak of a deliberate attempt at obfuscation.

In the *kavicaryā-prakaraṇa* two different, if not contrasting, pictures seem to have been completely mixed up and interwoven. In the first the poet is depicted, literally, as a *nāgaraka*, living in great luxury and being able to spend all his time on poetry. The second picture is concerned in a disturbingly realistic way with the interaction between the poet and his audience. The poet gives the audience neither more nor less than they deserve. The poet as *homo economicus*!

The first category of topics includes the long description of the poet's house (*tasya bhavanaṁ susaṁmṛṣṭaṁ* ...). As indicated by Stchoupak and Renou, the description is to a large extent based on *Kāmasūtra* I, 4 (*Nāgarakavṛtta*). The house is provided with all the amenities generally only available to the leisured class. It has rooms for all the six seasons, a garden with a pond and a miniature mountain in which peacocks and does roam about.

The poet has servants and a scribe. The whole household is arranged in such a way as to assist him in the composition of poetry. Of the servants the male speak Apabhraṁśa, the female Māgadhī as well, the women of the harem (as a *nāgaraka* the poet can afford more than one wife) speak Prākrit and Sanskrit, and his friends Sanskrit. His scribe is proficient in all dialects. The idea behind this seems to be that each of these persons could assist the poet in his or her capacity as native speaker. The section ends with an enumeration of a variety of writing utensils and writing material at the poet's disposal (*tasya samputikā* ...).

To this category also belongs the second section of the chapter: *api ca nityaṁ śuciḥ syāt*. In a way it continues (*api ca*) the *Kāvyamātṛs*, which include, among other things, a strong constitution (*svāsthya*), a good memory (*smṛtidārḍhya*) and the characteristic of not being easily disappointed (*anirveda*). First, *kāyaśauca* is specified, which includes trimming one's nails and cleaning the mouth with betel-leaves. Apparently, there is thought to be a relation between the cleanliness of the poet and the quality of his work (*sa yatsvabhāvaḥ kavis tadanurūpaṁ kāvyam*), as there is in the case of the painter and the painting. Next, *vākyaśauca* is specified (smiling when adressing someone, not giving unasked-for opinions on the works of others, etc.).

The second larger prose passage belonging to this category deals with the poet's plan of day (*aniyatakālāḥ pravṛttayo viplavante tasmād divasaṁ niśāṁ ca yāmakrameṇa caturdhā vibhajet ... ityāhorātrikaṁ*). The passage has been grafted on *Kāmasūtra* I, 4 or *Arthaśāstra* I, 19 (*Rājapraṇidhi*). The poet must plan his activities well and divide them properly over the day. Day and night are divided into four parts (*yāma*'s), to each of which are assigned specific activities, from paying homage to Sarasvatī in the morning, having one's poetic output examined in the fourth *yāma* to making love to one's wife in the first wake of the night.

This is followed by a division of the poets according to the time they have available for poetry and according to their inclination to write poetry: the *asūryampaśya*, who is completely absorbed in poetry, the *niṣaṇṇa*, who writes poetry when he feels like it, the *dattāvasara*, who writes poetry when he has the opportunity, and the *prāyojanika*, who writes only when he has inspiration. Rājaśekhara adds that also women can become poets. Undoubtedly he had here in mind his own wife Avantisundarī, who was an accomplished poet herself.

5

The second category of topics include the (prose) passage beginning with *Kaviḥ prathamam ātmānam eva kalpayet*, 'The first thing a poet should do is to "adapt" himself'. Rājaśekhara quotes other scholars (*ācāryāḥ*) as saying that the poet should find out in which dialect he is most proficient and what his audience, including the king (? *parivṛḍho*), likes. On the basis of such considerations he may decide to specialize in one particular dialect. However, Rājaśekhara does not agree with this specialization. A really good poet should be proficient in all the dialects and not restrict his freedom of movement by specialization. He gives a verse (2) to elaborate this point.

The text continues, in verse, on the point raised earlier, namely that the poet should in all cases acquaint himself with the preferences of the people (*jānīyāl lokasāmmatyam*) but at the same time not ignore those of his own (3). In this connection he is warned about false motives behind the people's opinions (4). They generally praise dead poets or those living in far off countries, but they treat with contempt the unlucky poet who is available (5). His fate is like that of a beautiful housewife (6). Another danger is formed by people who, because they themselves are dabbling in poetry (*kavitvavamātreṇa*) think they have earned the right to criticize the work of other poets, even of the most brilliant.

The true touchstone is the appreciation by experts (*vacaḥ svādu satāṁ lehyam*). Popularity among children, women and low-caste people is meaningless (8). Popularity is in itself an unreliable factor, as a work and the reputation of, for instance, a wandering ascetic or a king naturally travel faster than those of a sedentary poet (9). Likewise sons will praise the works of their fathers, *śiṣyas* those of their *gurus*, and footsoldiers those of their kings (10).

After this, the text continues in prose again. At first the topic is a completely different one ('A poet should not read out a work which is as yet only half finished'), but through the advice to have one's work examined by an impartial critic (*udāsīna*), it returns to the *kavimānin* mentioned earlier. Such a person is to be pleased by composing just what he wants to hear. To try and compose something really beautiful (*sūktaṁ*) for him is like screaming in the desert and is in any case a wasted effort (*araṇyaruditaṁ syād viplaveta ca*). This same idea is repeated in verse 11 and it is added that this person will insert the *sūktaṁ* in his own work and in this way destroy its original effect completely.

The *kavicaryā-prakaraṇa* ends with a series of verses (14-21), evidently intended to sum up the *prakaraṇa*. Verse 14 refers to the *āhorātrika*: a poet who plans his activities according to that scheme (*aharniśāvibhāgena ya itthaṁ kavate kṛtī*) will create poems valued by the experts (*satāṁ*). Other factors are his preparation (*saṁskāra*) and the effort (*abhiyoga*) he puts into his work (15). Then follow two verses (16 and 17) on works by more than one poet: e.g. an anthology of Muktaka verses, which are the result of a collective effort. Verses 18 and 19 mention several topics for study, preparing the poet for his task, and stressing the need of constant practice even for a poet who already knows all there is to know. All this is then summed up in verses 20 and 21. Sarasvatī would prove a faithful wife to the poet who is faithful to her by devoting himself to literary activities in the single-minded way described earlier (*ityananyamanovṛtter niḥśeṣe'sya kriyākrame*, 20). In his work the poet would reach a state of perfection (*siddhi*) not even known to Bṛhaspati (21).

6

The respective paragraphs belonging to the two categories distinguished above are completely mixed up. I shall return to this point below. The question to be dealt with at this stage is whether there is any common element in these two completely different pictures given of the poet. This common element may be found in the following question: what are the circumstances or conditions under which the most beautiful Kāvya is composed? These circumstances include a luxurious house and unlimited time, but equally important is an informed, knowledgeable audience before which the poet has, so to say, pull out all the stops. The quality of the poem is in direct proportion to the effort (*abhiyoga*) put into it.

7

Under these circumstances there is, according to Rājaśekhara, but one person who can 'save' Kāvya, 'save', that is, from extinction as well as from mediocrity, namely the king-poet. It is regarded the king's duty to maintain at his court the best representatives of each profession (*Puruṣaratnānām eka eva rājodanvān bhājanam*).[9] As a poet, he determines the level of the poetry produced at his court (*Rājani kavau sarvo lokaḥ kaviḥ syāt*,[10] 'When the king is a poet every (poet) will try to be a good poet').[11]

In his role as patron of Kāvya the king-poet is expected to organise a contest between poets (*kavisamāja* or *kāvyagoṣṭhī*). This contest is described as a public event, and is presided over by the king (*kāvyagoṣṭhiṁ ... pravarttayet*; as *sabhāpati*). He acts as sponsor (*bhāvayet*) and as judge (*parīkṣeta*), dispensing presents and honours according to merit (*dānamānābhyāṁ*; *lokottarasya kāvyasya ca yathārhā pūjā kaver vā*). In arriving at his judgements, the king may well have let himself be influenced by the opinions of the public (probably better than 'audience'). In any case, the king should see to it that everybody present was content (*Tuṣṭapuṣṭāśca sabhyā bhaveyur sthāne ca paritoṣikam labheran*).

The recitation of poetry could be interrupted by readings from scholarly works, which were judged in the same way (*Śrūyate ca Pāṭaliputre śāstrakāraparīkṣā*). Interestingly, both types of contests seem to have been restricted in the first place to the king's own poets and scholars. For poets and scholars from elsewhere the king apparently had to organise a meeting (*saṅga*) at some other time (*anyadvārā*, 'en une autre occasion'). He was expected to win over and take into his service those who were seeking employment.

By acting as a *sabhāpati*, i.e. by dispensing presents and honours (*dānamānābhyāṁ*), the king buys eternal fame for himself like

Vāsudeva, Sātavāhana, Śūdraka and Sāhasāṅka did before him. Furthermore, he turns his residence into a *mahānagara*, a great centre of culture, like Ujjayinī, where poets were examined, and which is still remembered by the works of its poets, including Kālidāsa, Meṇṭha, Amara, Rūpa, Sūra, Bhāravi, Haricandra and Candragupta (23), or like Pāṭaliputra, in which the works of scholars like Pāṇini were examined (24).

8

In the *kavicaryā-prakaraṇa* Rājaśekhara elaborates on two separate but equally important sets of conditions or determinants for Kāvya. They are independence and freedom on the part of the poet, and a knowledgeable audience. The extent to which these conditions are fulfilled determines the quality of the Kāvya. Given these conditions, Rājaśekhara seems to say, Kāvya can exist only at the court of a king who is also a poet himself. Royal patronage is, however, not an arrangement between the king and the individual poet, nor is it a permanent arrangement. It is to be attained again and again during a contest, the *kavisamāja*. Disregarding the more fanciful elements in his description, it is evident that Rājaśekhara refers here to an actual, though not necessarily contemporaneous practice. It should be noticed that the *samāja* with the element of competition it introduces among the poets takes away some of the weight of the role of the king as an expert in poetry. The competition, or the effort of the poet to outdo his fellow-poets, already ensures the production of good poetry, that is to say, relatively good poetry, or the best one can get given the quality of the assembled poets. The king then comes to represent some sort of absolute standard, a function difficult, if not impossible to put into practice. Allowing for individual exceptions, the king's role as poet may well have been mainly ceremonial.

9

As said above in his *KM* Rājaśekhara does not 'develop' an argment. The contrary seems to be the case. For instance, in the *kavicaryā-prakaraṇa* the two sets of paragraphs are mixed up completely, involving some highly abrupt changes of topic. Thus, immediately after the paragraph which enumerates the poet's writing utensils, the text goes on with: *Kaviḥ prathamam ātmānam eva kalpayet.* After verse 10, on the son praising his father's poem, the poet is advised not to read aloud a poem when it is not yet finished. And, finally, the warning for a judge who thinks himself a poet is followed by the plan of day according to which a poet has to divide his activities. In two of these cases the transition is marked by verbal association, which merely enhances the effect of 'rambling'. In the last example mentioned, the one passage ends with the words *sūktam araṇyaruditaṁ syād viplaveta ca.* After a verse, which sums up the whole paragraph, the next passage starts with *aniyatakālāḥ pravṛttayo viplavante, tasmād* ... It should be added that, if not the word *viplu-* itself, at least the idea expressed by it, 'to get lost', plays a role in the paragraph on the *prabandhavināśakāraṇa*'s found after the one on women-poets. A poet is advised to make several copies of his work to minimize the risk that it will get lost. A similar but less spectacular case is seen in the second case mentioned above. The one passage ends with ... *stuvanti ca paṭhanti ca* (verse 6). The following paragraph (in prose) begins with *kiñca nārddhakṛtaṁ paṭhed* ...

In this connection reference may be made to yet another example, from chapter VI, of how a change of topic was contrived. As already shown above, the text goes from Vākya, through the brief statement that Kāvyā is Vākya, to falsehood and other such things in Kāvya. It is hard to avoid the impression that this particular transition was contrived consciously.

Nevertheless it is possible for the reader to discern or to reconstruct from the text a kind of argument. This can be done for the *prakaraṇa*, the chapter or the text as a whole. One may therefore ask if the rambling style of the text with its abrupt changes of topics, its unmotivated turns, its associative transitions does not itself serve some definite purpose, for instance, as a didactive device, providing points of discussion between teacher and pupil.

NOTES

1. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara*, edited by C.D. Dalal and R.A. Sastry. Revised and enlarged by K.S. Ramaswami. Third edition, Baroda, 1934 (*GOS* 1). Translated into French by N. Stchoupak and L. Renou, *La Kāvyamīmāṁsā de Rājaśekhara*, Paris, 1946 (*Cahiers de la Société Asiatique*, VIII).
2. E. Gerow, *Indian Poetics*, Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 260-1 (*A History of Indian Literature*, V, 3, edited by J. Gonda). Compare S.K. De, *HSP*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1976 (repr. of second edition), p. 291: '... giving a somewhat rambling treatment of various extraneous (i.e. extraneous to poetics proper) matter.' With 'style' I am here referring to something else than what Renou (*JA*s. CCXLIX, 1961, pp. 183-197) described as a mixed Sūtra/Bhāṣya-style.
3. See also Stchoupak and Renou, *op.cit.*, p. 26, note 56.
4. The chapters I-III contain mainly traditional, introductory matter.
5. In the edition used the verses have not been numbered.
6. See Stchoupak and Renou, *op.cit.*, p. 90, note 98.
7. See S.K. De, *HSP*, Vol. I, pp. 119-120 and P.V. Kane, *HSP*, Delhi, 1971 (repr. of fourth edition), pp. 211-215.

8. See, e.g., S. Lienhard, *A History of Classical Poetry*, Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 16 (*A History of Indian Literature* III, 1, edited by J. Gonda) and D. Smith, *Ratnākara's* *Haravijaya. An Introduction to Sanskrit Court Epic*, Delhi, 1985, pp. 87-8.
9. The text continues here with: *Rājacaritaṁ ca rājopajīvino-'pyanukuryuḥ. Rājña eva hyasāvupakāro yadrājopajīvināṁ saṁskāraḥ.* It is clear from these two brief and somewhat enigmatic sentences that other persons in the realm may take upon themselves the honourable task of supporting poets as well. But they do so thanks to and in the name of the king. The king remains, from the poets' point of view, the ultimate source.
10. This sentence, *Rājani kavau* ..., provides an explanation of the phrase *Rājā kaviḥ* in the preceding sentence: *Rājā kaviḥ kavisamājaṁ vidadhīta.*
11. Compare Stchoupak and Renou's (rather indifferent) translation: 'Le roi étant poète, tout le monde sera poète'. I venture to suggest yet another 'translation', namely 'If the king were no poet, there simply would be no (good) poets at all'.

’ROYAL’ PATRONAGE OF SANSKRIT GRAMMATICAL STUDIES IN TIBET[1]

P. Verhagen

1. History of ’royal’ patronage of Sanskrit studies in Tibet.

In the earliest period of the spread of Buddhism in Tibet we can literally speak of royal patronage of Sanskrit studies. At the time, during the period of the Tibetan royal empire (mid-seventh to mid-ninth century A.D.) the instigation and coordination of the activities in the translating of the Indic Buddhist literature into Tibetan was to a great extent a matter of the central authorities. In the later periods the patronage can only be termed ’royal’ in a figurative sense: in the main the patrons were in fact clerical potentates.

The adoption of Buddhism in Tibet, as it did in a great number of Asian cultures, involved a vast complex of Indic cultural elements all centering around the nucleus of the *Buddha-dharma*. This transcultural borrowing of the whole complex of ideas, cults, forms of social organisation, artistic expressions etc. which is usually referred to by the term "Buddhism", had an extremely important literary component. The admission into the Tibetan tradition of a huge corpus of Indic literature, mainly belonging to the so-called *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* forms of Buddhism and predominantly written in Sanskrit, often Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, necessitated the production of Tibetan translations of these texts.

The direct involvement of the Tibetan royal dynasty in the translating-activities is well documented. In the formation of central translation committees[1] that checked and amended new (and existing) translations, in the codification of the terminology and techniques of translation (particularly in the standard Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon *Mahāvyutpatti*[2] and its partial commentary *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gñis-pa*[3]) and in the first canonization of the translations (e.g. in catalogues[4] of translations that seem to be inspired on the Chinese catalogues of translations compiled by imperial order[5]), the instigation and propagation of these activities by the Tibetan royal dynasty were certainly decisive factors for their success[6].

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After the downfall of the Tibetan royal dynasty mid ninth century a period of suppression of Buddhism in Tibet followed. From mid tenth century onwards a resurgence of Buddhism took place. From the eleventh century onwards the translating activities increased steadily and an enormous Indo-Tibetan translation literature was formed. The first half of the fourteenth century saw these processes culminating in the formation of the Tibetan Buddhist canon[7]. In fact we should speak of two canons, the first being the collection of texts ascribed to the Buddha himself commonly called *Bka'-'gyur*[8] 'Translation of the Word (of the Buddha)', and the second containing the scholastic and exegetical literature, known as *Bstan-'gyur*[9] 'Translation of the (exegetical) treatises'. In the latter canon we find that besides the majority of Buddhist texts quite a number of treatises on secular ancillary sciences have been included. Among these disciplines considered as sciences auxiliary to the interpretation of the Buddhist literature the most prominent was the science of grammar, specifically Sanskrit grammar. Consequently we find that already in the first, fourteenth-century, redaction of *Bstan-'gyur* twenty-three treatises on Sanskrit grammar had been included[10]. In the course of the centuries between the first redaction and the eighteenth-century xylographical editions now available twenty-four more were added[11], resulting in the total of forty-seven titles on Sanskrit grammar now incorporated in *Bstan-'gyur*. The dates of these translations that were later additions generally vary from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Investigation of the colophons of the texts in question and related sources has shown that in the period I have termed 'classical' (i.e. 11th through mid 14th century) the majority of the scholars involved and of the monasteries that were centres of Sanskrit studies belonged to the *Sa-skya-pa* sect and two of its branches the *Ṅor-pa* and *Zha-lu-pa* subsects. From mid thirteenth till mid fourteenth century the dominating political power in Tibet was precisely this *Sa-skya-pa* sect which had allied itself to the successors of Cinggis Khan, the Mongol *Khan*s Ögödei and Khubilai Khan[12]. The main monastic centres of the *Sa-skya-pa*s were located in Gtsaṅ, the southwestern province of central Tibet; precisely in these monasteries, which were then (and until the fifties of this century) treasuries of Sanskrit manuscripts, by far the most translations on Sanskrit linguistics were made. The most prominent hierarch in this sect, Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251/1252), one of the most outstanding Tibetan scholars of the period, has written on Sanskrit grammar (and other linguistic topics) in a number of his works[13]. His successor, 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280), commissioned one translation on Sanskrit grammar to be made[14]. Thus far I have not found conclusive evidence of direct personal involvement of other *Sa-skya-pa* rulers in Sanskrit grammatical studies. Nevertheless, the 'patronage' of the ruling *Sa-skya-pa* sect of these studies in this period is evident.

In later centuries again we find proof of personal involvement of major potentates, invested with great spiritual as well as secular power, in the propagation of the study of Sanskrit grammar. Here the fourth *Zhwa-dmar* ('Red Hat') hierarch of the *Phag-mo-gru-pa* branch of the *Bka'-brgyud-pa* sect, Chos-kyi-grags-pa-ye-śes-dpal-bzaṅ-po (1453-1524), should be mentioned. At his instigation the famous grammarian Zha-lu Chos-skyoṅ-bzaṅ-po (1441-1527/1528) translated three treatises[15] on Sanskrit grammar.

The most prominent patrons of grammar in the later history of Tibet were indubitably the fifth Dalai Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) and his regent *Sde-srid* Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653-1705). The fifth Dalai Lama, head of the *Dge-lugs-pa* sect, besides acquiring supreme secular power over Tibet mainly through his alliance with the Qośot Mongols[16], was also responsible for an impressive flowering of Tibetan culture due to his strong stimulation and patronage of a whole range of sciences[17], arts and crafts. A good example of this is the construction of the present form of the famous Potala palace, indubitably one of the highlights of Tibetan architecture, which was started at the instigation and under auspices of the 'Great Fifth' (Tib. *lṅa-pa-chen-po*) as he is often nicknamed[18].

On the field of Indic grammar he commissioned the first translations of basic texts of the Pāṇinian system of grammar. Under his auspices 'translator from 'Dar' (*'Dar-lo-tsā-ba*) Ṅag-dbaṅ-phun-tshogs-lhun-grub[19] (1633?-?) studied Sanskrit grammar for a number of years under two Indian specialists[20] residing in Lhasa at the invitation of the Dalai Lama[21]. From 1658 to 1660 the translator from 'Dar worked on the translation of the Pāṇinian basic *sūtra*-text[22] and the commentary *Prakriyākaumudī*[23] by *Rāmacandra*. In 1665 he completed his translation of another voluminous grammatical treatise, scil. the commentary on *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa* entitled *Prakriyācaturā*[24]. Finally the most recently dated (1685) translation on Sanskrit grammar in the Tibetan canon, scil. the Pāṇinian *dhātupāṭha*[25], by Dkon-mchog-chos-grags, was also made under the auspices of the Dalai Lama and the *Sde-srid*[26].

A telling indication of the direct involvement of the 'court' of the Dalai Lama, particularly of his powerful regent *Sde-srid* Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, in the production of these translations is the fact that besides being included in the canon, the *Prakriyākaumudī* translation (and possibly part of the *Sārasvata* translation too) was incorporated in the collected works of the *Sde-srid* as well[27].

Investigation of the available datings of the Tibetan canonical translations of Sanskrit grammatical treatises has shown that the periods during which by far most translations were made (scil. 13th-14th and 17th century) coincide with periods in Tibetan history of dominance of one centralized authority, *in casu* the *Sa-skya-pa* and *Dge-lugs-pa* sects respectively, being both clerically and politically the dominating

powers of the time. These dominating sects are then also seen to be patrons of the translating activities and consequently also of Sanskrit studies, which could in the context of orientation on the Indian sources of Buddhism rightfully be called the key to orthodoxy for the Tibetans.
It has been suggested that more profane considerations may also have played a role in the 'princely' patronage of Sanskrit studies in the *Dge-lugs-pa* period. In this period, when the Sanskrit-Tibetan translating activities had in fact been dwindling for some centuries as a result of the devastating effects of the Muslim invasions on the Buddhist communities in India and the consequent end of the influx of new Indic text material into Tibet, it should not be ruled out that the favouring of Indian paṇdits and their lore also had an aspect of functioning as status symbol[28]. It would seem that the fifth Dalai Lama was very well aware of the prestige to be derived from the revival of the ancient translators' traditions[29].

The correlation between 'princely' patronage of grammatical studies and the flowering of that science can also be detected in the history of Sanskrit grammar in India proper[30]. The three periods of particular flourishing of Sanskrit grammar, scil. the fifth, eleventh to thirteenth and seventeenth century, coincide with the Gupta dynasty, the prosperous medieval (pre-muslim-invasion) Hindu kingdoms in the peninsula, and the zenith of the Mughal rule respectively, when not only Sanskrit but Prakrit studies as well benefited from the favourable circumstances.
Moreover it is quite remarkable that the seventeenth century saw not only the renaissance of Pāṇinian grammar in India, which was headed by *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*[31], and which coincides with the rise of Mahratta power[32], but also the latest period of flourishing of Sanskrit grammatical studies in Tibet, culminating in the monumental Pāṇini-translation, under the patronage of the *Dge-lugs-pa* 'court' of the Dalai Lama. It is tempting to consider the possibility whether a direct connection exists between the flourishing of Pāṇinian *vyākaraṇa* in India and Tibet. Further research would be needed to ascertain the exact nature of this relation.

2. Reply by 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I to questions on Sanskrit grammar by Sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho.

As a witness to the direct personal involvement of the famous *Dge-lugs-pa* hierarch *Sde-srid* Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653-1705) in the study of Sanskrit grammar in this 'post-classical' period I would like to make some observations on a brief treatise, containing answers to a number of specific questions on Sanskrit morphology that the *Sde-srid* put to one of the grammatical authorities of his time, viz. 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I Ṅag-dbaṅ-brtson-grus (1648-1721/1722?).

The text is entitled *Sgra-mdo-chen-po-bzhi-las-brtsams-pa'i-dka'-gnad-kyi-dogs-gcod-'jam-dbyaṅs-dgyes-pa'i-rol-mo-zhes-bya-ba* '(The treatise) that removes doubts concerning difficult points regarding[33] the four great grammatical *sūtra*s, entitled The Joyful Music of Mañjughoṣa'. It occupies three folios in the first volume of the collected works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I in the xylographic edition[34] from the Bkra-śis-'khyil monastery[35].

The colophon at the end of the text provides us with the information that the text contains 'the answers by the omniscient 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa'i-rin-po-che, to questions put by *Sde-srid* Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho'[36].

As the title indicates the text deals with specific questions on '(the) four great grammatical *sūtras*', i.e. four major basic texts on Sanskrit grammar. The four major traditions in question are *Kātantra* and *Cāndra* grammar, a grammatical treatise by a *Mañjukīrti, and finally Pāṇini's grammar[37].

The section on the third grammatical basic text is quite curious. It reads thus:

> 'In the (treatise entitled) "Technical derivation of (the forms ending in) the nominal case-endings" of *Mañjukīrti, (the form) **rāgavīyaṇi*(?) is not found.
>
> Besides this (treatise by *Mañjukīrti) no (other) "Grammatical *sūtra* of Mañjughoṣa" exists.'[38].

The grammatical treatise referred to here is the *sY-ādy-anta-prakriyā* (Tibetan: *Si-la-sogs-pa'i-mtha'i-bya-ba*), which is attributed to a further unknown author called *Mañjukīrti or *Mañjuśrīkīrti, and which is preserved in translation in the Tibetan Buddhist canon[39].

In this passage identification of the Sanskrit form on which the question focusses is quite problematic on itself. So far I have not found a satisfactory explanation for the form **rāgavīyaṇi*[40]. This set aside, what is most striking in this brief remark is the categorical assertion that no other "grammatical basic text of Mañjughoṣa" exists besides this *sY-ādy-anta-prakriyā* by Mañju(śrī)kīrti. This would seem to imply that the author was not aware of the treatises entitled *Mañjuśrī-śabda-lakṣaṇa*[41] and *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-vṛtti-mañjuśrī-śabda-vyākaraṇa*[42], a basic text and a voluminous (partial) commentary, which are often collectively referred to as **Mañjuśrī-vyākaraṇa* 'Mañjuśrī's grammar', and which have been included in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. It is very well possible that in the question, which evidently referred to a 'grammatical basic text of *Mañjughoṣa', this **Mañjuśrī-vyākaraṇa* was intended. It is most remarkable that 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I, a major scholastic authority of his time, would overlook these treatises that were translated by Zha-lu Chos-skyoṅ-bzaṅ-po (1441-1527/1528), a renowned specialist on grammar, and that cover circa two hundred folios in the xylographic editions of the canon.

The Sanskrit forms the derivations of which are briefly discussed in this text are the following:

Section 1: questions regarding *Kātantra* grammar:
- *pāka(ḥ)* (1v1-3)
- *śrū(ḥ)*, *śruta(ḥ)*, *śrutavān* & *śroma(ḥ)*(?) (1v3-2r1)
- *oṃ* (2r1-2)
- *jagmivān* (2r3-4)

Section 2: questions regarding *Cāndra* grammar:
- *taikāyana* (2v1-3)
- *aṅgārīya(ni?)* (2v3-5)

Section 3: see supra.

Section 4: questions regarding Pāṇini's grammar:
- *śrathnāti*, *śrathnīte* (2v6)
  indrādayo 'pi yasyāntaṃ na yayuḥ śabdavāridhiḥ /
  prakriyāṃ tasya kṛtsnasya kṣamo vāktuṃ naraḥ katham //
  (2v6-3r4)
- *indra*, *śabda*, *nara* (3r2-4)
- *pṛṣodara* (3r4-5)
- *siṃha* (3r5-6)
- *mayūra*, *bhramara*, *pṛṣodara*, *aśvattha* & *kapittha* (3r6-v4)
- *ratna* (3v4)

I would like to make a few observations on two passages in this treatise. Firstly on the derivation of the form *oṃ*, the *bīja-mantra* well-known in both Hindu and Buddhist traditions, and secondly the *śloka* dealt with in section 4.
The derivation of *oṃ* follows on that of the form *śromaḥ*, described as deriving from verbal base *śru* with nominal suffix *maN*. This same suffix is also applied in the author's derivation of *oṃ*. The passage reads as follows:

> 'The same suffix[es?] (can be applied) to the verbal root *avI* (in the denotation) "to protect", so that (suffix) *maN* is applied (to that root).
> (The letter) *N* (of *maN*), which is an *anubandha* (i.e. technical marker) is elided.
> According to (the *sūtra*?) "(the portion) beginning with the last vowel will be elided" the vowel of (i.e. following) *m* is elided.
> After the *m* has been substituted by [lit. made (into)] *anusvāra* (the form) *oṃ* [gloss: '(in the denotation) protect etc.'] is established.
> For this (form *oṃ*) a great many procedures of derivation and interpretations exist.'[43]

In this derivation procedure we can distinguish the following steps:
(1) application of suffix *maN* to verbal base *av*
(2) elision of technical marker *N* of *maN*
(3) elision of the part of *ma* beginning with the last vowel (technically called *ṭi*)
(4) substitution of final *m* by *anusvāra* i.e. *ṃ*.
The derivation could be schematically represented as:
(1) *av(I)* + *maN*according to *Kāt.* ?
(2) *av/o?* + *ma* according to *Kāt.* 3.8.31
(3) *av/o?* + *m* according to *Kāt.* ?
(4) *av/o?* + ṃ according to *Kāt.* 1.4.15

Here the substitution of *av* by *o* is not accounted for. It has not been possible in all cases to determine what rules from *Kātantra* are intended here. Inspection of the general *sūtra*-text as well as the so-called *uṆādi-sūtra*s has so far not yielded the rules (or rule) that prescribe(s) suffix *maN* and elision of the *ṭi*-segment of this suffix. However, an extremely similar derivation can be found in the Pāṇinian *uṆādi-sūtra*s, i.e. a corpus of rules that provide for introducing a specific group of primary nominal suffixes, the so-called *uṆādi* ('*uṆ* etc.'[44]) suffixes, to derive nominal bases that are regarded as too idiosyncratic to be dealt with in the main *sūtra*-text.
Pāṇini *uṆādi-sūtra* 1.141[45] *avateṣ ṭi-lopaś ca*[46], precisely prescribes suffix *maN* after root *av*, along with elision of the final vowel *a* of the suffix. In this derivation of *oṃ* (or *om*) according to the Pāṇinian system of grammar, the morphological change of root *av* is accounted for in the following manner: first the root is substituted by long vowel *ū* (technically termed *ūṬH*) before a suffix beginning with nasal according to Pāṇini *sūtra* 6.4.20[47], and subsequently this vowel *ū* is substituted by *guṇa* vowel *o*. A schematic representation of this derivation would be:
(1) *avA* + *maN*according to *Pāṇ*. *uṆādi* 1.141
(2) *av* + *ma* according to *Pāṇ*. 1.3.9
(3) *av* + *m* according to *Pāṇ*. *uṆādi* 1.141
(4) *ūṬH* + *m* according to *Pāṇ*. 6.4.20
(5) *ū* + *m* according to *Pāṇ*. 1.3.9
(6) *o* + *m* according to *Pāṇ*. 7.3.84 (?)

A second passage in the present treatise that is of special interest is the *śloka* which is quoted in the fourth section:

> *indrādayo 'pi yasyāntaṃ na yayuḥ śabdavāridhiḥ* /
> *prakriyāṃ tasya kṛtsnasya kṣamo vāktuṃ naraḥ katham* //[48]
>
> 'The ocean of words, of which not even (the gods) Indra etc. have reached the end, how could man be able to describe the derivation of this in its entirety?'

I have not been able to locate this *śloka* in the Tibetan canonical translation of the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* commentary on Pāṇini's *sūtra*s.

However it does occur in the introductory section of the canonical translation of the *Sārasvata* commentary[49].

It is also reminiscent of other Indic traditions linking the god Indra with *vyākaraṇa*. Note especially the remark in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*: *evaṃ hi śrūyate: bṛhaspatir indrāya divyaṃ varṣa-sahasraṃ pratipadoktānāṃ śabdānāṃ provāca nāntaṃ jagāma*[50] 'Thus it is handed down: Bṛhaspati proclaimed to Indra for a thousand heaven years a complete enumeration of words, (consisting of) words listed individually and (still) he did not get to the end.' This occurs in a passage where Patañjali, in defense of the analytical and prescriptive methods of *vyākaraṇa*, observes that correct usage of language cannot be learned by enumeration of all correct forms.

Our present author 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa seems to use this *śloka* with an intention very similar to that of Patañjali. He seems to be alluding to the impossibility of comprehending all possible Sanskrit forms and derivations due to the sheer bulk of the Sanskrit vocabulary and literature. Indeed Sanskrit is one of the richest languages in lexical bases as well as in possible derivations of these bases. 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa's implicit advice to the *Sde-srid* not to hope to be able fully to understand the finesses of all Sanskrit forms certainly seems to be sound advice to a Tibetan scholar, who was not a native speaker of any of the Indic languages evolved from Sanskrit and who was in contact with the living traditions of Sanskrit scholarship only through a number of Indian and Nepali Sanskrit scholars that stayed in Tibet in that period (in fact some at the request of the fifth Dalai Lama and the *Sde-srid*). Or might we even venture to consider the possibility that 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa quotes this verse as he himself was not able to answer all questions that the *Sde-srid* had put to him?

In passing it should be noted that the traditional Indic view[51] of Indra (and the *ṛṣi* Bṛhaspati) as founder(s) of the science of grammar in the world of the gods was also well known in the Tibetan traditions; various historiographical[52] as well as grammatical[53] texts refer to it.

Summing up we have here in this brief treatise an interesting document attesting to the direct personal involvement in Sanskrit studies of one of the major Tibetan potentates in seventeenth/eighteenth century. This involvement stands in a long tradition of patronage of Sanskrit studies from the side of Tibetan princely and clerical rulers, stretching from the eighth to the eighteenth century.

NOTES

1. Notably the committee generally known as *Bcom-ldan-'das-kyi-riṅ-lugs-kyi-'dun-sa*, cf. Simonsson (1957: 259-260), and the installation of translators of the so-called *Zhu-chen* 'great revision'.
2. Dating from late eighth, early ninth century, contained in the Tibetan canon; Peking edition *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *GO* 204v7-310r8, Co-ne *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *CO* 1r1-131r7; ed. Sakaki (1916-1925).
3. Contemporaneous to *Mahāvyutpatti*, Peking edition *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *ṄO* 1r1-38r3, Co-ne edition *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *CO* 131v1-160r7.
4. Of which only the *Stoṅ-thaṅ-ldan-dkar* or *Ldan-dkar-ma* catalogue has been preserved. Note that this catalogue is named after a royal palace, again indicating the involvement of the royal house, cf. Snellgrove (1987: 440).
5. Cf. Zürcher (1982: 163-164).
6. The period of the Tibetan royal empire, which at its zenith had extended its territory particularly in northern and eastern direction far beyond the later borders of Tibetan culture, lasted from mid-seventh to mid-ninth century. The kings that were the most prominent patrons of Buddhism, and consequently of Sanskrit studies, were Khri-sroṅ-lde-b(r)tsan (755-797), Khri-lde-sroṅ-b(r)tsan Sad-na-legs (799-815) and Khri-gtsug-lde-b(r)tsan Ral-pa-can (815-838); cf. e.g. Hoffmann (1975: 126-135), Snellgrove (1987: 384-seq., 440-seq.).
7. The scholars primarily responsible for the first formation of the Tibetan canon were Dbus-pa Blo-gsal Byaṅ-chub-ye-śes, Bsod-nams-'od-zer and Byaṅ-chub-'bum. The Mongolian ruler Buyantu Khan (1312-1320) had donated funds for this collection, consisting of manuscripts [not yet of blockprints] to be compiled, cf. Grönbold (1984: 14).
8. For the formation and subsequent development of *Bka'-'gyur* cf. Eimer (1983), Grönbold (1984: 13-16).
9. For the formation and subsequent development of *Bstan-'gyur* cf. Laufer (1913: 49-62), Vogel (1965: 24-30).
10. Cf. Verhagen (1991: II.1.CG 1-23).
11. Cf. Verhagen (1991: III.1.CG 24-47).
12. Cf. e.g. Snellgrove & Richardson (1968: 148-150), Tucci & Heissig (1970: 42).
13. E.g. in his *Mkhas-pa-'jug-pa'i-sgo*, *Sgra-la-'jug-pa*, *Yi-ge'i-sbyor-ba*; cf. Jackson (1987: 59, 66, 192-194), Miller (1988: 272-273, 275).

14. The canonical translation of *Vibhakti-kārikā* (Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel LE* 58v8-82r4, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel LE* 56r-78v, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel RE* 46r7-65r5, Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel RE* 51v2-70v3), cf. Verhagen (1991: II.2.2, App. A CG 6).
15. *Saṃbandha-siddhy-abhidhāna-prakriyā* (Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel RE* 78v1-106r5, Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel RE* 85v4-114v4), *Mañjuśrī-śabda-lakṣaṇa* (Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel PHO* 1v1-42v4, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel PHO* 1-44r, Derge ibid. *NO* 149v1-191r7) and *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-vṛtti-mañjuśrī-ṣabda-vyākaraṇa* (Peking ibid. *PHO* 42v4-197v8, Narthang ibid. *PHO* 44r-190r, Derge ibid. *RE* 142v1-278r7, Co-ne ibid. *RE* 152r5-296r6)
Cf. Verhagen (1991: III.1.CG 26, -CG 41 & -CG 42, III.2.12).
16. Cf. e.g. Snellgrove & Richardson (1968: 195-201), Tucci & Heissig (1970: 56-57), Hoffmann (1975: 57-58).
17. Notably linguistic sciences (grammar, metrics, poetics etc.), astrology and medicine; cf. Tucci (1949 I: 135-137), Hoffmann (1975: 211).
18. Cf. Tucci (1949 I: 134-135), Snellgrove & Richardson (1968: 199-200).
19. Cf. Verhagen (1991: III.2.15).
20. Viz. two brothers called Balabhadra and Gokulanāthamiśra, cf. Verhagen (1991: III.2.2, III.2.3). The latter has been tentatively identified with a *Vedāntin* scholar called Gokulanātha Upādhyāya (born c. 1640/1650), cf. Ghosh (1970: 37-39).
21. Cf. Tucci (1949 I: 74-75, 137).
22. *Pāṇini-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* (Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel BO* 1v1-32r2, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel BO* 1-32v, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel TO* 1v1-452r7 [also including next title], Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel TO* 1v1-27r7), cf. Verhagen (1991: III.1.CG 46).
23. Tibetan title: *Brda-sprod-pa’i-bstan-bcos-chen-po-pā-ṇi-ni-byā-ka-ra-ṇa-gzhuṅ-’grel-gyi-go-don-cho-ga-dper-brjod-sogs-zin-bris-su-bkod-pa-legs-bśad-nor-bu-’dren-pa’i-śiṅ-rta-zhes-bya-ba* (Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel BO* 32r2-288r8 & *MO* 1v1-266r2, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel BO* 32v-282. & *MO* 1-257v, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel TO* 1v1-452r7 [includes preceding title], Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel TO* 28v1-453r7), cf. Verhagen (1991: III.1.CG 47).
24. Tibetan title: *Brda-sprod-pa’i-bstan-bcos-chen-po-dbyaṅs-can-byā-ka-ra-ṇa’i-’grel-pa-rab-tu-bya-ba-gsal-ldan-zhes-bya-ba* (Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel PHO* 207r1-342v4, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel PHO* 198r-320v, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel SE* 10v1-125r7, Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel SE* 10v1-125r7).
25. *Pāṇini-dhātu-sūtra* (Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel PHO* 342v2-358r5, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel PHO* 321r-332v), cf. Verhagen (1991: III.1.CG 45).
26. Cf. Verhagen (1991: III.2.16).

27. Cf. Verhagen (1991: III.2.15).
28. Note also the view put forward by E. Gene Smith in his introduction to Chandra (1968: 6) that a factor in the renaissance of Sanskrit studies in the ’post-classical’ period may have been the considerable Newar artisan-merchant community resident in Tibet at the time. Particularly members of the Uray caste, destined to an inferior position in their native country Nepal, with a business interest in Tibet, tended to stay in Tibet for longer periods. The frequent contacts of Tibetans with these Newar Buddhists, holders of a long heritage of Sanskrit learning, may very well have stimulated the renewal of interest in Sanskrit. In this connection the relations of Si-tu paṇ-chen Chos-kyi-’byuṅ-gnas (1699?-1774), the greatest exponent of Sanskrit grammatical science in Tibet in his time, with his Newar students seem to be a case in point.
29. Cf. Tucci (1949 I: 74, 75, 137).
30. Cf. Belvalkar (1915: 87, 91, 93), Scharfe (1977: 187).
31. Cf. Cardona (1976: 283-284, 286-288), Scharfe (1977: 174-175).
32. Cf. Scharfe (1977: 174-175, 187).
33. I take *las* to be ablative enclitic; an alternative translation could be ’(...) points that have arisen from the four (...)’. One could also interpret *las* as noun (’work’ or ’business’). Either interpretation is possible in combination with *brtsams*.
34. Facsimile edition of the collected works: Demo (1972-1974). The text under consideration is Demo (1974 I: 719-724).
35. This is the well-known monastery Bla-braṅ Bkra-śis-’khyil, or Bkra-śis-sgo-maṅ, located in eastern Tibet, founded by the fifth Dalai Lama; cf. Chandra (1963 I: 46), Snellgrove & Richardson (1968: 199).
36. *zhes-pa-’di-ni-kun-mkhyen-’jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa’i-rin-po-ches-sde-srid-saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho’i-dris-lan-du-phul-ba’o //*, ed. Demo (1974 I: 724, 3v3-4).
37. The identification of Chandra (1963 I: 47) of the four grammars as "perhaps *Kalāpa*, *Cāndra*, *Sārasvata* and Pāṇini" is incorrect for the third, which is not *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa*, but the grammatical treatise by Mañjukīrti referred to here.
38. * *’jam-grags-pa’i-si-sogs-bya-ba-na-rā-ga-bī-ya-ṇi-ma-rñed / gzhan-yaṅ-’jam-dbyaṅs-sgra-mdo-med /*, ed. Demo (1974 I: 722, 2v5).
39. Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *LE* 163v5-229r4, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *LE* 152v-212v, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *ŚE* 1v1-54r7, Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *ŚE* 1v1-54r7, cf. Verhagen (1991: II.1.CG 15).
40. This precise form could not be traced in Sanskrit dictionaries. Perhaps one of the following nouns is intended: *rāṅkavāyana* ’coming from Raṅku’ (Monier-Williams 1899: 872), *rāghavīya*

’composed by Rāghava’ (ibid. p. 872) or *rājakīya* ’princely’ (ibid. p. 874).

41. Tibetan: *’Jam-dpal-gyi-sgra’i-mtshan-ñid*; Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *PHO* 1v1-42v4, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *PHO* 1-44r, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *NO* 149v1-191r7, not extant in Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur*, cf. Verhagen (1991: III.1.CG 41).
42. Tibetan: *’Jam-dpal-gyi-sgra-brda-sprod-pa’i-’grel-pa-stoṅ-phrag-brgyad-pa*; Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *PHO* 42v4-197v8, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *PHO* 44r-190r, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *RE* 142v1-278r7, Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *RE* 152r5-296r6, cf. Verhagen (1991: III.1. CG 42).
43. *sruṅ-ba’i-byiṅs-a-bi-*[2r2:]*la’aṅ-rkyen-de-dag-las / man.-byin / n.-rjes-’brel-phyis / mtha’i-dbyaṅs-daṅ-po-dbyi’o-zhes-pas-ma’i-srog-phyis / m.-ni-rjes-su-ṅa-ro-byas-pas / oṃ* [gloss 2r3: *sruṅ-sogs-la’o//*] *-grub-ste / ’di-la-*[2r3:]*sgrub-tshul-daṅ-don-śin-tu-maṅ-lags /*, ed. Demo (1974 I: 721, 2r1-3).
44. This designation is chosen as the first of these *sūtra*s introduces suffix *uṆ*: *kṛ-vā-pā-ji-mi-svadI-sādhY-aśūbhya uṆ* (Pāṇinian *uṆādi-sūtra* 1.1, *Cāndra uṆādi-sūtra* 1.1), resulting in the derivations *kāru*, *vāyu*, *pāyu* etc.
45. *uṆādi-sūtra* nr. 147 in Paṇsīkar (1913: 526).
46. The commentary on this *sūtra* in *Siddhāntakaumudī*: *maN-pratyayasyāyaṃ ṭilopo na prakṛteḥ / anyathā ḍid ity eva brūyāt /* "*jvarA-tvarA-...*" (2654) *iti ūṭhau / tayor dīrghe kṛte guṇaḥ / cādipāṭhād avyayatvam ity ujjvaladattas tan na / teṣāṃ asatvārthatvāt / vastutas tu svarādipāṭhād avyayatvam / avatīti om /*, ed. Paṇsīkar (1913: 526).
47. *jvarA-tvarA-śrivY-avI-mavām upadhāyāś ca.*
    Siddhāntakaumudī commentary on that rule also contains remarks on the derivation of *oṃ*: (...) *avates tuni kṛte otur iti darśanāt / anunāsikagrahaṇaṃ cānuvartate / avater maN-pratyaye tasya ṭilope om iti darśanāt /* (...).
48. Actually no running Tibetan translation of this verse is given: the separate words are all provided with an infralinear gloss containing the Tibetan translation or another indication of the meaning:
    indra glossed as *dbaṅ-po*, ’Indra’
    ādayaḥ as *la-sogs-kyis*, ’etc.’, with an additional remark *ā-di-la-rnam-dbye-sbyar-bas-ā-da-ya-ste-yaṅ-na /*
    api as *kyaṅ* ’even’
    yasya as *gaṅ-gi* ’of what’
    antaṃ as *mtha’* ’the end’
    na as *dgag-tshig* ’negation’
    yayuḥ as *thob-pa-ste-tshig-grogs-kyi-ma-dpog-par-byas* ’to reach, that is by means of grammatical construction(?) it has not been [or: could not be] measured’ [= paraphrase of *antaṃ na yayuḥ*]

śabda as *sgra* ’word’
vāri-dhiḥ as *chu-gter* ’treasure of water’
prakriyāṃ as *rab-tu-bya-ba* ’derivation’
tasya as *de-yi* ’of that’
kṛtsnasya as *rdzogs-pa’am-mtha’-dag* ’perfect or complete’
kṣamaḥ as *bzod-pa’am-nus* ’to bear or to be able’
vāktuṃ as *smra-ba’am-gtam* ’to speak or relate’
naraḥ as *mi* ’man’
katham as *ji-ltar* ’how’.

49. Sanskrit title **Prakriyācaturā*, Tibetan title *Brda-sprod-pa’i-bstan-bcos-chen-po-dbyaṅs-can-byā-ka-ra-ṇa’i-’grel-pa-rab-tu-bya-ba-gsal-ldan*, Peking *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *PHO* 207r1-342v4, Narthang *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *PHO* 198r-320v, Derge *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *SE* 10v1-125r7, Co-ne *Bstan-’gyur Mdo-’grel* vol. *SE* 10v1-125r7.
The *śloka* in question to be found in Peking edition *PHO* 207r8-v1; The Tibetan translation given there reads:
/ gaṅ-zhig-sgra-yi-chu-gter-dag-gi-mtha’ /
/ dbaṅ-po-la-sogs-kyis-kyaṅ-ma-spobs-pa’i /
/ de-yi-rab-tu-bya-ba-rdzogs-par-ni /
/ mi-yis-brjod-par-bya-ba-ji-ltar-bzod /.

50. In *Paspaśāhnika*, ed. Kielhorn (1880-1885 I: 5-6).

51. Cf. Cardona (1976: 150-151).

52. E.g. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub’s *Chos-’byuṅ*, written c. 1322, Tāranātha Kun-dga’-sñiṅ-po’s *Chos-’byuṅ*, written in 1608 and Koṅ-sprul Blo-gros-mtha’-yas’s *Śes-bya-kun-khyab*, dating from mid-nineteenth century; cf. Verhagen (1991: par. IV.2.1).

53. E.g. in the introductory section of the canonical translation of *Prakriyā-kaumduī*, Peking edition *BO* 32v5-6, Co-ne edition *TO* 29v2-3: *lha’i-dbaṅ-pos-mdzad-pa’i-indra-byā-ka-ra-ṇa* /, ’(the grammatical treatise) *Indra-vyākaraṇa* (’Indra’s grammar’), written by the Lord of the gods (*Devendra).

APPENDIX

Transliteration of *Sgra-mdo-chen-po-bzhi-las-brtsams-pa’i-dka’-gnad-kyi-degs*[= *dogs*?]*-gcod-’jam-dbyaṅs-dgyes-pa’i-rol-mo-zhes-bya-ba*
Author: ’Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I [alias ’Jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa’i-rdo-rje] Ṅag-dbaṅ-brtson-’grus (1648-1721/1722?)
Transliteration based on ed. Demo (1974: 719-724).

[Demo 719 = 1r:] *Sgra-mdo-chen-po-bzhi-las-brtsams-pa’i-dka’-gnad-kyi-degs*[emend to *dogs*]*-gcod-’jam-dbyaṅs-dgyes-pa’i-rol-mo-zhes-bya-ba-bzhugs-so//*

[Demo 720 = 1v1:]*/ /na-masswa-ra-swa-styai / bla-ma-daṅ-lhag-pa’i-lha-thams-cad-kyi-phyag-na-padma-la-phyag-’tshal-zhiṅ-skyabs-su-mchi’o /*

[1. *Kalāpa*:]

/cha-bsag-gi-dri-ba’i-lan-la-pā-kaḥ [gloss 1v2: *’tshed-pa/*] [1v2:]*sgrub-na / ’tshed-pa’i-byiṅs-pa-tsa-la-ghañ.-byin / gha’i-a-ma-gtogs-pa-phyis / tsa-dza-dag-gis-ka-ga-dag-gos-byiṅs-kyi-tsa-ka-daṅ-/ its.-bzhin-du / a’i-u-pa-dhā-*[1v3:]*riṅ-po / si-sbyin-pas / pā-kaḥ* [gloss 1v4: *’tshed-pa*] *grub /*

krit.-daṅ-pos / śri-bi / a-bi / ma-bi / dzwa-ri / twa-ra-rnams-kyi-u-pa-dhā-daṅ-ṅo / zhes-pa’i-’gro-ba-daṅ-skem-pa’i-byiṅs-śrib.[= *śṛb.*?]*-la-*[1v4:]*kwib.-byin / krit.-’di-ñid-las / tsha-ba-dag-gis-ba-uṭ.-byas-pas / śrūḥ*

yaṅ-byiṅs-de-la / dhu-ṭa-yon-tan-med-pa-la-zhes-pas / kta-byin-pas / śru-taḥ

[Demo 721 = 2r1:]*de-la-kta-bantu-byin / śru-ta-bān./*

lṅa-pa-la-zhes-pas-byiṅs-de-la-man.-sbyar / n.-rjes-’brel / u-o-daṅ-/ si-sbyin-pas / śro-māḥ [gloss 2r2: *skem-par-byed/*] *sruṅ-ba’i-byiṅs-a-bi-*[2r2:]*la’aṅ-rkyen-de-dag-las / man.-byin / n.-rjes-’brel-phyis / mtha’i-dbyaṅs-daṅ-po-dbyi’o-zhes-pas-ma’i-srog-phyis / m.-ni-rjes-su-ṅa-ro-byas-pas / oṃ* [gloss 2r3: *sruṅ-sogs-la’o//*] *-grub-ste / ’di-la-*[2r3:]*sgrub-tshul-daṅ-don-śin-tu-maṅ-lags /*

krit.-drug-pa-las / gam./ han./ bid.[= *bidu*?]*/ bi-śa / tṛ*[= *dṛ*?]*-śa-rnams-kyis-zhes-sogs-kyis / gamḷ-’gros-ḷ-phyis / kwansu-*[2r4:]*rkyen / ka-daṅ-u-phyis / yaṅ-na’os-iṭ-byin / gñis-brjod / gsal-lhag / ka-sde-tsa-sdes-ga-dza / iṭ-la-u-pa-dha-phyis / dza-gmi-wān.* [gloss: *’gro-ba/*] *-grub /*

ka-la[= *lā*?]-*ba'i*[= *pa'i*?]-*dri-ba'i-lan-rags*[?]- [Demo 722 = 2v1:]*pa-soṅ-/*

[2. *Cāndra*:]

* */tsandra-pa'i-gñis-pa'i-bzhi-pa-las-bu-rgyud-skabs-su-thar-lo-ñi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-'gyur-las /*
ti-ka-la-sogs-pa-rnams-la-ph[?]*ak'o-zhes-daṅ-/*
thugs-rje-dpal-gyi-'grel-'gyur-las /
phiñ.-'byuṅ-la / ti-[2v2:]*ka-daṅ-ki-ta-la-sogs-pa-rnams-las / daṅ-gi-don-gcig-pa-la'o /*
/ti-kṛ-'gro-ba'i-don / ik.-mtha'-ñe-las-ku / tik./ phiñ.'am / phak.-'os / tsha-daṅ-phiñ.-'am-phak.-k.[= *ka*?]-*ñ.-'phel-ba'i-don-gyis-'phel-ba /*
phi-ā-[2v3:]*yan / tai-kāyan-grub /*

dzas.-byin / graṅs-med-pa'i-tsa / tai-kā-yan-ya[?]*śtsa-grub /*

* */tsandra-pa'i-bzhi-pa'i-daṅ-pos / rnam-par-'gyur-ba-las-raṅ-bzhin-la'o-zhes-pa'i / sol-ba'i-ched-du-śiṅ-rnam-par-'gyur-ba-ni / a-gi-'gro-*[2v4:]*ba'i-don-latsh*[= *la-tsha*?]-*byin / bar-rkyen-num./ u-daṅ-ma-phyis / dzhas-la-mtha'-min-pa'i-na'i-'os / n.-rjes-su-ṅa-ro / yap.-la-rjes-su-ṅa-ro'i / yam.-mos / rjes-su-ṅa-ro-ṅa-ñid-do / /aṅgi-grub /*

aṅgi / ma-di / mandi / ka-ṭi-sogs-[2v5:]*kyis / ā-ran.-byin / tsha-ī-ya / sogs-bsgrubs-pas / aṅgā-rī-ya-ṇi-grub /*

tsandra-pa'i-'dri-ba-rags-pa-soṅ-/

[3. Mañjukīrti:]

* *'jam-grags-pa'i-si-sogs-bya-ba-na-rā-ga-bī-ya-ṇi-ma-rñed / gzhan-yaṅ-'jam-dbyaṅs-sgra-mdo-med /*

[4. Pāṇini:]

yaṅ-dri-ba / pā-ṇi-[2v6:]*pa'i / śrathnā-ti-gsuṅ-'dug-pa-rñed-ma-byuṅ-/*
pā-ṇi-pa'i-kun-bśad-kyi-dṅos-po-daṅ-las-kyi-skabs-su / ṇi / śranthi / granthi / brūñ.-sogs-kyis / śrantha-la / las-kyi-don-la / laṭ-byin-pas / śrathnī-re[= *te*?] */ grub-pa-yin-nam /*
indra-[Demo 723 = 3r1:]*sogs-kyi-sdeb-sbyor-zhib-dpyod-ma-thub / skad-dod-so-sor-sbyar-na /*
indrā[1]-[2]*da-yaḥ*[3] *mtshams-sbyar-tshul-sla / a-pi*(*ḥ*?)[4] *ya-sya*[5] */ antaṃ*[6] */ na*[7] */ ya-yuḥ*[8] *śabda*[9] /[3r2:] *bā-ri-dhiḥ*[10]
pra-kṛ-yaṃ[11] */ ta-sya*[12] */ kṛtsna-sya*[13] */ kṣa-maḥ*[14] *bāktuṃ*[15] */ na-raḥ*[16] *ka-tham*[17] */*
byiṅs-ni / i-di-mchog-gi-[3r3:]*dbaṅ-phyug-sogs-te-śin-tu-sla / śabda-spyir-btaṅ-ba-la-sbyin-pa-daṅ-smra-ba-la-yaṅ-ṅos / śabda / in /*

[3r4:]*am / ka-ri-ta-dbyi / mo-rkyen / āp./ śabdā*[18] */ nṝ-tshul-la'os / nṝ / dbyaṅs-daṅ-zhes-pa'i-al./ yon-tan / na-ra*[19] *grub /*

** / 'di-ñid-las / des-gsuṅs-cho-ga-lṅa-po-ṅes-par-bśad / ces-pa'i-lṅa-ni / pra-ṣo-da-*[3r5:]*ra-la-sogs-zhes-pa'i-naṅ-tshan-te / yi-ge-bsnol-ba-ni / 'tshe-ba'i-byiṅs-las-bsgrub-pa'i-hiṅ-sa-zhes-pa'i-dbyaṅs-daṅ-bral-te / h.-iṅ./ s.-a / zhes-bris-nas / sa-goṅ-daṅ-ha-'og-tu-*[3r6:]*byas / mtshams-sbyar-bas / siṅha / yi-ge-'gyur-ba-ni / ma-yu-raḥ ste / ru-'am-rai-sgra-la'os / ru-rai-gaṅ-rigs-bzhag / rkyen-ḍa / ḍa-la-ṭit.-phyis / ḍ.-phyis / a-bzhag / dbyaṅs-kyis-dman-pa-pha-rol-tu-sbyar-*[Demo 724 = 3v1:]*bas / ra / si / i-brjod-don / sa-ra-dag-gis-rnam-bcad-byas / raḥ sa-gzhi'i-skad-dod-ma-hī-goṅ-du-bzhag / ma-hī-raḥ / zhes-pa-las-hī-srog-bcas-yū-byas-pa / ma-yū-raḥ ste / sa-la-sgra-skad-phul-phyuṅ-sgrogs-pa'i-don / yi-ge-*[3v2:]*ñams-pa'i-dper-'dir-bśad-pa'i / bhra-ma-raḥ daṅ-/ pā-tsa-na-dag-las-bśad-pa'i-pṛ-ṣo-da-ra-daṅ-/ ka-pittha-daṅ-/ a-śwartha-sogs-kyis-bhra-mat./ raḥ bzhag / pṛ-ṣo-da-ra-sogs-daṅ-/ 'jig-rten-pa'i-sogs-daṅ-/ 'di-ñid-las / yi-ge-rnam-par-'gyur-daṅ-ñam-dag-gis / /t.-phyis / bhra-ma-raḥ / lhag-ma-sla /*

[Colophon:]
[in minusc.:] *zhes-pa-'di-ni-kun-mkhyen-'jam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa'i-rin-po-ches-sde-srid-*[3v4:]*saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho'i-dris-lan-du-phul-ba'o // maṅga-laṃ-bha-wantu // //*

1. gloss 3r2: *dbaṅ-po /*
2. gl. 3r1: *ā-di-la-rnam-dbye-sbyar-bas-ā-da-ya-ste-yaṅ-na /*
3. gl. 3r2: *la-sogs-kyis /*
4. gl. 3r2: *kyaṅ-/*
5. gl. 3r2: *gaṅ-gi /*
6. gl. 3r2: *mtha' /*
7. gl. 3r2: *dgag-tshig /*
8. gl. 3r2-3: *thob-pa-ste-tshig-grogs-kyis-ma-dpog-par-byas /*
9. gl. 3r1: *sgra /*
10. gl. 3r3: *chu-gter /*
11. gl. 3r3: *rab-tu-bya-ba /*
12. gl. 3r3: *de-yi /*
13. gl. 3r3: *rdzogs-pa-'am-mtha'-dag /*
14. gl. 3r3: *bzod-pa'am-nus /*
15. gl. 3r3: *smra-ba'am-gtam /*
16. gl. 3r3: *mi /*
17. gl. 3r3: *ji-ltar /*
18. gl. 3r5: *sgra-ma'am-rol-mo-ma /*
19. gl. 3r5: *mi /*

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SANSKRIT PRĀṆABHṚT OR WHAT SUPPORTS WHAT?

A. Wezler

1. The expression *prāṇabhṛt* is used by Pāṇini only once, viz. in 5.1.129: *prāṇabhṛjjātivayovacanodgātrādibhyo 'ñ* which is rendered by Böhtlingk[1] thus: "An Thiernamen, Altersbezeichnungen und an *udgātṛ* usw. wird ±/ _ *a* angefügt". His interpretation of *prāṇabhṛt* is accepted also by S.C. Vasu[2] and Renou[3]; but S.M. Katre[4] takes a different path in that he translates it by "animate beings". As this sūtra of Pāṇini's is not even referred to in the Mahābhāṣya, quite naturally one looks into the Cāndravyākaraṇa (= CV) and the Kāśikā for examples for the application of this grammatical rule. In the Vṛtti[5] on CV 4.1.145 the first part of the sūtra is illustrated by the secondary noun *āśvam* occurring along with *aśvatvam* and *aśvatā*; the examples in the Kāśikā are (*aśvasya bhāvaḥ karma vā*) *āśvam, auṣṭram*. Both these examples seem to warrant rather Böhtlingk's, and his followers', rendering of *prāṇabhṛt* than that of Katre.

Yet is has to be noted that Candragomin (perhaps following the example of Jainendravyākaraṇa 3.4.119) has replaced Pāṇini's *prāṇabhṛjjāti-* by *prāṇijāti-*; most probably he, too, was of the opinion that has been explicitly voiced by Haradatta and Jinendrabbudhi, viz. that *prāṇabhṛtaḥ* means *prāṇinaḥ*. If this equation is correct, the question arises why Pāṇini dit not himself use the expression *prāṇin* also in this sūtra as in a number of others. For quite clearly the change of expression cannot be objected to as an infringement of the 'law of linguistic parsimony' since the *ardhamātralāghava-paribhāṣā* has not been observed by Pāṇini *sensu stricto*. Is the motive hence that pointed out by Haradatta[6], viz. simply the wish to change the mode of expression for stylistic reasons? This explanation looks rather like a last resort desparately searched for; it is in any case not convincing enough to discourage the modern students of the Aṣṭādhyāyī from starting from the contrary assumption, viz. that it is difference of meaning which is at play here in reality.

1.1. The examination of those sūtras in which the word *prāṇin* occurs[7], either as such or as a member of a compound, leads to the following observations. "Lebendes Wesen" (Böhtlingk) is too broad a concept to render *prāṇin*. Pāṇ. 4.3.135 (*avayave ca prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ*) shows with as much clarity as one can wish for that "herbs" and "trees", and thus ultimately plants in general, are not subsumed under *prāṇin*[8]; on the other hand it is equally clear that this sūtra cannot by any means be regarded as an instance of the application of the *brāhmaṇa-vasiṣṭha-*

nyāya.[9] There is no reason whatsoever, be it factual or theoretical or grammatical, to call herbs and trees the most important living beings.[10] On the other hand, Pāṇini can certainly be expected to have shared the view, prevailing as it was in Ancient India, to say the least, that plants are also living beings.

Vasu and Katre seem to have come to the same conclusion or to have had the same feeling, but their proposal to render *prāṇin* by "animal" likewise does not stand critical examination. It is true that in a number of cases names of animals are given as examples or counter-examples, in the Mahābhāṣya: *śvan*, "dog", *kāka*, "crow", *śuka*, "parrot" (MBhāṣya I 450.17ff)[11], *kapota*, "pigeon" (MBhāṣya II 325.15f.[12] etc.) and other birds like *gṛdhra*, *caṣa* and *bhāsa* (MBhāṣya II 326.16f.), but also *śvāvidh*, "porcupine"[13] (MBhāṣya II 327.11f) and *matsya*, "fish" (MBhāṣya III 443.20f.). To these have to be added[14] *vyāghra*, "tiger" (CV 4.4.82)[15], *sṛgāla*, "jackal" (Kāś. on 2.3.17), birds like the "peacock" (*mayūra*) and the "partridge" (*tittiri*) (Kāś. on 4.3.135)[16] and, last but not least, *vānara*, "ape, monkey" (Kāś. on 5.4.97).

On the other hand, however, Pāṇini uses the expression *prāṇyaṅga*, "(constitutive) part of a *prāṇin*", viz. in 2.4.2 *dvandvaś ca prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām* (scil. *ekavacanam*, cf. 2.4.1), and there can not indeed be the least doubt that what he refers to are singular dvandva compounds like *pāṇipādam* (CV 2.2.58 and Kāśikā) or *śirogrīvam* (Kāśikā); at least the first of these examples is clear evidence of the fact that the notion *prāṇin* covers human beings, too. This conclusion is confirmed by a number of examples adduced to illustrate other sūtras of Pāṇini's. The first to be discussed is the compound *kośaniṣada*, mentioned by Patañjali (MBhāṣya II 438.13f).[17] in tacitly referring to 5.2.128 (*dvandvopatāpagarhyāt prāṇisthād iniḥ*); unfortunately this passage has not only been overlooked by the compilers of our dictionaries, but obviously the compound also is not attested in other texts; it is hence but a mere guess that particular pieces of clothes are referred to by this word.[18] Jinendrabuddhi, however, seems not to be in any doubt that what is denoted by this *dvandva* "belongs to or is worn by" (*prāṇistha*) a human being, i.e. a female.[19] This certainly holds good for the denotatum of the words given as examples in the CV and in the Kāśikā for Pāṇ. 5.2.128, viz. "bracelet and armlet" (*kaṭakavalayinī*), "shell-bracelet(s) and anklet(s)" (*śaṅkhanūpuriṇī*, in the Kāś. only) and various diseases - perhaps also for "that which is to be held in contempt" (*garhya*).[20] Particularly clear in this regard is Pāṇ. 5.2.96 (*prāṇisthād āto laj anyatarasyām*), according to which the secondary suffix *la* is optionally added to a stem ending in *-ā*, provided that it denotes something which is *prāṇistha*, for most convincingly this rule is illustrated in the CV and in the Kāśikā by the examples *cūḍālaḥ*, side by side with *cūḍāvān*, and in addition (in the Kāś.) by *karṇikālaḥ*- which can be replaced by *karṇikāvāṇ*, and *vice versa*: what these expressions mean is according to Haradatta "being characterized by a lock of hair on the crown of the head" - in contradistinction to a person who wears a diadem or chaplet tied on the crown of the head- and "being characterized by a tubercle/large ears" (?) - in contradistinction to a person who wears ear-rings. But even if Haradatta is not to be trusted as regards his opinion that the suffix under discussion is met with, in the object language, in fact only as added to designations of "parts of the body" (*prāṇyaṅgād eva hiṣyate*), the first of the two examples is in any case of such a kind that there is no room for any doubt that what is referred to by *prāṇin* with reference to it is again a human being. Finally the examples found in the CV and Kāśikā respectively - which are meant to explain and justify the addition of the expression *aprāṇin* in Pāṇ. 2.4.6 and 6.3.77 -, viz. *brāhmaṇakṣatriyau* (CV 2.2.53) *brāhmaṇakṣatriyaviṭśūdrāḥ* (Kāś.) and *ago vṛṣalaḥ śītena* (CV 5.2.96 as well as Kāś. on 6.3.77), "the low/wicked man/the śūdra is stiff with cold"[21], are further evidence of the fact that *prāṇin* does not, in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, also mean "animal", but quite evidently "breathing living being", i.e. that the term denotes a large category of living beings from man down to fish all of which can easily be observed to breathe, and as long as they are alive; significantly *prāṇin* does not include plants and most probably also not the lower animals[22], i.e. animals which are not easily recognized as (equally) breathing.

1.2. Now, if *prāṇabhṛt* - of 5.1.129 - is not synonymous with *prāṇin*, in the strict sense of having exactly the same meaning, its meaning could indeed be "animal", i.e. it could denote the category of all (breathing) living beings except for men, and perhaps for lower animals, too. Yet, the examples given in the CV and in the Kāśikā point to a somewhat different direction. It is not, of course, by any means certain that these examples - apart from being representative, perhaps, of a (much) larger group of words covered by the grammatical rule - may be regarded as nevertheless circumscribing and thus determining the kind of animals referred to in 5.1.129. But if this latter assumption is made- tentatively and *argumenti causa* -, what suggests itself is quite clearly that what is referred to by *prāṇabhṛt* are particular animals only, i.e. that the "horse" (*aśva*) and the "camel" (*uṣṭra*) are mentioned because they are typical representatives of this special group; and this group cannot then but be that of domestic animals. This assumption cannot, however, be verified with the help of the Aṣṭādhyāyī itself as there are no further occurrences of the word *prāṇabhṛt* in it. But quite clearly a method can be applied that has proved successful in other cases, too, viz. that of taking into consideration the testimony of Vedic literature. After all Pāṇini's own language, even his meta-language, cannot be regarded as an island completely isolated from the mainland of contemporary Old Indo-Aryan which in its turn has developed out of the Vedic idiom(s) and dialects.

2. There is an additional strong reason to examine the Vedic occurrences of *prāṇabhṛt* - and some of those in classical texts, too -, and this is the corresponding entry in the Larger Petrograd Dictionary; for it reads thus:

> "... adj. 1) *das Leben erhaltend: devā́ḥ prāṇabhṛ́taḥ prāṇám máyi dadhatu* TS 3,3,2,1. *anna* Śat.Br. 8,1,2,1. - 2) *Leben in sich tragend, lebendig*; m. *ein lebendes Wesen: Mensch yat kiṃ cedaṃ prāṇabhṛt* Śat.Br. 14,6,1,12,... 3) Bez. *gewisser Backsteine bei der Schichtung des Altars* TS. 5,2,10,3...".

For this shows that Böhtlingk and Roth assume a change of diathesis and accordingly a difference of meaning. However, as they do not, viz. s.v. *prāṇa* as well as s.v. *bhar*, quote a single instance of the syntagma **prāṇam/prāṇān bharate*, meaning "bearing life within oneself" at that[23], a nagging doubt arises whether what they say is really true. And this doubt is intensified by the observation that the meaning which Böhtlingk assumes for Pāṇ. 5.1.129 is not even mentioned in the Dictionary. One could, of course, think of comparing the other Vedic compounds with the posterior member *-bhṛt*[24], but it is easily realized that this avenue does not lead us to our goal; for even if all the other compounds of this kind show that the root has its active meaning, the possibility cannot be precluded with absolute certainty that in the case of *prāṇabhṛt* it is the middle voice which is expressed by *bhṛ*.

2.1. As for the passage TS 3.3.2.1 quoted in the Larger Petrograd Dictionary the epitheton *prāṇabhṛtaḥ* of the "gods" (*devāḥ*)[25], i.e. Vāyu, Agni, Prajāpati, Bṛhaspati, Viśve Devāḥ, the Maruts and Indra, is explained by the remaining part of the mantra: They are requested, or prompted, to bestow breath/vital breath on the speaker in so far as it is their very nature "to support breath", to draw on Keith's translation.[26] In this case it is perfectly clear that the "breath" (*prāṇa*) they support is not their own and that it is a human being who wants *prāṇa* to be supported in himself; and he expresses this wish not because he is about to be born and to breathe for the first time in his life, but because he is aware of the fact that his breathing, i.e. life, is a finite phenomenon, or because he is afraid of breathing his last in not too distant a future. It is also noteworthy that the prior member of the compound *prāṇabhṛtaḥ* is resumed as it were by the singular *prāṇam*. Now, this example for the use of *prāṇabhṛt* is not at all without parallels. Thus AV(P) 4.12.3(ab) reads thus:

ūrjabhṛtaṃ prāṇabhṛtaṃ prajānām uta tarpaṇīm /;

this refers, if I am not mistaken, to the plant called *pṛṣniparṇī*, whatever its botanical identity may be[27], which is used in a magical rite. In the given context there can not again be the least doubt that the expression in question means "supporting [another person's or living being's] vital breath". That it is a particular plant which is qualified here as being *prāṇabhṛt* does not, of course, warrant the conclusion that vegetable life as such comes under the category of "breath supporting" entities. It may well be that this plant only indirectly supports breath, e.g. in that it wards off some evil which in its turn endangers the life of a person or some other living being.

The line AV(P) 16.71.8 (cd), viz. *saṃ prāṇena prāṇabhṛtaṃ sṛjāmi saṃ vīryeṇa payasāśiṣā* /, where *odana* seems to be the object referred to, deserves attention not only because of the singular *prāṇena*, but also because of the fact that here "breath" is not spoken of as the result, so to say, of the beneficent activity of a *prāṇabhṛt*, but is meant to explain together with other 'Kraftsubstanzen' the "breath supporting" capacity of the *odana*. Last but not least it has, of course, to be noted that it is a particular dish in this case, which is predicated of as *prāṇabhṛt*: most probably it performs this its life-suppporting function in a direct manner.

I should follow now with the second of the passages referred to by Böhtlingk and Roth, but not without first drawing attention briefly to VādhŚS 3.53.1 where in a mantra used during the Vājapeya the 17th *graha* is addressed, at the end, with the words *ātmā pitā prāṇabhṛn me 'si pītaḥ*[28], a statement which resembles TS 3.3.2.1, apart from the fact that here it is a special sacrificial, and sacred, substance, viz. the *soma*, to which the priest turns.[29] ŚB 8.1.3.1, to finally focus attention on this passage, reads thus:

> *tád āhuḥ / kíṃ prāṇā́ḥ, kíṃ prāṇabhṛ́ta íti prāṇā́ evá prāṇā́ áṅgāni prāṇabhṛ́nty*[30] *áṅgāni hí prāṇā́n bíbhrati prāṇā́s tv èvá prāṇā́ ánnaṃ prāṇabhṛ́d ánnam̐ hí prāṇā́ṅ bibhárti //.*

The ritual act referred to is that of building the sacred fire-altar, for which among others bricks called *prāṇabhṛt* are used. This passage is indeed noteworthy, but not only because of the 'identification' of *prāṇabhṛt* and *anna* "food", as Böhtlingk and Roth would seem to have thought; what deserves our attention is the way the compound is paraphrased, viz. by *parasmaipada* verb forms throughout and the plural *prāṇān*. Two, obviously alternative, explanations are here given both of which regard the meaning of *prāṇāḥ* as not calling for any comment; they differ, however, from each other as regards the 'identification' of the *prāṇabhṛts*; yet both the 'identifications' are equally well intelligible; the limbs of the body, or which taken together form the body, evidently of a human being, are no less important than food for its survival, *prāṇa* in the narrower sense of a particular type of breath being in any case included in the plurality of vital forces called *prāṇāḥ* here.

2.2. This passage thus not only reminds us of AV(P) 16.71.8(cd), just discussed, but may also serve as a most welcome transition to TS 5.7.10.2. For, the question implicitly raised by ŚB 8.1.3.1, viz. what food is, is answered in the Saṃhitā: In the context of an 'identification' of the *prāṇabhṛt* bricks with the heads of domestic animals (*paśuśīrṣāṇi*) it is expressedly stated ... *ánnaṃ paśáva(ḥ)...*, "[for] domestic animals are food/the food". And the same 'identification' is met with among others[31] at ŚB 8.3.3.4. It would, of course, be pretty naive to regard this statement as reversible and as a definition of what is called *ánna* in Vedic Sanskrit; numerous passages disproving this assumption could easily be pointed out[32], e.g. in the same Brāhmaṇa (ŚB 8.2.3.6) ... *ánnaṃ vā āpó* ...

Nor can passages like TS 5.7.10.2 be simply brushed aside as lacking any significance - as it has ultimately been done by the compilers of the Larger Petrograd Dictionary. The ideas connected with the designation of particular clay bricks as *prāṇabhṛt* are, quite on the contrary, of palpable importance as the terminological use of the word *prāṇabhṛt* is, as is to be expected, viewed by the Vedic 'theologians' as directly related to the meaning it has in everyday language. A particularly clear proof is ŚB 8.1.4.1 ... *yát prāṇáṃ bíbhrati tásmāt prāṇabhṛ́ta íti* ...

It is hence necessary to inspect all relevant passages, i.e. passages where this type of bricks is mentioned. Among them are some which prove to be 'unproductive': quite understandably the authors of the Brāhmaṇas, etc., did not deem it necessary to give a 'theological explanation' in each and every case the name of a ritual utensil is mentioned in passing, so to say. Such passages are KapS 31.18 (= KāṭhS 21.3); ŚB 8.1.4.2; 8.2.3.6; 9.5.1.36; 10.2.4.8; 10.4.3.14-16; ĀpŚS 16.32.1f; 17.1.4; 17.2.3; 20.19.12; HiŚS 11.8.6f; KŚS 17.6.3; 17.8.12f; 17.9.11 and ŚYV Anukramaṇikā 2.177.

On the other hand there is also no dearth of passages which come up to our expectations in that they throw considerable light on what the Vedic Indians thought of when these bricks were mentioned. The association with food, already observed above, is attested also at ŚB 8.1.1.3 where the *prāṇas* and Prajāpati are said to have created *anna* which is than equated with the *prāṇabhṛts*.[33] Not surprisingly this name is not seldom 'identified' with *prāṇāḥ*, the breath(s) and other vital forces, and these, or rather the breath(s) in its/their turn, with wind (*vāyu*).[34] Significantly, however, the idea connected with the laying down of these bricks is that the officiating priest thereby bestows the vital breath(s)/forces upon somebody else or something different from the bricks themselves, e.g. the altar (*agni*), etc. See e.g. TS 5.3.1.2: ŚB 8.1.1.1, 8.1.4.10 and 8.3.2.14, or 8.2.3.3: *yád evá prāṇabhṛ́ta upadádhāti āsv èvaitát prajā́su prāṇā́n dadhāti* ...

Already by their number, however, those passages stand out in which it is the concept of cattle (*paśu*) that is associated with the designation *prāṇabhṛt*. Thus at TS 5.2.10.3 we read:

> *prāṇabhṛ́ta úpa dadhāti rétasy evá prāṇā́n dadhāti tásmād vádan prā́ṇan páśyan śṛṇván paśúr jāyate*[35]

"he puts down the breath-supporting (bricks), verily he places the breaths in the seed; therefore an animal is born with speech, breath, sight and hearing".[36] Apart from containing an explanation of the meaning of the plural *prāṇāḥ*[37], this statement is interesting also because it immediately follows upon the description, and exegetical interpretation, of the laying down of the "water bricks" (*apasyā*)[38]: One is almost given the impression that the sequence water - cattle is a deliberate one, i.e. connected with the successive laying down of these two types of bricks in view of the real dependence of cattle, and animal life in general, upon water, i.e. in view of the fact that the former by necessity presupposes the latter. And this impression is confirmed by TS 5.3.1.3 where it is stated that the priest should change the sequence, i.e. lay down first the *prāṇabhṛts* and then the *apasyās*, if he wants somebody to become *apaśu*, but that he should observe the 'normal' sequence if he wishes that somebody should become a *paśumant*! And in TS 5.2.10.6 the particular manner of putting down bricks transversely is recognized to be the reason of the movement of limbs characteristic of (certain) animals (*paśu*).[39] The connection between the *prāṇabhṛts* and *paśu*, or rather the latter's breathing and certain cognitive and 'communicative' capacities, is expressed (more concisely than at TS 5.2.10.3 quoted above) at MS 3.2.8:

> *áthaitā́ḥ prāṇabhṛ́tas tásmin paśáu sáṃbhūte prāṇáṃ cákṣuḥ śrótraṁ vā́caṃ tā́ni dadhāty ...*

In order to avoid the objection of laying too much stress on statements which could be denounced as being just an outcome of the desparate endeavour of the authors of these texts to ascribe a deep and secret significance to the smallest details of complex ritual acts, I shall confine myself to a 'minimal' exploitation of the material presented in the foregoing. That is to say, what I propose to regard as an important testimony is nothing but the fact that in all cases in which a substantial statement is provoked by the name of the *prāṇabhṛt* bricks, it is quite evidently taken for granted or even expressly said that they support, or have the function of supporting the *prāṇa*/*prāṇas* of something/somebody different from themselves. Therefore there cannot be the least doubt that the authors of these texts considered the technical term *prāṇabhṛt* to be what has later been called by Indian grammarians an *anvarthā saṃjñā* and that they took the appellative noun to mean "that which supports the *prāṇa(s)* [of another entity/being]".

3. This view is not, of course, necessarily correct, i.e. we can not still be absolutely sure, that this, and only this, was the meaning which Old Indian *prāṇabhṛt* had in common parlance. But it is certainly legitimate to make this very assumption as part of an experiment to be continued hereafter by a corresponding semantic study. The solution that almost forces itself on one's mind is then that what is referred to by *prāṇabhṛt* are certain animals with regard to their singular importance of supporting, and ultimately, making possible, human life: They support and provide for the life of human beings by the various products they yield, by their meat, but clearly by rendering other services, too, i.e. as sacrificial or draught animals. Since already the poets of the Ṛgveda can be shown to have been fully aware of the fact that animal life depends upon vegetable life and that the latter in its turn upon rain, i.e. water in general, the existence of an expression like *prāṇabhṛt*, provided the interpretation given proves to be correct, cannot be regarded as indicating a change of the 'Weltbild', at least not in this regard; but, to be sure, it is clear evidence of the fact that the keeping of cattle and in general of livestock has been regarded in Vedic India as the most important basis of subsistence: In the consciousness of the people, and not only of the priests[40], in the common system of values, both mundane and religious, those animals upon which the Vedic Indian depended in a very concrete sense of the word, have played an outstanding role and were therefore given the highest rank. The expression *prāṇabhṛt* is hence but another piece of evidence for a fact already well-known as regards Vedic culture and economy, and the 'ideology' that grew around it; and indeed putting such an extraordinary value on livestock is almost natural in a society which has for centuries been in motion, so to say, the members of which were not settled in the strict sense of establishing somewhere a permanent residence for generations - but cannot also, on the other hand, be called nomades or transhumants. If this interpretation of *prāṇabhṛt* is correct, there is great likelihood that at least originally only, or at least first of all, domestic animals were referred to by this word. As the *prāṇa* they support is, according to our sources, that of man[41], the expression by itself testifies to a marked, albeit naive, anthropocentrism: These animals are not important for their own sake, or that of 'nature', the universe, etc., but because they serve man as means of his subsistence.

4.1. The essential question to be discussed now is of course whether there is any evidence in Vedic texts that *prāṇabhṛt* used as an appellative has in fact this meaning. I think, this question can safely be answered in the affirmative. For, at AiĀ 2.3.1 what we read is among others:

> *... tasmin yo ’nnaṃ cānnādaṃ ca vedāhāsminn annādo jāyate bhavaty asyānnam, oṣadhivanaspatayo ’nnam prāṇabhṛto ’nnādam oṣadhivanaspatīn hi prāṇabhṛto ’danti,*

rendered thus by Keith[42]: "to him who knows food and feeder a feeder is born, and food is his. Plants and trees are food, animals the feeder, for animals eat plants". That this translation is correct, at least as regards the interpretation of the word *prāṇabhṛt* - and that he did right not to believe Sāyaṇa -[43] is proved by the subsequent part of the text, viz.:

> *teṣāṃ ya ubhayatodantāḥ puruṣasyānuvidhā vihitās, te ’nnādā annam itare paśavas tasmāt ta itarān paśūn adhīva caranty adhīva hy anne ’nnādo bhavati*

"of animals, those who have teeth above and below and are formed like men[44], are feeders, the rest food. They overcome therefore the other animals, for the feeder is over the food".[45]

It is not less clear that *prāṇabhṛt* means "animal" in the next *khaṇḍa* also, i.e. AiĀ 2.3.2:

> *oṣadhivanaspatayo yac ca kiṃca prāṇabhṛt sa ātmānam āvistarāṃ vedauṣadhivanaspatiṣu hi raso dṛśyate cittaṃ prāṇabhṛtsu / prāṇabhṛtsu tv evāvistarām ātmā, teṣu hi raso ’pi dṛśyate na cittam itareṣu / puruṣe tv evāvistarām ātmā sa hi prajñānena saṃpannatamo vijñātaṃ vadati vijñātaṃ paśyati veda śvastanaṃ veda lokālokau martyenāmṛtam īpsaty evaṃ saṃpannaḥ / athetareṣāṃ paśūnāṃ aśanāpipāse evābhivijñānaṃ na vijñātaṃ vadanti na vijñātaṃ paśyanti na viduḥ śvastanaṃ na lokālokau ta etāvanto bhavanti yathāprajñaṃ hi sambhavā //.*

"There are plants and trees and animals, and he knows the self more and more clearly (in them). For in plants and trees sap only is seen, in animals consciousness. In animals the self becomes more and more clear, because in them sap also is seen, while thought is not seen in others. The self is more and more clear in man. For he is most endowed with intelligence, he says what he has known, he sees what he has known, he knows tomorrow, he knows the world and what is not the world. By the mortal he desires the immortal, being thus endowed. As for the other, animals, hunger and thirst comprise their power of knowledge. They say not ... They go so far, for their experiences are according to the measure of their intelligence".[46]

That is to say, in these two cases the context itself contains elements that quite clearly indicate that the concept of *prāṇabhṛt* does not include man, too. These fascinating passages - which have already attracted the attention of scholars[47], but should nevertheless be studied again for various reasons among which their significance for the Indian theories about non-human life and nature, should perhaps be mentioned first -, are highly instructive for the problem at issue also because of the following observations they allow us to make: The words *prāṇabhṛt* and *paśu* are used here as synonyms; *prāṇabhṛt* meaning "animal(s)" is opposed here to *oṣadhivanaspatayaḥ* which latter compound has to be regarded as intending "plants, vegetable life"; finally the phrase *yac ca kiṃca prāṇabhṛt*, "and all that supports breath" > "all that belongs to the animal kingdom" is worthy of note. For in the light of these observations one will not hesitate to assume that *prāṇabhṛt* means "animal", and not just "living being" or even "man", in JB 3.87, too:

> *bhūr iti vyāhṛtiḥ / tad ayaṃ loko 'gnir devatā ... rathantaraṃ sāma vasavo devatā vanaspatayaś cauṣadhayaś ca / bhuva iti vyāhṛtiḥ / tad idam antarikṣaṃ vāyur devatā ... vāmadevyaṃ sāma rudrā devatāpaś ca prāṇabhṛc ca / ...*[48]

The situation is slightly different as regards JB 3.359: It is highly probable that *yat kiṃca prāṇabhṛt saśarīram* occurring there should not be dislinked from the phrase as it is attested in the AiĀ; but as the corresponding *yat kiṃcābhṛtam aśarīram* contains the hapax *abhṛta* and is not therefore clear, at least not to me, a doubt remains.[49]

4.2. We can hence be sure that Vedic *prāṇabhṛt* "supporting the breath(s) [of somebody else]" is - apart from being a designation of particular bricks - used, most probably as a substantive, to denote certain animals in view of their importance for the survival of man. Yet the remaining passages from Vedic texts referred to in the Larger Petrograd Dictionary haved still to be examined, viz. those with regard to which Böhtlingk and Roth deemed it necessary to assume a second, different meaning, viz. "*Leben in sich tragend, lebendig*; m. *ein lebendiges Wesen; Mensch*".

4.2.1. But before taking this step it is necessary to emphasize that the meanings "living, a living being" and "human being", provided they are really attested in the sources, could be accounted for also by simply assuming a semantic development, viz. in the form of, first, an extension of meaning which would, then, have been followed by restriction. That is to say, the meaning "living, living being" could be explained without inferring from it a change of diathesis of the final member of *prāṇabhṛt*.

Among the references given in the Larger Petrograd Dictionary there is one which is of particular interest at this point of our discussion, viz. Raghuv. 2.42, where Dilīpa says to the speaking lion who has introduced himself as Kumbhodara, a servant of Śiva (but in reality is the god himself, a fact, however, still unknown to the king):

saṃruddhaceṣṭasya mṛgendra kāmaṃ
hāsyaṃ vacas tad yad ahaṃ vivakṣuḥ /
antargataṃ prāṇabhṛtāṃ hi veda
sarvaṃ bhavān bhāvam ato 'bhidhāsye //

"O king of the beasts, what I, kept as I am from moving, want to say may be laughed at [by other people]; [but] I am going to speak, for you know each and every internal intention of the *prāṇabhṛts* [and therefore also that my words are true]".

The wider context and the verse as it stands clearly shows that Dilīpa himself (as a human being) is included in what is called *prāṇabhṛt* here; it is hence entirely convincing that its meaning is "living being" here. Neither is the capacity to express themselves by words, or sounds, confined to human beings - and this very 'story' of the Raghuvaṃśa is itself evidence enough - nor is the special cognitive faculty of this particular lion likely to be effective with regard to men only.

The existence of the meaning "living being" of *prāṇabhṛt* in classical Sanskrit can not therefore be denied. It is confirmed in its way also by the Middle Indo-Aryan *tadbhavas*, e.g. Pali *pāṇabhū*, *pāṇabhūta* "a living creature".[50]

A statement like that of the Triśikhara-Brāhmaṇopaniṣad (2.148), ... *prāṇaḥ prāṇabhṛtāṃ varaḥ*, made with reference to a particular *nāḍī*, however, testifies to the fact that even in later times the formation and literal meaning of this compound was fully understood[51], viz. that is has 'correctly' been taken to mean "supporting breath/life" - and to call *prāṇa*, "breath" itself a life supporting force (*prāṇabhṛt*), or to be more precise the best of the life supporting forces, is as justified as it is witty. An even clearer proof is offered by the Brahmasūtras; for at 1.3.4 *prāṇabhṛt* is clearly used to denote the "individual 'soul'/'self'" (*vijñānātman*). Now, this is, no doubt, a philosophical reinterpretation, but a reinterpretation which was possible only because the original meaning was clear to the person who wanted to use *prāṇabhṛt* in order to denote that which in the final analysis, i.e. philosophically, has to be recognized as the ultimate, i.e. only real basis, and origin, of biological life, viz. the permanent 'soul'/'self'.[52]

4.2.2. In view of this evidence it is, it would seem to me, hardly possible to keep to the assumption that the starting point of this semantic development can not but have been a *prāṇabhṛt* meaning "Leben in sich tragend"; for even authors of classical texts quite evidently have still paraphrased it as *prāṇam bharati*. The development must hence have been a different one; and indeed I don't see any reason why we should not assume that the meaning "certain animal(s)" has been broadened via "animal(s)" to "living being(s)/creature(s)"[53] - which is practically identical with that of *prāṇin* at a later stage of the semantic development of the latter word - including men[54] and, although no clear evidence for this can be brought forward, plants, too.[55] On the contrary, I regard this development as particularly plausible if the following considerations are taken into account. Already in Vedic times the use of *prāṇabhṛt* to denote certain animals did not correspond to the stage of knowledge about the (inter)dependence of different forms of life, but was based on an emotional - and traditional - high regard for livestock, rather than on soberly balanced reflection. In any case, the cultural and economical development of ancient Indian society took a course which cannot but have made at least a large part of the population aware of the extraordinary and direct importance of the vegetable kingdom as a means of subsistence for man. And for any word meaning "vegetable and animal life" the step is but short to its assuming the still broader meaning of "living beings", including men; in the case of *prāṇabhṛt*, however, it is important to note that this latter step in its semantic development has meant at the same time the loss or at least an essential alteration of its (original) anthropocentric background; but one may well doubt if this was felt by later Sanskrit authors. On the other hand, it is important to see clearly that this semantic development was in itself not influenced by the fact that the word was even in later times now and then rightly recognized to be paraphrasable by *prāṇaṃ bharati* (and that it offers itself accordingly for a play of words or can be reinterpreted): the conventional lexical denotation of a word, and its development, are one thing; its derivational meaning, and the possibilities it offers to those who are aware of it, are something quite different.

It is in this particular connection that I should like to draw attention to a remark of Patañjali's, the Mahābhāṣyakāra's. At the end of his discussion of Pāṇ. 1.2.63 (*tiṣyapunarvasvor nakṣatradvandve bahuvacanasya dvivacanaṃ nityaṃ*, "in a Dvaṃdva compound formed from names of asterisms ... of *tiṣya* 'a single asterism' and *punarvasu* 'twin star asterisms' the dual ... necessarily ... replaces the plural ...")[56], the question is raised what purpose is served by the expression *bahuvacanasya* in the sūtra. The answer is: to prevent the application of Pāṇ. 1.2.63 to the singular *dvandva* compound *tiṣyapunarvasu*. This leads to the next question, viz. the justification of the singular, which is answered by referring to Pāṇ. 2.4.6 (*jātir aprāṇinām* [*dvandvaḥ*: 2.4.2 *ekavacanam*: 2.4.1]). This argument is refuted by the counterargument that asterisms do not belong to the category of *prāṇins*. This objection is in its turn refuted by a rule of interpretation, viz., *sarvo dvandvo vibhāṣayaikavad bhavati*[57], and - alternatively - by stating (MBhāṣya I 232.6f.): *athavā nātrabhavantaḥ prāṇinaḥ, prāṇā evātrabhavantaḥ* /, "or/or rather their Honours[58] (i.e. asterisms like *tiṣya*, *punarvasu*, etc.) are not breathing living beings; their Honours are in fact *prāṇas*". This is explained by Kaiyaṭa in his Pradīpa (II 70 a 24ff.)[59] thus: *athaveti: na hy eteṣu loke prāṇivyavahāraḥ prasiddha iti bhāvaḥ / prāṇā eveti: tadadhīnasthititvāt prāṇinām eta eva prāṇā ucyante* //. That is to say, asterisms such as *tiṣya* are called - and to wit by the learned -[60] "life force", i.e. are classed with the life forces, because the existence of (breathing) living beings, first of all human beings, depends on them: The use of *prāṇāḥ*, albeit in the Śāstra only, with reference to certain celestial bodies is, I think, an interesting parallel to the extension of meaning observed with regard to *prāṇabhṛt* so as to include human beings, too, in so far as in both these cases a new, i.e. historically later, 'knowledge', viz. of the influence of asterisms on life on earth and of the role played by man himself in supporting life, has been, or rather may[61] have been taken into account.

4.2.3. When Nārada thus addresses God Vāyu at Mbh. (ed. Poona) 12.151.4(ab): *jānāmi tvām ahaṃ vāyo sarvaprāṇabhṛtāṃ varam /*, a much more convincing interpretation[62] than "(as) the best of the living beings", obviously favoured by Böhtlingk and Roth, would certainly be "(as) the best of [the deities/forces] who support life [upon earth]". And it would not also be necessary then, although possible, to assume that this Vedic epitheton of gods was still known as such to the Epic poet because the 'etymology' of *prāṇabhṛt* has clearly remained comprehensible in later times also.

This leads us back to the passages referred to in the Larger Petrograd Dictionary which have still to be scrutinized. Almost all of them are found in later Vedic texts so that it cannot be entirely precluded that *prāṇabhṛt* is used in them in a sense already somewhat removed from the original one. But it is, I think, methodically legitimate to make this assumption if and only if the old(er) meaning is clearly not compatible with what is said in the corresponding sentence and/or section, i.e. wider context.

ŚB 14.6.1.12 = BĀU 3.1.7:

Yājñavalkyeti hovāca - katibhir ayaṃ adyargbhir hotāsmin yajñe kariṣyatīti / tisṛbhir iti / katamās tisra iti / puronuvākyā ca yājyā ca śasyaiva tṛtīyā / kiṃ tābhir jayatīti / yat kiṃ cedaṃ prāṇabhṛd iti /. Böhtlingk[63] renders the last sentence by "alles, was hier Leben hat"; but I don't see any necessity to assume that the formula *yat kiṃ cedaṃ prāṇabhṛt* should have been used here in a sense different from that it has in the AiĀ, especially since the *puronuvākyā* etc. are subsequently, viz. at BĀU 3.1.10, 'identified' with the *prāṇa, apāna* and *vyāna*. The indirect relation between the *prāṇa*, etc., and the *prāṇabhṛts* need not consist in the idea that the latter "bear" the former "within themselves"; both can be viewed as equally plausibly related to each other by the fact that the animals called *prāṇabhṛt* "support" these "breaths".

Yet it has to be admitted that at least in the passage to be discussed now, viz. ŚB 11.2.6.2, there seems to be more to this relation; for this passage reads thus: *prāṇá evā́syedhmā́ḥ / prāṇéna hìdaṁ sárvam iddhám̐ yát prāṇabhṛ́n nimiṣád yád éjati sá vidyād áham evaiṣá idhmá íti //.*[64] The statement that what is called *prāṇabhṛt* is "kindled by breaths" does not, however, by any means imply that the compound has to be taken here to mean "bearing breath within oneself"! On the contrary, there is sufficient proof that the Vedic thinkers were fully aware of the fact that the particular animals subsumed under the concept *prāṇabhṛt*, and not only man himself whose life they are destined to support, are in principle equally, though to a lesser degree, endowed with *prāṇa*, "breath", and the other *prāṇas*. This is most clearly shown by some of the passages studied in sections 2.1 and 2.2. It is in the case of ŚB 11.2.6.2 hence not at all necessary to assume that *prāṇabhṛt* is not used in the sense of "animal", or rather, in view of *nimiṣád yád éjati*, of certain animals, i.e. livestock; but it is on the other hand possible that the author has deliberately played with the two words *prāṇa* and *prāṇabhṛt* or wished to explain that the latter are able to fulfil their task of supporting breath only because they themselves breathe, are alive because of constant breathing.

The observations made with regard to this passage are of relevance for the interpretation of ŚB 9.2.1.15, too, where it is said, to wit, of the *prāṇāḥ*, that *naívá té diví ná pṛthivyā́ṃ yád prāṇabhṛ́t tásmiṃs tá íti*. For this is clearly a statement about the location of the *prāṇas*; but we are again not justified in drawing the conclusion that the compound *prāṇabhṛt* is used here in order to express that the *prāṇas* reside in the living being denoted by it, or, in other words, that these living beings are called *prāṇabhṛt* because of their having these *prāṇas*, or "bearing" them "within themselves", - just as there is no real need to assume that the author intended a statement about all the loci of the *prāṇas* and hence thought of human beings also. On the other hand, I don't want to overstate my position and entirely deny the possibility - to some it may still appear to be even a more probable interpretation - that (here as well as at ŚB 11.2.6.2) "man" is intended, too, then however only marginally. This holds equally good for at least the first of the two passages now to be discussed where human beings, if at all included in the expression *prāṇabhṛt*, are again not, in my view, the centre of attention.[65]

Similarly I am reluctant to agree with Böhtlingk's interpretation of *prāṇabhṛt* at ŚB 14.4.3.22 = BĀU 1.5.14: *sa eṣa saṃvatsaraḥ prajāpatiḥ ṣoḍaśakalaḥ / tasya rātraya eva pañcadaśa kalāḥ / dhruvaivāsya ṣoḍaśī kalā / sa rātribhir evā ca pūryate apa ca kṣīyate / so 'māvāsyāṃ rātrim etayā ṣoḍaśyā kalayā sarvam idaṃ prāṇabhṛd anupraviśya tataḥ prātar jāyate / tasmād etāṃ ratriṃ prāṇabhṛtaḥ prāṇaṃ na vicchindyād*[66] *api kṛkalāsasyaitasyā eva devatāyā apacityai //*. It is, of course, true that not only animals, but also human beings sleep at night and that a god can therefore be conceived of as entering them, in a particular night, and being born from them again at dawn, etc. But what counts is not that what is possible, or what we Western interpreters of the modern age regard as possible, but what the text itself says, and nothing else. It is certainly possible, in theory at least, that the hierarchy of living beings the lowest one of which is the lizard or chameleon[67], starts from man at the top. But by what part of the passage is this indicated? Is there not, on the contrary, found here a statement which quite clearly points to the opposite direction, viz. that man is not included here in the category of *prāṇabhṛts*? What I have in mind is the phrase *prāṇaṃ na vicchindyād*; for should we really assume that the author thought of the possibility of homicide and deemed it hence necessary to forbid it during the night of the new moon? And, finally, one should not - as Böhtlingk apparently did in that he renders *prāṇabhṛt* here by "lebendes Wesen"[68] - be misled by the juxtaposition of *prāṇabhṛt* and *prāṇam*: To speak of the breath of a *prāṇabhṛt* does not by any means imply that this word characterizes living beings as "bearing breath within themselves"! This seems to have been Böhtlingk's and Roth's central error, and to be the ultimate reason of entry 2) s.v. *prāṇabhṛt* in their Dictionary. That is to say, in this case, too, we should not deviate from "animals (in general)"; and thus this passage rather testifies to the first step in the broadening of the meaning of the compound in question.

Similarly, the last of the Vedic passages, viz. KauśS. 135.9, does not stand critical examination, i.e. is not sufficiently clear as a proof of *prāṇabhṛt* being used in the sense of "living being (including man)". For it reads thus:

bahavo 'sya[69] *pāśā vitatāḥ pṛthivyām*
asaṃkhyeyā aparyantā anantāḥ/
yābhir[70] *vaṃśān abhinidadhāti prāṇināṃ*
yān kāṃścemān prāṇabhṛtāṃ jighāṃsan //

Most of the arguments advanced by me in the preceeding discussion of BĀU 1.5.14 apply to this passage, too, but I don't think it is necessary to repeat them. Really new is only the juxtaposition of *prāṇin* and *prāṇabhṛt*. But can we be sure that these terms are here exactly of the same extension? The answer cannot but be in the negative; for, even if *prāṇin* means "(breathing) living being (including man)", it is not only possible that *prāṇabhṛt* refers to the partially different group of "animals (in general)" or "livestock", but there is also greater likelihood that the latter expression is not semantically a mere, and hence redundant, repetition of the expression preceding it in the relative clause.

5. Returning now, at the end of these remarks, to Pāṇ. 5.1.129, it has to be admitted that the result of the rather long exploratory tour for the solution of the problem posed by this sūtra is rather disappointing. For, we are still not in a position to instantly decide what is meant by *prāṇabhṛt* here, because in addition to the semantically closely related expression *prāṇin* what has to be taken into account is the similar

problem whether, and if so, how *prāṇabhṛt* is semantically distinguished from *paśu*, which latter word is translated by Böhtlingk as "Hausthier" and as "Opferthier", in one case.[71] But if this is really the meaning of *paśu* in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, why does Pāṇini then use the expression *grāmyapaśu* in order to exclude wild animals, in 1.2.73?[72] A more plausible conclusion would seem to be that *paśu* means "animal", both domestic and wild.[73] Provided that our basic assumption is correct, viz. that Pāṇini thoroughly observes semantical distinctions and strictly avoids the use of synonyms, the solution which suggests itself now, and as a most natural one at that, is that *prāṇabhṛt* refers to animals which are of foremost importance for man in that they "support his life", i.e. to "domestic animals", as has been suspected already at the outset.[74] Böhtlingk's translation of 5.1.129 is, however, exemplary at least in one regard, viz. in that he omits the definite article. For, what Pāṇini quite evidently wants to say is that the secondary suffix is added - not to the designations of domestic animals, but - to some of them, the only examples being *āśvam* and *auṣṭram*.[75] But even with regard to present-day India, it would be correct to say that horses and camels still belong to those animals on which the life of many a human being depends. However, I am afraid, the presence or absence of the concept *prāṇabhṛt*, in Vedic times and modern India respectively, has but very little influence on the manner in which members of these species are treated: in practice a matter-of-fact anthropocentrism has held and still holds sway! But the Vedic Indians at least have been aware of it, and admitted it with winning, albeit naive, frankness - a trait this which my friend Jan C. Heesterman will have perceived long ago and reacted to with sympathy.[76]

NOTES

1. *Pāṇini's Grammatik...*, Leipzig 1887, repr. Hildesheim 1964.
2. *The Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini...* 2 Vols., Allahabad 1891, repr. Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1962.
3. *La Grammaire de Pāṇini...*, 2 Vols, Paris 1966.
4. *Aṣṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini...*, Austin 1987, first Indian ed. Delhi-Varanasi (etc.) 1989.
5. Regarding the difference of authors of the Sūtra and the Vṛtti on them see now: Th. Oberlies, *Studie zum Cāndravyākaraṇa. Eine kritische Bearbeitung von Candra IV.4.52-148 und V.2*, Stuttgart 1989, and his article "*Verschiedene neu-entdeckte Texte des Cāndravyākaraṇa und ihre Verfasser (Studien zum Cāndravyākaraṇa II)*" to be published in StII 16/17 (1992).

6. The reference is to the sentence *prāṇigrahaṇam eva na kṛtaṃ vaicitryārtham* in the Padamañjarī on Kāś. on Pāṇ. 5.1.129.
7. Cf. Pāṇ. 2.4.2; 4.3.135; 154; 2.3.17; 2.4.5; 5.4.97; 6.2.134(f.); 6.3.77 and 8.3.72. (Note that in S.M. Katre's *Dictionary of Sanskrit*, 3 Pts., Poona 1968, the references 2.3.2 and 3.3.17 are incorrect.)
8. Cf. also Pāṇ. 5.2.96 and 128.
9. Cf. G.A. Jacob, *Laukikanyāyāñjaliḥ. A Handful of Popular Maxims...*, Pt. 1, Bombay 1907, p. 38.
10. Note that in CV two sūtras, viz. 3.3.104 (*vṛkṣauṣidbhyo 'ṃśe ca*) and 105 (*prāṇibhyo 'ñ*), correspond to Pāṇ. 4.3.135.
11. Cf. MBhāṣya III 232.1 and 318.26f.
12. I have dealt with this passage in my article "Paralipomena zum Sarvasarvātmakatvavāda. (I). Mahābhāṣya zu Pāṇ. 4.3.155 und seine einheimischen Erklärer", *WZKS* XXVI (1982), 149-166.
13. On this word see H. Lüders, *Philologica Indica...*, Göttingen 1940, p. 177ff.
14. Note that here I ignore words which have already been mentioned.
15. On this sūtra cf. Oberlies, o.c. (fn. 5), p. 82f.
16. Cf. Kāśikā on 4.3.154.
17. In the Kāś. on the sūtra discussed in the MBhāṣya, viz. on Pāṇ. 5.4.68, the secondary noun *kośaniṣadinī* is merely mentioned among others, and Haradatta too does not offer any help in that he confines himself to giving the *vigraha* of the basic *dvandva* (*kośaś ca niṣac ca*).
18. Cf. the meaning "cover, covering" attested for *kośa* also according to B.J. Sandesara's and J.P. Thaker's Lexicographical Studies in 'Jaina Sanskrit', Baroda 1962, p. 123.
19. It has, however, to be admitted that his explanation *kośaniṣadam asyā astīti (dvandopatāpagarhyāt prāṇisthād inir bhavati)* could be based on nothing but a correct linguistic analysis of the formation of *kośaniṣadinī* and that he himself did not any longer know the meaning of the word.
20. The examples given in the Kāś. (on 5.2.128) to explain this word of the sūtra, viz. *kakudāvartī* and *kākatālukī*, can equally not be styled as fully understandable.
21. Cf. Oberlies, o.c. (fn. 5), p. 236.
22. Cf. Pāṇ. 2.4.8 *kṣudrajantavaḥ*. In Pāṇini *jantu* could well be the corresponding generic term for "animal (in general)".
23. The meanings given in the Larger Petrograd Dictonary for the *ātmanepada* in particular are "sich schnell hinbewegen", "mit sich nehmen; für sich davon tragen, gewinnen".
24. These compounds could easily be identified with the help of the *Reverse Index of Old Indian* (Wiesbaden 1974-78) or the *Index II (Ab Ultimo) of the Consolidated Indices of the Vaidika-Padāmukrama-Koṣa* (Hoshiapur 1965). On these compounds cf. also Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik II 2*, Göttingen

1954, p. 17 and 25.

25. As for the syntax, I take *prāṇabhṛtaḥ* to be used predicatively here and would hence translate it literally "in as much as they are supporters of breath".
26. *The Veda of the Black Yajur School entitled Taittiriya Sanhita...*, Pt. I (*HOS* 18), Cambridge, Mass. 1914, p. 255.
27. Cf. R.P. Das, *Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume. Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda* ..., Stuttgart 1988, pp. 284ff., 289, 324, 444, 446 and 450.
28. Cf. W. Caland, "Eine dritte Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra" in *AO* IV (1926), p. 162 = Kleine Schriften hrsg. von M. Witzel, Stuttgart 1990, p. 345.
29. The fact that the indicative is used, and not another mood, does not, of course, diminish the probability that what is ultimately intended is a plea (the essential difference being that the indicative expresses the idea that the plea has already being fulfilled: hope dressed as certitude, a significant element of religious speech).
30. Cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik III* ..., Göttingen 1931, p. 65.
31. As for parallel passages, cf. *Brāhmaṇoddhara-koṣaḥ (Brāhmaṇic Citations)* ..., Hoshiapur 1966, p. 96.
32. Cf. e.g. the book just mentioned in fn. 31, p. 93ff.
33. Cf. also ŚB 8.1.2.11.
34. E.g. ŚB 8.2.3.1ff.
35. Cf. KāṭhS 20.9 and KapS 31.11.
36. This is Keith's translation, o.c. (fn. 26), p. 415.
37. On which see also ŚB 5.3.2.2(f.).
38. Note that according to Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik II,2* ..., p. 412f. this name is however derived from *apas*, "work".
39. Cf. also MS 3.2.8 and KāṭhS 20.9. This is a basically correct zoological observation as the normal sequence of steps (of terrestrial vertebrates) is right foreleg, left hind leg, left foreleg, right hind leg; cf. D. Müller-Schwarze, "Fortbewegung bei Tieren" in: *Praktikum der Verhaltensforschung*, hrsg. von Stokes u. Immelmann, Frankfurt-New York 1978, p. 8-14.
40. That is to say, I don't think that *prāṇabhṛt* was coined as an insider word for a coterie of the learned.
41. See e.g. the passages discussed above in section 2.1.
42. *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka...*, Oxford 1909, p. 216.
43. Who explains: ... *oṣadhivanaspatīnām annatvaṃ prāṇabhṛtāṃ manuṣyagavāśvādīnāṃ bhoktṛtvaṃ ca loke prasiddham iti dyotayituṃ hiśabdaḥ* /.

44. The spacing is mine. - Note that e.g. TS 2.2.6.3 shows that the expression *ubhayadat* as such may refer to man, too, but that its (narrower) meaning is made clear here by the subsequent *puruṣasyānuvidhā vihitās*.
45. Cf. also, though rather with regard to later developments of the dichotomy "food" and "eater", R. Geib's article "Food and Eater in Natural Philosophy of Early India", *JORI*, Baroda, XXV, 3-4 (1976), 221-235.
46. Quoted from A.B. Keith, o.c. (fn. 41), p. 216f.
47. Cf. e.g. R.N. Dandekar's contribution ("Der Mensch im Denken des Hinduismus") to the book *Sein als Offenbarung in Christentum und Hinduismus*, hrsg. v. A. Bsteh, Mödling 1984, p. 139-179.
48. Although man is conspicuous by his absence on the next, i.e. third, level (for which see the continuation of the passage quoted by me).
49. Should one perhaps read *amṛtam* instead?
50. On which cf. K.R. Norman, "Eleven Pāli Etymologies", *JPTS* XV (1987), p. 39f. and L. Schmithausen's monograph "*Plants as Sentient Beings in Earliest Buddhism?*" published 1991 in Tokyo by The International Institute for Buddhist Studies; see also below fn. 65.
51. Quite in contradistinction to the corresponding word in Pali.
52. Cf. e.g. also Mahābhārata (Poona) 12.326.34:
    na vinā dhātusaṃghātaṃ śarīraṃ bhavati kvacit /
    na ca jīvaṃ vinā brahman dhātavaś ceṣṭayanty uta //.
53. Of the passages referred to in the Larger Petrograd Dictionary it is the following ones which have to be mentioned in this connection: Suśrutasaṃhitā I. 175.3 (i.e. Sūtrasthāna 45.48), Spr(üche): 2599 and 3709, Varāh. BS 7.5 and Prabodhacandrodaya 35.18 (= 2.32).
54. Man alone is, however, meant in Spr(üche) 1299 and Varāh. BS 67.97 (= 68.96). Cf. also Yuktidīpikā (ed. Pandeya), p. 8 1. 26f: ... *yeyam asati viśeṣe sarvaprāṇabhṛtām āsurer eva bhagavato duḥkhatrayābhighātabuddhir bhavati* ... where the meaning "man", even if it is not the only one intended, is yet what the author primarily has in view; cf. also YD p. 38 l. 17.
55. Varāh. BS 8.14 could be referred to here; yet Manu 5.28 has to be mentioned, too, in that it reads:
    prāṇasyānnam idaṃ sarvaṃ prajāpatir akalpayat /
    sthāvaraṃ jaṅgamaṃ caiva sarvaṃ prāṇasya bhojanam //.
    (It has only been briefly mentioned by L. Alsdorf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien*, Wiesbaden 1962, p. (20) = 576, but would in my view deserve closer a study.)

56. Katre’s rendering of *tiṣya* is problematic at least as regards the etymology on which see B. Forssman, ’Apaoša, der Gegner des Tištriia’, *KZ* 82 (1968), p. 37-61.
57. Cf. Paribhāṣā 34 in Nāgeśa’s Paribhāṣenduśekhara (ed. Kielhorn p. 59f., transl. Kielhorn p. 171ff.) and see Kaitaṭa’s Pradīpa (NSP-ed.) II 70 a 5ff.
58. Cf. also Nāgeśa’s Uddyota (NSP-ed.) II 70 a 29-31: *na hy eteṣv iti / āpomayaḥ prāṇa* [ChU 6.7.1] *iti śruter adbhir vinā glāyamānaprāṇā eva loke prāṇina ity ucyante, idam eva pūjyatvam bhāṣye ’trabhavacchabdenocyata iti bhāvaḥ //.*
59. The reference is to the NSP-edition.
60. Uddyota II 70 a 31f.: *loke prāṇa iti vyavahārasyāpy abhāvād āha - tadadhīneti /.*
61. For I do not want to contend that the semantic development which is clearly recognizable, can only be accounted for by this assumption.
62. Especially because the context is that of the lack of respect which is due to God Vāyu.
63. *Bṛhadāraṇjakopanishad in der Mādhjañdina-Recension*, St. Petersburg 1889, p. 38.
64. Cf. ŚB(K) 3.2.10.2.
65. Note that in early Pali verses *pāṇabhu / -bhūta* means "living being" (cf. Vin. I 3.27ff.*, AN III 213.21*), but that human beings (Ja V 79.17ff.*), men and women (JA IV 494.26ff.*) and plants (Sn 146) are included or may be referred even to in the first place.
66. Cf. ChU 6.7.1 for the idiom *prāṇaṃ vi-cchid.*
67. It is not at all probable that one and the same word should denote lizards in general and a very peculiar family of the infraordo Inguania at the same time. But I can’t enter here into a discussion of the meaning of *kṛkalāsa.*
68. O.c. (fn. 62), p. 18.
69. Scil. *mṛtyoḥ*!
70. Read *yebhir*?
71. Viz. in 2.4.12, 3.2.25, 3.3.69, 1.2.73 and 5.3.51 respectively.
72. The discussion of the sūtra in the Mbhāṣya is of particular interest in that it allows us to look at the actual treatment of cattle in those days (I 252.13ff.): *ayam api yogaḥ śakyo ’vaktum / katham gāva imāś caranti ajā imāś caranti / gāva utkālitāpuṃskā vāhāya ca vikrayāya ca / striya evāvaśiṣyante /*!
73. Quite evidently Pāṇini uses the expression *grāmyapaśu* and not *prāṇabhṛt*, because the difference between domestic and wild (forms of) animals is of relevance here and because the character common to both is not denoted by *prāṇabhṛt.*
74. See section 1.2 above.

75. Note that the expression *kauñjara* n. "a particular method of sitting" which Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, is rather an adjective to which *āsana* has to be added by association.

76. In my view *prāṇabhṛt* at Manu 8.295 and 296 also does not include man; but the problems posed by these two verses, or rather, the whole section 8.293-296, have to be reserved for another occasion.

PART II.

Ritual and History

up to the Present

HIJACKING HISTORY:
Fundamentalism in the third world today

Susan Bayly

Great energy has been expended in recent years in attempts to account historically for the growth and dynamism of worldwide religious fundamentalism. Contemporary events in India have generated much heated debate about the rise of militant revivalists and activist pressure groups amongst the country's major religious communities, and journalists, academics and politicians have all sought to explain the role of religious purists and separatists in the violent regional conflicts and country-wide agitations that seem to be taking over India's political life. But just what is it that an historian can contribute to an issue which will strike many readers as the stuff of sensational newspaper headlines and half-baked popular truisms?[1]

Most people in the west today will have had some experience of contemporary religious fundamentalisms. The phenomenon has been widely hailed as a great new global force which has come increasingly to galvanize societies everywhere from Iran to the Americas, from the West Bank to large areas of sub-Saharan Africa. Of course even the crudest discussions of the topic have tried to make some distinctions between the born-again proponents of Biblical infallibility who proclaim their interpretations of Christian truth on American television, and the self-professed defenders of pure Islam who denounce Salman Rushdie, and call for the imposition of strict Quranic scriptural law amongst Muslim peoples in the Sudan or Pakistan or amongst Muslim immigrants in Europe and the USA.

But looking at the militants and the champions of "pure faith" in India today, we have some real problems. These are the same problems of perspective and approach that make it so difficult for historians to discuss any non-western society convincingly. The great puzzle is how to escape from the specious parallels and stock generalities. Even in the case of the many Muslim populations who have been activated by "Islamizing" or purify-the-faith campaigns in recent years, it must be understood that the Third World's so-called fundamentalisms are not all part of a great conspiracy, or a monolithic confrontation between the rational west and the fanatical East. There is no Cold War on between "us" and "them", between the forces of radicalized piety and the beleagured remnants of rational secular moderation and tolerant pluralism.

A great deal of popular journalism does present the upheavals of the Arab world and many other places of complex social tension in exactly those terms. While it is difficult for outsiders to set aside the stereotypes of menacing mullahs and faceless chanting mobs, historians can help to beat back some of the wilder misperceptions about these movements and ideologies. We must be cautious in seeking to compare the origins and world-views of Hindu activists and Sikh separatists in India, for example, with those of the Islamizing purists (like Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood; or FIS, the Islamic Salvation Front) who have been challenging the political status quo in countries like Jordan and Algeria. But it is clear that asking historians' questions, particularly questions about peoples' perceptions of their past and of their national heritage, can illuminate our discussions of organised activist religion in the contemporary world.

For all their diversities in countries such as India, it is not difficult to recognise the many groups who seek to promote and reclaim what they define as "true religion". In the Indian subcontinent, activists who claim to speak for revitalized or agressively separatist Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam and Buddhism (in Sri Lanka) receive wide media publicity, inspire and cultivate fear amongst their declared enemies, and have had some notable successes in the remaking of public policy. India's most widely publicized current political drama has revolved around a battle between Hindus and Muslims for the control of contested holy places. Most of these sites are located in the country's ancient centres of pilgrimage and popular piety. And such places are particularly abundant in the so-called "heartland" of Hinduism along the Gangetic plain of north India. The most important of these battles is the series of public agitations that have focussed on the sacred Hindu temple town of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh.[2] Over a period of several months beginning in October 1990, large numbers of people died across north India in urban street clashes led by self-styled holy warriors or servants of the Hindu god Ram, known as *kar sevaks*, who pledged themselves to reclaim the now-famous site of an old mosque in Ayodhya. These Hindus and their leaders declared that they wished to take over the site, to tear down the mosque and dedicate a great new Hindu temple on the spot because, at some disputed point in India's pre-colonial past, it is held that Muslim conquerors built this mosque over the birthplace of their Hindu deity, the royal warrior god Ram.[3]

At the height of these conflicts Indian and foreign newspapers carried extensive coverage of the Ayodhya clash. There were pictures of the god Ram's *kar sevak* vanguard marching with clenched fists and distinctive garments, including soldier's brow-bands in the sacred Hindu *saffron* colour. The British *Independent* newspaper printed one of the most sensational of these photographs, a close-up of a fierce-looking holy man with a burning bus behind him.[4] Some would condemn this treatment of the Ayodhya affair as crude and voyeuristic. The images did tend to alarm and alienate, though if it is thought that such journalism caricatures the supposed "fundamentalist menace", it is worth noting that the most detailed and alarmist coverage of the issue came from Indian news magazines like the *Illustrated Weekly*.[5]

But the campaigns in these places like Ayodhya are real, and it should be recognised that they are having a sensational impact on India's claim to have inherited a great secular nationalist tradition, the tradition of Gandhi and Nehru, which proclaimed constitutional even-handedness to all the country's religious communities, castes and ethnic groups. Amongst these groups who are supposed to have a guaranteed place in the Indian political order are the 100 million Indian Muslims who constitute nearly 15% of the country's population. These Muslims are Indian citizens, and are descended from families who chose not to leave their ancestral homes when British India gained independence in 1947, with the creation of Pakistan and India as two separate and hostile sovereign states.

There are Hindus today who insist that Islam spread into Asia from its so-called Arabian heartland through conquest and holy war. It is not widely known, either in India or in the west today, that the Muslim faith penetrated India largely as the religion of peaceful traders and holy men. Nor is it generally acknowledged that over the centuries, many aspects of Muslim worship were absorbed into Hinduism.[6] Of course most localities where Hindus and Muslims live close together have known sporadic and sometimes very violent outbreaks of conflict between members of the two religious communities. But what is different now is the widespread nature of this conflict, and the new politically charged ideologies that have begun to permeate and coordinate Hindu-Muslim confrontations across the country.

One of the central motifs of the Ayodhya conflict is the focus on India's Mughal legacy. It is the soldier and diarist Babur as founder of the Mughal imperium who is supposed to have built the mosque at Ayodhya which the Hindus activists now wish to seize and demolish. Until the 1940s, this site at Ayodhya was typical of the many places across India where Muslims and Hindus usually tolerated and accommodated one another's prayers and rituals. But in 1949, when the country was still convulsed by the aftermath of the Hindu-Muslim massacres which accompanied Independence and Partition in 1947, a pious Hindu from Ayodhya announced that the god Ram had come to him in a dream and had demanded exclusive control of "his" birthplace. Hindu devotees then proclaimed the miraculous "discovery" of a sacred image of the god inside the town's sixteenth-century mosque of Babur. To ward off trouble, the government of the day simply closed the site to worshippers of all faiths. And it is only in the last few years that the issue has been taken up again as a rallying point for the current new wave of public agitations.[7]

Pakistan's founders conceived of their new country as the natural homeland of the subcontinent's Muslims. Hinduism, with its rich anthropomorphic pantheon, and its temples, gurus and pilgrimage places is the faith of most citizens of India today. But the Indianist's best known cliche has always been that Hinduism is not one faith but many. The new Hindu fundamentalists would deny this, but there is still validity in the claim that what has come to be called Hinduism has been built up out of a multiplicity of regional devotional cults, and a body of subtle but diverse philosophical traditions. Hinduism has no ordained priesthood, no church, no real equivalent of the muslim Quran or the Christian Bible. Across India everyone who would wish to be called a Hindu would probably respect the universal high gods Siva and Vishnu, but usually as remote and abstract figures. In everyday life, the worshipper's immediate and personal gods and rituals differ from community to community and region to region.

How then can those Hindus who would be recognised today as fundamentalists campaign in the name of one institutional religion called Hinduism, to be built up as the core of nationhood or national culture in India, in the way that Islam has become the central core of nationhood for some (but not all) Pakistanis, or Sudanese, or more obviously, for the people of Saudi Arabia and Iran? In the view of India's new militant Hindu campaigners the answer to this question is to make the past, a special and contentious vision of the past, live in India's present, that is, to "hijack" history. These large and popular Hindu groups include the backers of India's fast-growing new political party, the BJP or Bharatiya Janata Party (formed in 1980). The BJP made a spectacular if uneven electoral impact in the late 1980s through its links with V.P. Singh's Janata Dal coalition; in the bloody and fiercely fought elections of June 1991, which were concluded after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, the BJP gained only half as many parliamentary seats as the Congress but still became the second largest party in the Lok Sabha. At regional level its fortunes were poorer, but it did gain a crucial victory in the state elections in U.P., which is regarded as a political bellweather for the whole country. The BJP and its supporters and allied organisations are trying to remake India into what they call a Hindu Raj. The key notion here is that of a polity which is defined by Hinduism, in the way that the Hindu activists think that India's dangerous neighbour Pakistan is defined and constituted around Islam.

So the campagin of the Hindu supremacists can be understood as a drive to re-map the country's history onto a kind of dramatized landscape. Actually this involves two closely related concepts of terrain or landscape. The first is the actual physical geography of India as the homeland of patriotic Hindu Indians. It is common for the propagandists of the "Hindutva" or Hindu Raj cause to say that recent history justifies their attacks on Muslims. A favourite theme is that within living memory, at the time of Independence and the geographical Partition of the subcontinent, the terrain of Mother India suffered shameful dismemberment. The new India-Pakistan boundaries of 1947 are portrayed as creations of an unholy conspiracy of Muslim politicians, godless secular nationalists and the British. So these events of 1947 are held by today's Hindu campaginers to have robbed the Hindu nation of large parts of its god-created territory.[8]

This leads on to the second concept of territory which activates the militant Hindu groups. In this case they are building on a kind of mental map that people carry within them. It plots out the Indian motherland as a sacred landscape, a terrain which is defined by the locations of its Hindu shrine centres, its long-distance pilgrimage routes, and its supernaturally endowed places such as Ayodhya, birthplace of the divine Ram. This refers back to very ancient concepts. Hindu myth and scripture abound in references to landscape. In the sacred lore, India and its regions are indeed mapped out as complexes of holy places, giving prominence to the places where pilgrims should journey: to sacred mountains and rivers, and to cities like Benares, Ayodhya, and all the other shrine sites on the holy Ganges. It is well known that devotees conceive of the places where they worship as locations where the key events of Hindu mythology were played out, the places where the divine Vishnu churned the waters of the primordial ocean or where Lord Siva performd his cosmic dance.[9]

But there is something new in the way that this idea of India's landscape is being treated in the publications and speeches and street slogans of the Hindu Raj campaigners. Now there is an insistence on historical crisis in the environment mapped out for patriotic Indians by the gods. This new enhanced vision of the sacred landscape is being used by militant Hindu groups to present the motherland as a terrain full of battlefields and ancient wrongs to be righted and, above all, as being full of sites where "true" Indians, meaning Hindu Indians, must fight to reclaim symbolic slabs of territory from people they are now calling the enemy outsiders in their midst. (Those whom they have in mind, of course, are the 100 million Muslims in their midst.)

There is more to say about this theme of history and the battle over sacred landscape. First, though, there should be no question of seeing this as a one-sided story of violent Hindu agitators confronting a passive and victimized Muslim minority. Quite the contrary: India, like other religiously plural societies where fundamentalists are on the offensive, is full of mutually competitive and mutually cross-pollinating religious purifiers and activist movements - Muslim, Sikh, even Christian.[10] This point will not be acceptable to the people who write about fundamentalism by providing a-historical snapshots of militant Muslims or pentecostal Christians or Sikh separatists in isolation from one another. In looking at the rise of purist Islam, for example, we are told that fellow Muslims may inspire one another across political or cultural boundaries, that the example of the Ayatollah aroused excitement and emulation amongst Muslims in places very remote from the Iman Khomeini's native Iran. But it is rare to find anyone who thinks that the language and tactics, and the sense of history on the march, which are possessed by fundamentalists of one faith are available to be taken up as a new inspirational force amongst other people. This would include groups who had previously had little to do with pronouncements of militant piety or communal exclusiveness until they too found themselves in the firing line, as targets for other people's militant fundamentalism.[11]

Looked at historically, the Indian experience must be understood in just these terms. Fundamentalism has become a competitive phenomenon in contemporary India. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and even the tiny Christian minority as well as Buddhists in distant Sri Lanka are providing one another with role models and reference points. Often it is the perceptions of what the others, the outsiders, are doing that persuades people to embrace the cause of purist Islam or militant, exclusive Hindu nationhood. Muslims and Christians are often described in India as "people of the book", meaning heirs of coherent faiths, with universally accepted revealed scriptures, and a single god. The Hindu militants point to the apparent vigour that these qualities give Muslims both within and beyond the subcontinent. This is supposed to explain the Muslims' very visible assertiveness on the world stage.

Hindu supremacy campaigners also vilify the Christians whose missionary activism they grossly exaggerate as a threat to India's culture and security. And there are also the Sikhs. Many Hindu campaigners focus on the militarized religious puritanism which has been cultivated since the 1970s by separatists of the Sikh community. It is never forgotten that supporters of this Sikh activist movement carried out the assassination of the Prime Minister, Mrs Gandhi, in 1984. For some years Indian television broadcast details of armed clashes between the security forces and Sikh paramilitary activists who were always described as "terrorists", though sections of the press have recently agreed on the more neutral term "militant". Such groups are apparently still engaged in a violent struggle to expel Hindus from their homes in the Punjab and to map out their own Pakistan equivalent for Sikhs, their Khalistan.

Finally, if we are looking for more sources of this mutually reinforcing or cross-pollinating fundamentalism, there are the campaigns being waged by Indian Muslims. In 1985, India's Muslim purist organisations launched a country-wide agitation which sought to compel the Indian government to recognise Muslim *sharia* law as the sole basis of decision-making in civil court cases involving Indian Muslims. This was prompted by what was known as the Shah Bano case, in which the Indian Supreme Court issued a far-reaching judgement involving an aged Indian Muslim widow's divorce settlement rights. The whole country was galvanized by the vigour of the Muslims' campaign which attacked the Supreme Court's judgement as a Hindu plot to rob Muslims of the right to enact "Islamic" provisions in matters of marriage, inheritance and divorce. On the Muslim side, the campaign was presented as a struggle for minority civil rights. Their opponents included feminists who were horrified by the campaign as a denial of equal rights for women under the law. There were even some brave Muslims who said that it would be fatal for India's democratic constitutional tradition if the principle of equal rights for all under the law was replaced with a notion of separate and unequal rights on the basis of religious identity.[12]

Looking at all this, especially the Muslims' campaign to impose Quranic *sharia* law in the Indian courts, Hindu activists have been crying out that *their* folk will remain weak and divided within their own homeland, unless they too find a simple focus for themselves. They want this focus to be an activated challenging faith which can lead fellow Hindus to set aside their caste and sectarian differences. Then, it is held, Hindus will start to fight as one people to redress the old historical wrongs and imbalances from the days of the sub-continent's first Muslim invaders, right through to the riots and mutual Hindu-Muslim massacres of the 1947 Partition. What is striking here is that virtually everyone involved in these current battles -- Muslim, Christian, Sikh and Hindu -- is becoming impelled by the same conceptions of historically defined sacred landscape. This is part of what is meant in this paper by the mutual interactions, the borrowing and emulativeness, that link all the different fundamentalisms that are contending in the country today.

In 1989 the VHP (Vishva Hindu Parisad), the militant Hindu organisation that has led the Ayodhya campaign, found a new way to dramatize public commitment to their cause of the Hindu Raj, meaning Hindu supremacy in a Hindu nation. Its leaders called on pious Hindus throughout the country to rebuild their supposedly "lost" and desecrated holy shrine. What Hindus were supposed to do was to consecrate bricks and send them on a carefully plotted itinerary from locality to locality all over India, until all the bricks reached their destination at Ayodhya and could be assembled, on the contested site, by the builders of the god Ram's new Hindu temple. The message in this campagin was being expressed in a symbolic language which was comprehensible to believers of every faith in India. When the scheme was implemented, there was highly charged press coverage of each brick dedication ceremony, and coverage of each brick consignment as it was taken with attendant pilgrims and holy men to its destination in Ayodhya. What was being conveyed in all this was a great display of how Hindus throughout India were coming to reconstitute their polity around the reconquest of sacred terrain.[13]

There was no mistaking the meaning of the campaign, because this was how Indians had conceived of the making of sovereignty and political power for centuries before the British ruled India. In the sub-continent, would-be rulers had traditionally constituted their claims of kingship around the concept of an activated sacred landscape. Whether Hindu or Muslim, an aspiring king had to do certain crucial things in order to gain credibility in the eyes of his subjects. To rule convincingly, he had to map his domain onto a physical landscape which had been marked out for him by the shrines and holy places in which the gods, or the miracle-working saints of Islam, held their sway. Sometimes even Christian saints could be incorporated in this way into the divinely mandated kingdom of a Hindu or Muslim ruler: this happened very widely in south India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[14]

The saints of Islam, and the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, and even Christian saints in the south, are still conceived of in India as sovereigns. They hold court, they are honoured as kings, they have royal titles; and in south India especially, they ride at festival time in great royal chariots (*ter*s) amongst worshippers who consider themselves subjects of a royal divinity. This is why one kind of kingliness or sovereign power enhanced the other: gods are kings, and so rulers could have no true political power unless they attached themselves to the royal sovereign power of the divinities. Kings did this by endowing holy places, and by undertaking pilgrimages - traversing the countryside and worshipping at all the great holy places where divine power manifests itself. (This invites comparison with the conspicuous piety of mediaeval European monarchs who manifested kingliness by making benefactions to monasteries, and by embarking on pilgrimages to the shrines of Christendom.)

In the past few years, the provocative ceremonial journeys of the Hindu bricks and a whole series of similar, widely publicized mass pilgrimages led by the same campaigners, have used twentieth-century publicity techniques to inspire and threaten Indians with this ancient vision of the warrior king claiming his dominion. Again, though, there is a difference: today's pious image of the Hindu devotee can be compared to that of the European crusader kings, the rulers who strove for the liberation of Jerusalem from the infidel Moor. This parallel seems rather apt. The divine Ram who is now held up as the hero of the Hindu Raj-Hindu nationhood campaign is celebrated in the *Ramayana* as an idealized king, the embodiment of perfect princeliness. Thus he is the ideal focus for a campaign which claims religious sanction for a political goal, the debunking of India's secular constitutional heritage, and the remaking of the Indian state as a divinely inspired Hindu polity. The focus on the god-king Ram is all the more fitting because as every Indian knows, his myths recount an epic journey across the Indian landscape. This evokes an automatic comparison with the traversing of the country's sacred terrain with the bricks and other contemporary emblems of today's Hindu Raj - Hindu supremacy campaign. And Ram is an earthly manifestation of the all-high Vishnu, who is conceived of as both king and cosmic saviour. In the *Ramayana*, Ram's journey with his army of followers under the monkey general Hanuman is a great act of redemption on behalf of mankind.

It is clear where this takes us. The devotees who are pledged today to rescue their god's holy places from Muslim conquest and to expel Muslims from the Ayodhya site see themselves as the god Ram's servants - his *kar sevaks*. They too have embarked on a sacred task of redemption. In their mass marches and demonstrations, these people equipped themselves with the warrior's emblem, the archer's bow, which is borne by the god in the epic and in his temple images. They too traversed the land from distant places to cleanse and redeem, to fight a great battle against a demonic enemy - meaning the Muslims, whom they identified with the god's demon enemy in the epic. These volunteer fighters, the *kar sevak* bands, were not numerous. They were most conspicuous at the time of the rioting at Ayodhya in November 1990, when the Hindu movement's leaders called for volunteer mass action to take over the disputed shrine site. The Hindu militants certainly encouraged jobless youths and disaffected students to form up into these colourfully attired warrior bands. In response, there was a clumsy attempt to overwhelm the approaches to the town with a vast police and military presence. Then the security forces fired on some of the demonstrators, and the result of this was that in towns across north India, there came into being a cult of bloody martyrdom around the personalities of the young men who were held to have been cut down in the sacred service of the god, and in the cause of Hindu supremacy.

The 1990 riots at Ayodhya were followed by outbreaks of Hindu-Muslim communal rioting in many parts of India. The activists, and the sympathizers with the Hindu Raj cause, are often young. And for those who think that access to education and other "progressive" forces must help to damp down the more intolerant forms of religious fundamentalism, it should be noted that the University campuses have become major battlegrounds for the Hindu Raj campaign. In some of India's most elite educational institutions, students have taken to proclaiming their affiliation to the Hindu supremacy cause by shouting an invocation - "Jai Shri Ram" - long live Lord Ram - at mealtimes in their campus residence halls. And for Muslims, an even more sinister manifestation of the new Hindu assertiveness are the gangs of roaming toughs who stop passers-by in the streets of north Indian towns and force them to accept the application of painted Hindu devotional marks to their foreheads. This is applauded as one way of winnowing out the so-called Muslim enemy in their midst. Such gangs beat up people who refuse to return their war-cry of Jai Shri Ram. For many months they also threw the north Indian railways into chaos by mobbing trains at stations, and hunting down any Muslim passengers they could find.

Again it is not clear how widespread this kind of semi-organised gangsterism had become in the early 1990s, or whether its participants were just settling local scores under the cover of the Hindu Raj campaign and its slogans. But there *were* vocal activists whose professed aim of remaking India as a Hindu nation had been widely publicized in this period of heightened communal tension. At the time of the Ayodhya riots audio cassette tape went on sale in the north Indian bazaars in which demogogue MPs of the BJP, the political party with close links to the Hindu activist cause, recorded dramatic speeches denouncing the country's current minority government for what they called "pandering" to the Muslim enemy. On some of these tapes, the speeches about carrying on the Hindu struggle were recorded against the background of gunfire, which was supposed to evoke the "martyrdom" of the so-called Hindu freedom fighters in the Ayodhya riots of November 1990.[15]

Again what is striking here is the continual appeal to historical themes and historical justification for the remapping of Indian Hinduism. Like most groups whom we would think of as being "fundamentalist", these activists place a priority on the moral purity of their cause. Amongst Muslim fundamentalists, too, we are familiar with the insistence on moral themes, on purity of behaviour for fellow Muslims, especially in contrast to the degraded example of secular western society with its unclothed women and corrupted social habits. Again there is a parallel with the world of the activated Hindu campaigners in India. What they insist upon is the fact that past historical injustices have sanctified the campaign's goals, that the recapture of disputed holy places is morally right because history says so.

The recent past figures very much in current Hindu propaganda. Those who wish to alert their hearers to the supposedly sinister propensities of Muslims give emotional accounts of events that are still painful memories for many Indians. They dwell on the massacres that occurred at the time of the Partition, and on the more recent expulsions of Hindus from the Punjab, as well as the fighting over Muslim separatist claims in Kashmir. But what will seem strange to some outsiders is the remaking of the distant and mythological past as part of the current drama of Hindu India's supposed confrontation with its inner enemies. Here again, the god Ram is paramount, and the evidence for this was already apparent some years before the outbreak of the current Ayodhya agitations. In 1981, campaigners from the powerful Hindu supremacy organisation, the RSS, attracted nationwide publicity over the alleged mass conversion to Islam amongst "Harijan" ex-untouchables in the remote village of Minakshipuram in southern Tamil Nadu.[16] Even then, when faced with this supposed affront to the integrity of the Hindu polity, the martial protector god Ram was being invoked. Some of the god's selfstyled champions tried to persuade that most august scholarly body, the Indian Archaeological Survey, to declare, as a matter of literal scientific fact, that the god Ram had indeed been born on the disputed site in Ayodhya.

The archaeologists managed to sidestep the issue, and beginning in 1989 there were calls to set up a panel of High Court judges to pronounce on the matter instead.[17] This indicates something very notable about the role of history and religiously defined landscape in Indian political life today. It was once the case that pious Hindus deified human beings. Heroes and kings entered the divine pantheon as supernatural conquerors and martial cult divinities; even ordinary people could acquire divine status if they died an abrupt or premature or violent death, or if they were otherwise in contact with forces that gave them contact with cosmic energies and manifestations of sacred energy or *sakti*. What has happened in recent years, however, is that the divine Ram is being removed from his remote and a-historical cosmic domain. Ram's adherent and self-styled para-military servants - the *kar sevak*s- want the god to be recognised as a real person that is as an historical personality who lived a real life in a real historical landscape. Academics and judges are being told to attest to this, to certify that the locale of the divine Ram's birthplace belongs to the realm of literal fact, and not to the realm of mythology. If Ram is "real" in this precise historical sense, this makes his cause real, and his followers will be seen as the shock troops of a real and just war in the name of Hindu political supremacy.

This must be why historical themes are so pervasive in the activities of the Hindu activists. Their *kar sevak* youth bands are portrayed as soldiers re-enacting the epic march of Ram's armies across the Indian landscape. They now see this legendary show of force as real historical precedent for the confrontation against Muslims, the so-called "defilers" of the god's birthplace at Ayodhya. There is one other point to make here. If the sacred epic stories of Hinduism are becoming matters of literal fact and politically charged immediacy for many Indians, this is due in part to the new consumption and entertainment trends of the Indian middle classes. Beginning in the late 1970s, India's gradual economic liberalization created a huge new population of upwardly mobile people with money to spend on consumer goods. Television sets have proliferated in Indian households, and the showing on Indian television of the 93 episodes of a home-produced dramatization of the *Mahabharata* gave living reality to the ideas of sacred landscape and sacred Hindu nationhood in a way that has been crucial to the appeal of the Hindu supremacy campaigners.[18] Anyone who visited India during the showings of this television series between 1988 and 1990 will know that the country came to a virtual standstill while millions of viewers followed each instalment of the epic with its naturalistic rendering of divine dominion and the Pandavas' epic struggles for power. And as recently as December 1990, one of the Hindu supremacy activists summoned followers to perpetuate the struggle to seize the Ayodhya site by declaring,

> "What you are seeing today [in the struggle at Ayodhya] is a replay of the battle scenes you have witnessed on the television screen in the *Mahabharata* epic. Only this time the fight is for who will win the throne of Lucknow and Delhi."[19]

Lest it be thought that the problem of contested shrine sites will disappear if the courts devise a deal to allocate rights over the Ayodhya shrine site, the Hindu supremacy organisations are already listing hundreds of other sites, all over India, where they say that the divine cause requires the liberation of "captive" holy places from the Muslim enemy. Since the Indian landscape does indeed contain countless thousands of sites like Ayodhya where mosques and temples adjoin, or where Hindu and Muslim worship has overlapped for many centuries, there is a real possibility that the end of all this will be what some of the wilder anti-Muslim, campaigners are already demanding - a campaign for the demolition of every mosque in India, the reduction of Muslims to second-class citizenship within a Hindu Raj (a Hindu nation-state), and even the forcible expulsion of all Muslims from the country.

The Hindu supremacy organisations have also invoked a contentious vision of the past by linking their campaigns to the great dramas of India's "freedom struggle". Much press attention has been focussed on Hindu demonstrators who have taken to imitating Gandhi's famous tactic of civil disobedience. To the horror of old Gandhians, the Hindu Raj activists are using the word *satyagraha* for their protest campaigns. This word is still recognised by every Indian as the Sanskrit term coined by Gandhi to describe the great mass sit-ins and public demonstrations of the 1920s and 'thirties. It is widely used in political protest today to evoke memories of the heady idealist days when India's nationalist freedom fighters "courted arrest" to show that they were morally above the laws of the British colonial state. By clogging the jails and courtrooms they sought to bring to a standstill the institutions of a regime they held to be illegitimate.

The trouble now is that the present-day Hindu activitists have sought to garb themselves in Gandhi's hallowed tradition of the voluntary peaceful "martyr". But instead of submitting like Gandhi to violence and jail sentences, they have embraced violence, organising mobs to chant "go to Pakistan or go to the graveyard" outside the homes of Muslims in north Indian cities, and trying - with some success - to rock the fragile balance of the country's constitutional order. The violent language which pervaded these confrontations in the run-up to the 1991 general election is the last feature of the current fundamentalist activism that will be highlighted here. The symbolism of blood has come to figure as the most conspicuous motif in the new language of activist religion and nationhood in India. Much scholarship associates Hinduism with concepts of non-violence and ritual purity. It is widely understood that although blood sacrifice is still widespread among those we would identify as Hindus, Brahmanical Hindu teaching regards human or animal blood as defiling and unclean, to be avoided as a source of contamination and ritual impurity. So it came as a shock to the outside world when the Hindu *kar sevak* activists were reported as offering up cups of their own blood to signify their status as willing martyrs to the cause of

Hindu supremacy. But in fact this apparent perversion of high Brahmanical principles is quite consistent with the way in which this unhappy marriage of religion and politics has come to focus on themes of ethnicity and historical descent which are being communicated through images of blood and sacrifice.

In the eyes of the campaigners who wish to remap India as a Hindu nation, the Hinduism that must bind the country together and make it strong is a matter of shared blood, not faith and teaching. This explains yet another favourite slogan of the Hindu mobs who revile Muslims in Indian towns as "sons of Babur". It is no accident that it has been Babur, the first of the Mughals, whom the Hindu activists have reviled as builder of the mosque which is supposed to have despoiled Ram's birthplace at Ayodhya. To scream "son of Babur" at an Indian Muslim is to highlight the Hindu supremacists' claim that history justifies their cause. The message of the slogan is that "real" Indians have the blood of Ram in their veins. Muslims are outsiders, and will always remain so. Their blood is the blood of Babur and the other Muslim rulers and conquerors who are supposed to have forced their faith upon unwilling Indians by smashing temples and defiling holy places. Thus through this appeal to what are supposed to be the literal facts of history and biological dsscent, Muslims today are to be seen as bearers of the historical guilt derived from Muslim invasions, and from Muslim atrocities of the near and distant past.

This is echoed in the language of influential Hindu holy men, including the *acarya*s or heads of important *math* foundations who have become celebrities through their attempts to foster a sense of activated Hindu consciousness across the country. The language of shared Hindu blood now permeates the pronouncements of these men too. South India's most famous ascetic and sage - a man who is now called "pontiff" by his admirers - spoke at the 1989 Hindu pilgrim's convocation on the Ganges at Prayag, the Kumbh Mela, in the following terms:

> "From time immemorial, Indians have been going on pilgrimage and have been blessed by holy men. It is in their blood. Kumbh Mela maintains this custom. It is natural. It is in their blood.
> Even though India is politically divided, this pilgrimage [to the Kumbh Mela] creates spiritual unity. From the southernmost tip to the north, and from the east to the west, the entire country is unified by people travelling around on pilgrimage. What is now called national unity has always been in the blood of Hindus and Indians since time immemorial. Despite our differences, we are one and the Kumbh Mela is the perfect example of this."[20]

This is unmistakably a picture of community and nationhood which equates shared Hindu blood and an invigorated Hindu identity with Indian nationhood. It excludes Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, everyone with no role to play in these festivals' celebration of Hindu blood and Hindu devotion. And as men like this have found platforms on which to proclaim the principles of Hindu primacy in the Indian sacred homeland, Indians of Muslim (and Christian and Sikh) affiliation have found themselves with no option but to define themselves in correspondingly stark terms as people of one blood, one "fundamentalist" affinity which excludes outsiders and incorporates all those who can be identified as fellow believers.

So what does all this indicate about the prospects for India's secular constitutional tradition? For some commentators, India's recent political experiences look so bleak as to raise questions about whether secular nation states as they are understood today have a future anywhere outside a handful of supposedly "stable" western countries. It does seem alarming that even in India, with its apparently secure heritage of liberal constitutionalism, those who speak for the values of democratic electoral politics are now routinely attacked by aspiring "mainstream" politicians as opportunists, or slavish emulators of western political models that do not suit true sons and daughters of the patriotic motherland.

The performance of state and central government has also been unsettling to those who have charted the many instances of official compromise with religious extremists. In the course of the Ayodhya conflicts, local and regional police forces, especially in U.P., acquired a reputation for being openly partisan in conflicts involving Hindu Raj campaigners. One result of this alleged pro-Hindu bias is that in some of the old north Indian towns with big Muslim populations, local officials have tacitly surrendered responsibility for the safety of Muslim citydwellers. Muslims have been encouraged to arm themselves, and have begun to police their own residential *mohulla*s with selfstyled paramilitaries or armed youth action committees. In a society which has always been violent, but which also takes pride in the tradition of an independent judiciary and officials who are answerable to all citizens, this invites disturbing comparisons with the gangsterism and tribal faction-law of Beirut. And in some U.P. towns, it appears that even middle class Muslims feel unsafe in the leafy suburbs where relatively prosperous townsfolk have moved in increasing numbers since Independence. There are localities where such families have heeded the call to move back to the old crowded Muslim *mohulla*s because it is "community" that counts now. "Let your brother Muslims protect you", they are being told.

What is particularly striking about the new campaign for Hindu nationhood is that the language of blood and exclusive ethnicity has now emerged from the margins of Indian political life. The concept of Hindu Raj is now acceptable across a wide spectrum of the educated Hindu middle class, among university students and professional and business people for whom its claims are seen to reconcile "modernity" with pride in a reclaimed cultural heritage. As a result, the claims of the Hindu supremacists have now penetrated the dominant language of political expression in India; this would have been inconceivable fifteen or twenty years ago when the political "mainstream" still expressed the concept of Indian nationhood in terms which were much more clearly compatible with the constitutional legacy of Gandhi and Nehru.

Despite all this, it may still be possible to see signs of hope for the future. The 1991 elections certainly did not proclaim the death of India's secular constitutional tradition. Even in the U.P., where the agressive Hindu "patriots" of the BJP now control the terrain of Lord Ram's birthplace, the party may find that as a government in power it simply can not live up to the expectations that it aroused amongst its voters. And as in the case of the historical shift towards tighter and more exclusive caste affinities, the firming up of boundaries between India's religious communities has always depended on political acts, on moves made by rulers and governments.[21] We have seen, for example, that it took the benefactions of Indian kings to map out and define the activated sacred terrain in which they exercised their temporal power in past centuries. In the twentieth century, the exercise of state power still has the capacity to neutralize today's hijackers of history, to divert all those voices that are calling for Hindu Raj - Hindu supremacy, and are evoking equally powerful demands for matching solidarity amongst India's other religious communities. The future probably still holds encouraging possibilities for India's democratic constitutional tradition.

NOTES

1. One largescale comparative enterprise in this field has been the multidisciplinary "Fundamentalism Project" supported by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which will publish three volumes in 1991 and 1992: *Fundamentalism Observed* (Chicago, 1991: forthcoming); *Remaking the World. Fundamentalist impact* (Chicago, 1991: forthcoming); and *Accounting for Fundamentalisms* (Chicago, 1992: forthcoming).
2. The authority on this subject is Prof. Peter van der Veer: see Van der Veer, "God must be liberated", *Modern Asian Studies*, (21: 1987).
3. See Van der Veer, *ibid.*; also extensive coverage of the Ayodhya controversy in the Indian press including news magazines such as *Frontline* (published by the *Hindu* newspaper group of Madras), as well as *Illustrated Weekly*, the UK-based *India Today*, and also the Delhi *Economic and Political Weekly*.

4. *Independent*, 31 October 1990.
5. *Illustrated Weekly*, cover story, 22-23 December 1990.
6. See e.g. S. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings. Muslims and Christians in south Indian Society*. (Cambridge, 1989).
7. Daniel Gold, "Organised Hinduisms", essay to be published in forthcoming volume *Fundamentalism Observed*.
8. This theme in Hindu supremacist propaganda appears in e.g. K.R. Malkani, *The RSS Ṣtory* (New Delhi: 1981), p. 180.
9. Amongst the many works which illuminate this topic are J.C. Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition. Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship and Society*, (Chicago and London, 1985). Also David Dean Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths. Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Saiva Tradition*, (Princeton, 1980).
10. S. Bayly, "Christian and competing fundamentalism in south Indian society", essay to be published in *Accounting for Fundamentalism* (Chicago, forthcoming).
11. *Ibid.*
12. The Shah Bano case inspired militant "defence of *sharia* campaigns in localities throughout the country. *Frontline* news magazine, 29 June-12 July 1985, pp. 92-5.
13. Van der Veer, "God must be liberated"; and *Economic and Political Weekly* 7 October 1989 (242:40), p. 2219; 14 October 1989 (24:41), p. 2276.
14. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings*, pp. 241-419.
15. *Illustrated Weekly*, 22-23 December 1990, p. 14. Compare the accounts of violence in a wide range of south Asian communal and ethnic conflicts in Veena Das, ed., *Mirrors of Violence. Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia* (Delhi, 1990), especially Das, "Introduction", pp. 1-36, which refers to the power of symbolic martyrdom, and A. Banerjee, "Comparative Curfew", pp. 37-68.
16. See Abdul Malik Mujahid, *Conversion to Islam. Untouchables' Strategy for Protest in India* (Anima Books: Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: 1988). See also W.K. Anderson and S.D. Damle, *The Brotherhood in Saffron. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (Boulder, Colorado: 1987).
17. *Hindu* newspaper (International Edition) 25 February 1989, p. 3.
18. See e.g. *India Today*, 31 December 1985, pp. 69-85.
19. Quoted in the *Illustrated Weekly*, 22-23 December 1990, p. 11.
20. From interviews given by the presiding *acarya* of the Kancipuram Kamakoti *math* for the BBC television film "Dust and Ashes" (1989) which was made at the February 1989 Kumbh Mela. Also *Hindu* newspaper (International Edition): 11 February 1989, p. 16.
21. There is a large literature on the link between political change and the creation or "freezing" of caste identities. See, e.g., P. van der Veer, *Gods on Earth*, London, 1988.

THE LATECOMERS
A case study of caste and sub-caste of goldsmiths in Karnataka, South India

Jan Brouwer

1. Introduction

During his India course for anthropology students in 1970, Heesterman used to make stray remarks regarding topics yet to be studied as contributions to Indian sociology. One such remark was about the artisans. Who are they? Where are they settled? What is their patronage? And where do they get designs from? Ten years later, we were both on top of a motorcycle visiting the goldsmiths and other artisans of Mysore city. Between ever stimulating questions he put before me, there was a warning too: "do not fix the whole thing; I do not believe in neat structures; they cannot be true". How to put flexibility and adaptiveness in words on paper? This contribution is an attempt to trust the flexibility of the goldsmiths of Karnataka to paper. It is based on data collected in Hassan District during 1989.[1]

2. The Visvakarma ideal and perceptions

The occupational category goldsmith covers artisans who belong to different 'castes'. The goldsmiths of the Sonargara caste and of the Uttaradi Akkasaliga caste are not considered to be Visvakarma by caste. Likewise not all ironsmiths, carpenters, braziers, founders and sculptors are Visvakarma by caste. Only craftsmen engaged in ironsmithy, carpentry, braziery, foundry, sculpture and goldsmithy who belong to particular sub-castes are Visvakarma. The Visvakarma caste itself is not a group into which one is born but an ideal subscribed to by sub-castes in which the artisan is born. In this section, I shall briefly present the Visvakarma ideal.

The Visvakarma caste can be defined as a recognition of an attempt at completeness in oneself, autonomy and non-violence. These ideals form a frame of reference for the artisans' real life, which, of course, never completely coincides with it. The unity of the caste is presented as an idea on a par with an ideal Brahminical order. This idea is known to us in both a mythological and iconographical form, so that the origin myth explains in detail the icon of the five-headed Visvakarman. This image of a single body with five heads is a very special metaphor for it expresses at once the unity (single body) and diversity (five heads) of the caste. From the view-point of the ideal, where no relationships exist, there are no sub-castes, but only individual craftsmen, who are living replicas of Lord Visvakarman. The ideal order is thus placed outside the real world because it is a conflictless, autonomous unity, unilateral, static and non-violent. In the real world, the Visvakarma individual belongs to a collectivity which is interdependent. In other words, the reality shows a number of Visvakarma sub-castes, who legitimize themselves in the Brahminical idiom of the individual Visvakarman. Elsewhere (Brouwer 1988) I have demonstrated that there is no single and substantive explanation for the unity of the caste known to the participants. In their efforts to explain the contradiction, on both the cognitive and empirical levels, they transform the original image into a dual classification. Using the concept introduced by Appadurai (1974), I have called this a root paradigm, whose function is to provide a cultural tool for the integration of various artisan sub-castes. Its structure is essentially contextual and contrastive and shows itself in a wide range of expressions, supra-regional, regional, interactional and occupational. This large variety has generated a range of indigenous explanations for the root paradigm. The dual classification seems a response to and a product of the extent of integration in a given politico-economic domain. In the myths this is formulated in terms of interference by the goddess, who is manipulated by either the Go-Brahmins, or the king. On various levels (crafts, sub-castes, myths, iconography), the dichotomy appears as a complementary opposition of an exclusive (Brahmin) and inclusive (kingly) order. The sub-castes themselves embed the paradigm in the particular environment of diverse interests and local/regional interdependency. The sub-caste then applies the original ideals to its own situation so that each has its own perception of reality.

3. The Visvakarma's actual situation of sub-castes

During the past ten years, it has been observed that the Visvakarma caste of southern Karnataka is composed of the following four sub-castes: the Kulachars (ironsmiths, carpenters and goldsmiths), the Sivachars (ironsmiths-cum-carpenters, founders-cum-sculptors and goldsmiths), the Uttaradis (goldsmiths) and the Matachars (founders). This observation gives the impression of a fixed system in which one caste is divided into four sub-castes. Such a momentory 'still' however is misleading. The Kulachars of Arkalagud in Hassan District did not until recently inter-marry with Kulachars of Mandya District, the Kulachars of Hassan District did not worship the holyman Siddappaji of the Mandya Kulachars. Before ten years ago, the Sivachar goldsmiths did not marry the Sivachars ironsmiths-cum-carpenters and the Sivachar founders-cum-sculptors married only among themselves. Even today, the Sivachar goldsmiths of Tumkur District have no matrimonial alliances with the Sivachar goldsmiths of Chamarajanagar Taluk in Mysore District.

With increased possibilities of recognizing similar groups in different regions, the so-called sub-castes of Kulachars and Sivachars are being formed under the single umbrella of the Visvakarma ideology. However, all Kulachars share a similar if not identical world-view, or more precisely, interpretation of the Visvakarma ideology and their own actual situation. The same can be said about the Sivachars. In central Karnataka, I found an interesting example of sub-caste formation. The Muddekammara sub-caste of ironsmiths were formerly (up to 1910) engaged as iron-miners and smelters. Those engaged in iron-mining became ordinary ironsmiths. About forty years later the *guru* of another (locally considered higher) Visvakarma sub-caste Chikkamane sanctioned the new status of the Muddekammara and declared publicly that they were Doddamane. This was not accepted gratefully by all Doddamanes who now began to claim Chikkamane status. About the same time we see the first inter-sub-caste marriages between the Chikkamane sub-caste of central Karnataka and the Uttaradi sub-caste of southern Karnataka.

In other words, in the case of the Muddekammaras the relationship with the soil and its lords changed and influenced their perceptions of imminent reality, however, within the overall framework of the Visvakarma ideology.

For the exploration of the interface - ideology/situation - I think, three types of sources have to be considered, viz. (i) the ritual connections, mode of worship and iconographies of temple idols; (ii) occupational changes, and (iii) the oral tradition ((life-) histories of settlement and migration; *sthala-puranas* of temples and *vamsapuranas* of sub-castes).

4. Sub-castes and Kali temples

In almost all market towns of southern Karnataka we find Kali temples which are maintained by the Kulachars, who have given the priestly rights to the Uttaradi sub-caste, for example in Hassan, Holenarsipur, Channarayapatna, Arkalagud, Srirangapatna, Halgur, Channapatna and Mysore. Facing east, the central room of these temples is devoted to a manifestation of Siva, the left side room to the goddess (Kali) and the right side room to a manifestation of Vishnu. As for the manifestations of Siva and Vishnu, as well as the layout of the temple, there are variations of this pattern. However, there is reason to believe that these temples are not Kali temples (as they are commonly called), but Siva temples because for its main rituals, festivals and processions, if any, are Saiva, and it is Kamatesvara (linga), who occupies the central shrine facing the lamppole (*dīpastambha*) and main entrance. The Kali of these temples is said to be Parvati.[2] In various *sthala-puranas* of such temples the king objects to the establishment of a Kali temple, but permits the founding of a Siva temple with the image of the goddess added later.[3]

In *Hassan city*, the old Kali temple, located in higher grounds in the old fort (*kote*) and not in the bazaar (*pete*), was 'renovated' in the late 1950s. The original Kali idol shows weapons to attack, while the other two idols (Vishnu and Siva) were added at the time of the 'renovation'. Before and after the 'renovation' the local Kulachars maintained the temple, while the priestly rights are with an Uttaradi family.

In *Holenarsipur* town, about 32 kms to the south of Hassan, the Kali temple was also 'renovated' in the late 1950s. It is situated in the Minters Street (*tankasala bidi*) just outside the fort, but at some distance from the bazaar. Before the 'renovation', the unaccompanied Kali with weapons of control, faced south. Afterwards, the goddess faced east with to her right the Sivalinga shrine and next the Ganesha shrine. In 1989 the local Kulachars called a sculptor (*silpi*) from Mysore to 'rectify' the image of Kali. She used to look downwards (to observe the sacrifice?) and has now been made to look straight. At present, the temple is maintained by both Kulachars and Uttaradis, while the priesthood is still with an Uttaradi family.

In *Channarayapatna*, a market town 40 km east of Hassan City, the present Kali temple, facing east, is a new structure which was built in the late 1950s on a road immediately north to the old fort boundary. In the central shrine is Kamatesvara, to his left Kali alias Parvati and to his right Ganesha. The temple is maintained by both Sivachars and Kulachars, while the priesthood has been given to an Uttaradi family. In 1989, I discovered this temple's predecessor: a shrine of Kali facing south to the northern side of the bazaar in the coppersmith's street (*Kanchugarabidi*). Various informants confirmed that this was indeed the former Kali temple which was maintained by the Kulachars only and for which there was a Sivachar priest. This temple would only be opened on Dipavali and occasionally on a New Moon Day.

Arkalagud is a small town 32 km to the south-west of Hassan City. It consists of a fort (*kote*) which is separated by a tank, tankbund and garden from its eastern half of the bazaar (*pete*). According to all local Visvakarmas, the Kali temple is located inside the fort. At the entrance of this temple, the year of its establishment is given as 1808. Between 1808 and 1959 the priestly rights were given to a Sivachar family. Between 1959 and 1989 the temple was locked and when the Kulachars, the ironsmiths and carpenters of the Arkalagud fort, as well as the goldsmiths of the bazaar, began to restore the temple, they gave the priestly rights to a Sivachar who is married to a Chikamane. At present the Kali temple is being renovated. During my visit it was not clear which pattern will be followed, but I got it confirmed that the shrine is actually an Umamahesvari Temple. Thus, Kulachars have always been the maintainers of this temple and a Sivachar family has always had the priesthood.

In *Srirangapatna* (Mandya District) there is a huge Kali temple in a style familiar to other temples of the Vijayanagar period. It is located outside the fort, in a cross road on the way from the bazaar to the main Sriranganata temple wich is well-known. The layout of this temple's shrine follows the regular pattern with Sivalinga in the centre, to his left side the image of the goddess (Kali) and to his right side a manifestation of Vishnu. The local Kulachars maintain the temple and the priesthood is with an Uttaradi family. There is, however, a second Kali temple up the same road which leads to the fort. Its gate has an architecture not common in this region, but corresponds in style to the Kali temple of Arkalagud and the one in *Halgur*.[4] In its central shrine we see Virabhadra and in the shrine to his left side Kali, rather Hankali, and in the shrine to his right side Vishnu. A Sivachar carpenter is the priest and he and other local Visvakarmas told me that there used to be animal sacrifice to Hankali until a Muslim Saint 'entered the tomb alive' (*jivasamadhi*) right opposite Hankali's shrine on the other side of the road.

In *Channapatna* town, in Bangalore District, the functioning Kali temple, facing east, is located in the fort. The goddess of the central shrine is accompanied by a *linga* called Kamatesvara. Kali is a peaceful image with weapons of control. To her right side, in the hall, is an image of Satyanarayana and to her left (also in the hall) an image of Ganesha.

It is said that these images were brought here around the turn of the century or earlier when the Kulachar Visvakarmas of the Iron Club Street (*tandibidi*) stopped their industry of iron wire making. The previous place of the idols was a temple in this street and facing east. The beautiful *sthalapurana* narrates how Kali was first unaccompanied and without bangles (symbols of control) and in the wilds. She is potentially dangerous: being unaccompanied, having no bangles, being hot (for dug up by *tender* coconut) and wandering outside town.

The goddess' first shrine was established by the Kulachars in the Iron Club Street, amidst their workshops, and it is still there today. One Kulachar ironsmith lineage has the priestly rights.[5] The second shrine, which was built by the king in the fort, is also maintained by the Kulachars today, but the priestly rights have been given to the Uttaradi sub-caste. It could be that the Kulachars have projected their own development into the journey of the goddess - she moved from the rural area to the Iron Club Street on her own request; she wanted to be controlled and asked for bangles; she did not like the noise of the Kulachars who made iron clubs (and iron wire as we know) and asked to be settled in the fort. Served first by the bangle seller of the right castes, she is then served by the non-vegetarian Kulachar ironsmith, whose priesthood is, at that juncture, not yet a (ritual) specialization. It is only when she is controlled, and pure (the Kali of the fort is vegetarian), that we encounter the priestly function as a specialization.

The Kali temple of *Mysore*, facing east, formally called the Kalika Kamatesvara temple, is situated in the north-west ward "Kamatageri" of the city. Its main shrine is occupied by Kamatesvara represented by the linga. In the left side shrine, the goddess is seated in *padmasana* posture, and she has four hands. In her upper right hand she holds a hook (*ankusa*) and in the lower right hand, a chain of rosary beads (*rudrakshimala*). In her upper left hand, she holds a noose (*pasha*), and in her lower left hand, a drinking bowl (*kalasa*). In the right side shrine stands an image of Laxminarayana.

From the interesting *sthalapurana* of this temple we learn that one elder Visvakarma and four others built the temple overnight. They were therefore architects, a typical Kulachar craft. Then they realized that they have no idol. Apparently, they are unable to make one, as sculpture is not a Kulachar craft, but the monopoly of the Sivachars. The first idol of the temple is the linga, which is installed by the temple builders themselves and the Uttaradi narrator adds: "My grandfather was not there". Later the Kulachars get the opportunity to install Kali. Not only Kali is installed, but also Visvakarma. This is interesting, because for the last two generations only a Kulachar has served this deity as priest, while all other deities are served by the Uttaradi.[6] The renovation of the temple meant a number of things: (i) the Kulachars, being the founders and sponsors of the temple, feel the need to have their position legitimized by an Uttaradi; (ii) previously they only maintained a Siva temple, which was not what they wanted; strikingly, the opportunity to erect a Kali in the city comes only after their activity as iron-miners had been terminated; and (iii) the development of the Kulachars was consolidated by a compromise about the priesthood. In other words, the myth presents the Kulachars as establishers and sponsors of the temple and the Uttaradis as priests, who vindicate the actions of the Kulachars. The idol is brought 'from outside'. Sivachars, having the monopoly of idolmaking, could here be seen as outsiders, or independent of the locality, although they deliver the idol.

When the Kulachars have built the temple, they install the linga themselves. This latter activity is normally either the right of the sculptor or of the officiating priest. In society at large the priestly right usually belongs to the Brahmins. Thus, in the Visvakarma view, the functions of establishment/sponsorship of the temple (kingly activity) and officiating priesthood (Brahminical activity) were originally combined. Later, when the temple was renovated, the function was split: the Kulachar remained the establisher/sponsor, while the Uttaradi became the officiating priest.

From the foregoing eight temple cases - Hassan, Holenarsipur, Channarayapatna, Arkalagud, Srirangapatna, Halgur, Channapatna, and Mysore - we learn about four types of development: the temple's location, its layout, the iconography of the Kali idol and the sub-caste of the chief sponsors and priests. The developments reflect a movement of the deity from the wilds via the bazaar to the fort. Whereas the deity first faced south, she now faces east. From an unaccompanied goddess, often with weapons to attack, she becomes an accompanied goddess with weapons of control and in cases where she accepted animal sacrifice, she became vegetarian. The Kulachars seem always having been the chief sponsors who, in the initial stages, were also the priests. At later stages, the Kulachars gave the priestly rights to Sivachars (which they still have in a few remote, small places). An Uttaradi of the present grandfather generation recalls that in his grandfather's time, the Uttaradis gained the priestly rights in the Kali temples of the Visvakarmas. Taking one generation for twenty years, this takes us back roughly hundred years to around the beginning of the nineteenth century. This leaves us with the following questions: What do we know about the Uttaradis' migration and how could they gain the priestly rights? What are the present ritual connections between the Uttaradis, Kulachars and Sivachars and what do we know about their present socio-economic position? In the following sections I shall try to answer these questions by focussing on the case of the Uttaradis of Hassan District.

5. The Uttaradi sub-caste

The Uttaradis claim to have migrated from Anegundi in north/central Karnataka and the other Visvakarmas of Hassan District do not doubt their claims. The Uttaradis' narratives are quite explicit on this point and some of them are even able to identify places in Raichur, Bellary, and Chikmagalur District whence their ancestors came.

The very name Uttaradi is usually cited as prime evidence of their origin to the north of the Vedavati River: the Kannada word *Uttaradi* means 'coming from the north'. It also has the meaning 'late-comers'.

The sub-caste is divided into twelve exogomous lineages or *vamsas*.[7] Each lineage has a place of settlement and a lineage deity in its place of origin. Nine lineages are settled in Holenarsipur town or taluk, two in Peryapatna town in Mysore District to the immediate southern border of Hassan District, and one in distant Malavalli town in south Mandya District. Seven lineages share their original deity: the Mailarlingesvara of Ranibennur. Three lineages, i.e. the 'Horse Shoe Lineage', the 'Sixty Cradle Lineage' and the 'Pure Lineage' have local lineage deities. It is the history of only these three lineages, which is narrated in stories, which I will discuss below. Two lineages have each two lineage deities: the 'Sthanika Lineage' has one in Hampi and one in Davanagere, the 'Galipura Lineage' has one in Ajjampur and one local (Ramnathapur). In other words, the lineage deities can be located on the route from Hampi (Anegundi) via Ranibennur, Davanagere, Ajjampur to Holenarsipur and Peryapatna.

Several Uttaradi narratives are relevant for the present study: *Lineage stories, migration stories*, and what may be called *economic stories*. Among the lineage stories, the *Sixty Cradle Lineage* story does not provide an explanation for migration or settlement; it just states that sixty brothers settled in the tiny village of Chagalli which means 'cradle'. Variations of this short narrative have it that the arriving pure Uttaradi are contrasted with a similar but local and less pure group called Doddamane. This name refers at once to the size of the local group and its ritual status. It further relates that this lineage gave women in marriage to all the other Uttaradi lineages. The curious story of the *Horse Shoe Lineage* narrates the problem of the ruler of Peryapatna. Nobody came forward to solve the problem of getting *prasad* from Nanjangud to Peryapatna on time. Then the Uttaradi Visvakarma tied the 'Horse Shoe Bird' (*laladapakshi* or *lalaganahakki*) to the feet of the horse. In one variation of this story the narrator states that his forefathers were ironsmiths. As renumeration for his services the Uttaradi received a garden and a tank. Three points are of interest here: (i) the Uttaradis became landlords from a position of servants; (ii) the Uttaradis had the monopoly over magic; and (iii) their job of fixing horseshoes.

In a situation in which it was rather easy to collect Uttaradi narratives it required quite a few days to convince the informants to tell this one. The reason, I think, is threefold. As servants of the ruler they were tied in with the ruler's organisation and thus an inclusive sub-caste. This is supported by the theme of magic which is common in narratives of inclusive sub-castes. In all other Uttaradi narratives the problem is solved through tricks, which is a typical theme in narratives of exclusive sub-castes. Furthermore, horseshoe making is a typical job for ironsmiths. A widely known and popular Kannada saying is "*Hasanada ettu mattu Haranahalliya gudi*", which means that 'Hassan bullocks and Haranahalli carts would make a fine combination'. All narrators of this story stated that it is about three hundred years old.

Migration from Malavalli in present Mandya District to Hoovanahalli in Holenarsipur Taluk is one of the themes in the 'Pure Lineage' Story. One of the narrators dates the events in the story about 120-150 years ago, i.e. between 1840 and 1870. The name of the lineage is *Pavitra Vamsa*, which means 'pure lineage'. The narrators open with a reference to their being pure and learned men who came to Holenarsipur as a kind of avant-garde. This is difficult to judge, but such high standing references are not present in the other stories and an inscription of 1685 states that Malavalli abounds in fruit trees and has many learned men (EC.III Malavalli-61). We can only speculate about the reasons for their migration. Perhaps they were lured by the opportunities offered by the expanding chiefdom that Holenarsipur was in the seventeenth century. Or perhaps they were badly affected by the action of General Harris in his battle with Tipu, when the latter completely destroyed Malavalli town in 1799. Maybe they left during the period of Commissioner's Rule, the so-called Rendition Period between 1830 and 1870. Whether history penetrates myth or myth history is difficult to say, but in the myths we find reasons for which the migrants could not return. In the Pavitra Lineage story the first settler had only two children: first a female human and second a male serpent. While the daughters of the Sixty Cradle Lineage were given to the migrants, the daughter of the Pavitra Lineage was given to them. The male issue was coiled, merged with a brass vessel, and worshipped afterwards. In other words, they could not return.

From the migration stories, which often bear a superficial resemblance to the First Story which narrates the 'origin' of the Visvakarmas[8], we learn that various lineages of vegetarian goldsmiths left Anegundi (situated on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra River opposite Hampi - the Vijayanagar capital) for the south after the downfall of the Vijayanagar sovereign. Apparently they left in two directions. One lineage followed the last Vijayanagar king to Penukonda and settled in nearby Hindupur.[9] All others went upstream to Ranibennur near Harihar where the Tungabhadra River was fordable and via Ajjampur, which was a strong fortification during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they proceeded to Holenarsipur.

Among the third group of stories (which I have called 'economic' for lack of a better term), the *Mirror Story* and the *Lakshmi Story* stand out. The former I have already discussed at length elsewhere (Brouwer, 1988: 304-309), but two conclusions are relevant here. The story explains why the Uttaradis should not open shops: their sales failed when they did. At the same time it places their relationship with the goddess through their 'elder brother', i.e. the Kulachars. The Lakshmi Story was told when I asked the informants why they do not sell jewels in 'Jewellery Marts'. In this myth, the goddess Lakshmi went to four houses, one Uttaradi, one Vokkaliga, one Brahmin and one Vaishya. All four husbands were alone at home when the goddess called. The Uttaradi refused her entry because he was alone and did not recognize her. The Brahmin refused her because she was not of his caste. The Vokkaliga said that she was a Visvakarma and asked her to go away. Finally, she came to the Vaishya who also was alone at home as his wife had gone to the river to fetch water. He ushered her in, gave her a seat in the puja room, offered her eatables and locked the house. While he went out to call his wife, he fell into the river and drowned. So Lakshmi had to stay in his house. The information about the Uttaradi sub-caste available to us today lead to two sets of concluding observations: one concerns their migration and settlement; the other their concept of 'development' and their view on money.

The Uttaradis migrated to Holenarsipur in Hassan District of southern Karnataka and to Hindupur in Anantapur District of eastern Andhra Pradesh from Anegundi (opposite Hampi) in two groups during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Because their fear of the Muslims, nine of their lineages went upstream along the Tungabhadra River to settle first in Ranibennur in present Dharwad District near Harihar where the river was fordable. One lineage probably followed the defeated Raja of Vijayanagar's brother, Tirumala, to Penukonda and settled in nearby Hindupur. Some time during the first decades of the seventeenth century, the first group of nine lineages crossed the river and went south to the fortification now called Ajjampur (in present Chikmagalur District).

The Uttaradis probably left Ajjampur, in the first decades of the seventeenth century (then called Keral) when the place was taken over by Azim Khan, an officer of the Mughal Government at Sira.[10] Keral had a shrine devoted to Anjaneiah having supra-local importance (till today) and this may explain why the Uttaradis have a few narratives legitimizing their worship of Anjaneiah. Finally, they settled in Holenarsipur whose chief, Narasimha Nayak II, "was known for his protection of artisans". He was not only in need of goldsmiths to pay the tribute (*kanaka vasantha*) to the Raja of Mysore, but also of ironsmiths for his army. He expanded his chiefdom to Channarayapatna in 1600. In 1644, when Narasimha Nayaka II was engaged in a war with the Raja of Mysore, he received assistance from the Sultan of Bijapur with 8000 horsemen. The Utttaradis settled just outside the northern gate of Narasimha Nayak II's fort on an east-west track of land which came to be known as the Minters Street (*tankasalabidi*) and where the Kali temple is located.

In this situation it is not unlikely that groups of arriving goldsmiths were welcomed and allowed to mix with similar groups of the locality. Three Uttaradi lineages - the *Sixty Cradle Lineage*, the *Horse Shoe Lineage* and the *Pure Lineage* were of local origin at that time. Even today there are a few among the first two engaged in ironmongery and allied carpentry. The other lineages consider some of their habits 'rural' in contrast to their own.

In their migration stories the Uttaradis stress that the *guru* of their matha in Anegundi is theirs.[11] At the time of the downfall of the Vijayanagar ruler the guru - always recruited from the Chikkamane sub-caste (or rather from the vegetarian category of Visvakarmas in the central region) - also left in the direction of Penukonda. However he settled down half-way in Hirehal, a village to the south of Bellary Town. Interestingly, in the early 1980s, twenty-four years after the first inter-sub-caste marriages between Uttaradis and Chikkamanes and just a few years before the latest 'renovation' of their Kali Temple in Holenarsipur, the Uttaradis of this town felicitated 'their' *guru* of the "original Anegundi *matha* at Hirehal". It seems likely that the nine Uttaradi lineages who migrated to Holenarsipur were 'originally' Chikkamane (vegetarian) Visvakarmas. The question arises who were the local ironsmiths with whom they mixed. It could well be surmised that they were Chikkamanes of an earlier or different batch of migrants from the north, because in Channarayapatna Taluk, particularly in Bagoor and Sravanabelagola, we find isolated families of the Chikkamane sub-caste even today.

Another question concerning the Uttaradi settlement in Hassan District relates to their gaining the priestly rights in the local Kali temples. From the temple myths of the Kali temple at Mysore and

Channarayapatna we learn that in the earliest times it was a situation of 'do it yourself'. There was no priestly specialization and the Kulachars worshipped the goddess themselves (and performed sacrifices to her) without separate, specialized priestly functionaries. It is followed by a stage in which the Kulachars were more involved in the market economy and established their 'Kali temples' in the bazaar. In Mysore, the Sivachars supply the idol; in Channapatna the first temple of the Iron Club Street shares the compound with a shrine of Sugnanamurthy, one of the holiest men of the Sivachars. It seems to me that the Sivachars, although at a physical distance, lend authority to the Kulachars' religious activities. This distance is important here. In the *sthalapurana* of the Kali temple in Huliyurdurga (Tumkur District but only hundred km east of Channarayapatna), the Sivachar priest runs away from the priesthood: he does not like it. Furthermore, in various interviews in a variety of contexts, the Sivachar informants state that "we should not worship idols, let alone be priests and not visit temples. It is inevitable after a temple visit, that we change our sacred thread (*janivara*)". After the 'renovation' of the Kali temples in Hassan City and Channarayapatna, the Sivachar priests dit not return. It is only in remote places, and (in the modern common sense) less developed places such as Srirangapatna and Halgur that we still find a Sivachar priest. But these temples are scarcely used by devotees nowadays.[12] In Arkalagud the Sivachar priest recently got married to a Chikkamane! Could the Sivachars also have had the priestly rights of the Kali temple in Holenarsipur? Maybe, but the local Uttaradis' and Kulachars' economic development and their protection by the chief of Holenarsipur makes the establishment of the temple by both Kulachars and Uttaradis likely. After all this temple is located just round the corner of the fort's northern gate in the Minter's Street.

It may be concluded that Uttaradis could fill the void of priesthood in a situation in which the Sivachars did no longer want to exercise such rights and the Kulachars felt an increasing need to get their own position legitimised by those considered purer and hence more authoritative.

This takes us to the concept of purity. Both the Mirror Story and the Lakshmi Story present the Uttaradi view on money. In their perception money carries a value contra purity: Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth is refused and the sale of the mirror led to the closing of the money-making shop. The Uttaradis stress their purity symbolized in the Anegundi *matha*. They proudly emphasize that they did not and do not have wealth (money) and they refused Lakshmi. When they had money, they tried to purchase the goddess (Mirror Story) and all went wrong. The goddess comes in between them and the money and market economy. For the Uttaradis, money cannot be the means on the way to prosperity and liberation.

6. Present socio-economic situation of goldsmiths in three towns of Hassan District

The oldest of the three towns is Holenarsipur which was established in the twelfth century. It has a fort and two or more extensions to the north. It is located on one of the present main road connections from Hassan to Mysore on the river Hemavathi. Channarayapatna, as we know it today, dates back to 1600 when the place (then called Kolatur and consisting only of an *agrahara*) was taken over by the chief of Holenarsipur. It is situated on the south-west bank of a fairly large tank which never dried up. The national highway No. 48 passes through the town.

Arkalagud, founded about 1560, is the most western town situated on the present border of the cultivated plains and forested hills. If the number of known agricultural labourers is any indication, Arkalagud is the poorest town and Channarayapatna the richest. Agriculture in Arkalagud mainly depends on rain, in Holenarsipur on river irrigation, and in Channarayapatna on tank irrigation.

In 1989, there were 19 goldsmiths in Arkalagud, viz. 5 Uttaradis, 1 Sivachar and 12 Kulachars, beside 1 Telugu migrant goldsmith now settled here (Goldsmiths: Uttaradi 100%; Sivachar 25%; Kulachar 92% and modern occupations: Uttaradi none; Sivachar 75%; Kulachar 8%). Considering the general economic condition of this town, it is not surprising that all of them mainly work with 14 carat gold against the more common standard of 22 carat.

The local jewellery market is dominated by three families. Among the two main traders, one is a Vaishya, i.e. of the trader's caste who got competition from one Kulachar during the past ten years. The Kulachar learned the technique of goldsmithy from his father and was educated up to the fifth standard. Once he took over from his father he sold the inherited three acres of land and left for Bangalore. Here he made a profit by dealing in jewels. After a few years, he returned to Arkalagud and invested his profits in the "Jewellery Mart" he now owns. "Everybody made fun of me, but began to take me seriously when my Vaishya competitor cut the tape to open my shop". The third to operate in the jewellery market cannot be called a trader. This Uttaradi worked as an agriculturist for others. He invested his earnings in his own goldsmith workshop. Later he became a full-time goldsmith and specialised in stone setting and enamelled ware and employs two goldsmith workers (Kulachars).

Eleven Kulachar goldsmiths, if not temporarily employed by the Uttaradi, do piece work for all other goldsmiths and both the Vaishya and Kulachar trader. The other four Uttaradi goldsmiths try to work independently, but have to work for the Uttaradi 'trader' also. The latter, in turn, supplies then the finished products to the Vaishya. The single Sivachar goldsmith (22 years old) is the grandson of a school-teacher. The surplus money of this family was invested in the workshop which now survives as an independent unit.

At present no Uttaradi in this town has a modern occupation. Until recently only the Sivachar family had a three generation history of education and official jobs, whereas in the present generation only a few Kulachars received modern education and employment.

In Holenarsipur, there were 21 Visvakarma households engaged in goldsmithy in 1989: 12 Uttaradi families, 4 Kulachar households, 1 Chikkamane, 1 Tamil and 3 Malayali (among Uttaradi: 45% goldsmiths and 55% modern occupation; among Kulachars: 36% goldsmiths and 64% modern occupations). The jewellers trade is entirely dominated by Vaishyas: 4 households. However, one well-off Kulachar goldsmith had opened a small "Jewellery Mart" in the main bazaar street.

Although all Uttaradis claim to work independently, through cross-interview I found that all of them supply ready made articles to one or two of the Vaishyas. In turn, they also receive orders from them. Few Uttaradis have employed workers, who are either Uttaradis or Kulachars. No Uttaradi works for a Kulachar goldsmith or for any other goldsmith for that matter. Two Uttaradi goldsmiths are well-off - one on account of his previous occupation as agriculturist and the other on account of his skills. However, neither of them has opened a "Jewellery Mart". The case of the single Chikkamane household is interesting. As a 5-year old boy he had left a nearby village to learn the craft from the skilled Uttaradi mentioned above. When old enough, he established his own workshop and later purchased property in the centre of the main bazaar almost opposite the Vaishyas' marts. Through his craft and managerial skills he could come up often causing jealousy among the Uttaradis. Both his children are engineering students without knowledge of their father's craft.

Thus, in Holenarsipur, all goldsmiths work for the Vaishyas, but while the Kulachars admit so directly, the Uttaradis deny it. All Kulachars are ready to work for any other goldsmith, while the Uttaradis work for themselves or for other Uttaradis. When circumstances permit, the Uttaradis of the youngest generation leave the craft for (semi-) official jobs. Educated Kulachars of the same generation are encouraged to continue their father's craft, if possible trade.

Channarayapatna, in 1989, is an expanding town. There were 50 Visvakarma households engaged in goldsmithy: 4 Uttaradis, 11 Sivachars, 16 Kulachars, 4 Tamils, 11 Telugus, 2 Malayalis, 1 Chikkamane, and 1 Doddamane (among Sivachars: 61% goldsmiths and 39% modern occupations; all Kulachars are goldsmiths). The jewellery market is dominated by two Vaishyas, one Jain, and one Marathi dealer.

The Uttaradi goldsmiths of this town all claim to work independently. However, only one of them can be called independent. Most of them work for or through him for one of the four non-Visvakarma dealers. No Uttaradi works for a Kulachar, Sivachar, Chikkamane, Telugu or Malayali goldsmith. The Sivachar goldsmiths only work for other Sivachars. In contrast to both the Uttaradis and the Sivachars, the Kulachars work for any other goldsmith on daily wages or piece work basis. They also work directly for the four dealers. All migrants - those who settled here during the past thirty years - work for each other or for the dealers directly.

Among the Sivachars one goldsmith has installed a number of machines like mould printers and thread drawers which are for hire by any other goldsmith (in Arkalagud and Holenarsipur no goldsmith has such machines and if anyone wishes to use them, he has to go either to Hassan or Channarayapatna). Two Sivachars have so-called "Jewellery Marts" in which they also maintain a workshop where Kulachars are regularly employed. Only one of them also functions as pawnbroker.

The Telugu goldsmiths arrived at Channarayapatna in two batches. The push factor of their migration from Andhra Pradesh, then the Nizam Territory, seems to have been the Police Action of 1948 which disrupted local Hindu and Muslim networks. From Andhra they first went to Coimbatore in Tamilnadu and in 1979 they settled in Channarayapatna. Some of them, however, had an uncle (father's brother) who had settled here in 1939. Gradually some other relatives followed and the total number of Telugu goldsmith households is now 11. They claim that the Kannada goldsmiths of those days were less skilled, so that they could improve by getting many orders from the local dealers. Most of them own their houses and workshops and one has installed modern goldsmithy machinery (mould printer; thread drawer), which is for hire by any other goldsmith.

The case of the Malayali goldsmith deserves some attention. This 24 year old craftsman belongs to a family settled in Palghat, but his grandfather alone migrated to Ramnathpur (20 km to the south of Arkalagud and a main pilgrimage centre) 45 years ago. His father came with him and continued the practice of being alone and working in Ramnathpur, while visiting his family in Palghat (Kerala) in the lean seasons. After the grandfather's death, the father settled in Doddamagge (10 km nearer to Arkalagud), a village with a number of landlords. One of them, a Brahmin, brought him there on account of his skills and variety of designs. By 1989, all local goldsmiths of this village had left due to the competition. He had sent his son - our migrant in Channarayapatna - to Coimbatore for additional training. Here, the son developed friendship with the son of the well-to-do Uttaradi goldsmith of Arkalagud and after one year, they decided to jointly set up a workshop in Channarayapatna. This Uttaradi is specialized in 'chipping' gold while his Malayali friend is highly skilled in integrated designs and stonesetting. During 1989, they decided to separate and now each has his own workshop. Subsequently, the Malayali has brought two young relatives who work for him. His father still follows his old practice in Doddamagge.

Among all Uttaradis of the three towns 51,2% are goldsmiths and 48,8% have modern occupations (teacher, tailor, clerk, driver, etc.). For the Kulachars these figures are: 80% goldsmiths and 20% modern occupations. For the Sivachars: 54,5% goldsmiths and 45,5 modern occupations.

I should like to conclude this section with a few observations. When the Uttaradis (like the Chikkamanes) are well-to-do, they invest their surplus in the workshop, but do not open a "Jewellery Mart". They also invest in the education of their children who are supposed not to continue the craft. The Uttaradis also function as a kind of middleman between the poorer Uttaradis and the Vaishya dealers. The poorer Uttaradis only work for Uttaradis and not for others. All Uttaradis deny to work for the Vaishyas, but they do.

The well-to-do Kulachars, as soon as the conditions permit, do not enlarge their workshop, but begin a "jewellery mart" and become traders. Although they invest part of their surplus in the education of their children, they also train them in the craft and trade with the intention that they will continue it. The fairly large weaker section of the Kulachars is ready to work for any goldsmith irrespective of sub-caste or language. They also work directly for the dealers.

The richer Sivachars not only transform part of their workshop into "Jewellery Marts", but also diversify their business, e.g. by entering the textile trade. Investment in education has a longer history among Sivachars than among any of the other Visvakarma sub-castes. The less well-to-do Sivachars either work independently or for other Sivachars and do not hesitate to take up any other, different type of job. Although there were/are different push and pull factors for the migrants to settle in Channarayapatna, they had in common that they filled a gap in the local market, which was apparently not 'seen' by the autochthonous goldsmiths.

On the empirical level, it seems clear that there are general and specific conditions under which a goldsmith can adjust himself to changing circumstances and define his way to prosperity. In general, the location of the town, its historical importance as a regional head-quarter of sorts and the living standard of the regional peasantry (dry or wet agriculture) are relevant factors. In contrast to both Holenarsipur and Channarayapatna, Arkalagud had a late start and does not lie on a major interlocal route. More specifically, there are the following conditions, which have an impact on the success of a goldsmith: (a) his alternative source of income: from (inherited) agricultural land or from an official posting in the present or previous generation; (b) his special skill as a craftsman, e.g. stonesetting, chipping and/or his managerial skills. Apparently, the migrants have the advantage of not being tied in with a local kinship network, which entails obligations leading to loss of working days and income.

Although there is no doubt that the actual (geo-socio-economic) situation has an impact on the decisions the goldsmith makes, his interpretation of the Visvakarma ideology has an impact as well.

7. Concluding observations

India's third tradition[13] - the Modern State - offers new opportunities: (modern) occupations are open to all; new forms for formal organisation (co-operative societies, "Crafts Complexes", caste associations, etc.) and an expanding money and market economy (infrastructure for communication, agriculture, production and marketing).

For the Modern State, there is only the category 'goldsmith', for there are no sub-castes. However, the goldsmiths of the various Visvakarma sub-castes have reacted differently to the new avenues open to them. Three specific cases may be reconsidered. In Arkalagud, the skilled Uttaradi 'trader' and the Kulachar Jewellery Mart owner have a comparable economic and educational status, yet the Uttaradi did not start a 'mart' and follows a sober life-style in contrast to the Kulachar. In Holenarsipur, three goldsmiths have a comparable economic and educational status: two Uttaradis and one Kulachar. Both the Uttaradis have a sober life-style and did not begin a 'mart'. By contrast, the Kulachar has made a beginning with a 'mart' and does not follow a sober life-style. In Channarayapatna, three goldsmiths have a comparable economic and educational status. Among them, the Uttaradi (said to be the town's richest Visvakarma) maintains a simple workshop and a sober life-style. He has not opened a shop or 'mart' and has not entered trade. The other two are Sivachars. One of them has begun an impressive textile trade adjacent to his small goldsmithy where a Kulachar goldsmith is employed. The other has opened a big 'jewellery mart' on the National Highway in a corner of which he maintains a small goldsmithy where two Kulachars are working. None of the Uttaradis is keen on getting his children in the craft; they invest preferably in their education. Among the Kulachars the emphasis is on craft and even trade, also when the children are (higher) educated. Remarkably, none of the Uttaradis of these three towns neither those of Hassan city have introduced modern goldsmithy machinery although some of them could certainly afford to do so. In Hassan city, one Kulachar- the brother of the 'trader' of Arkalagud - has opened such a machine hall. In Channarayapatna, it is a Sivachar (and a Telugu migrant) who has introduced such machines.

In contrast to the Kulachars, the Uttaradis (Chikkamanes) and Sivachars have a similar view on education. But where the Kulachars do not hesitate to work for any goldsmith or trader, the Uttaradis and Sivachars do. But the latter differ in their views on craft and trade. In contrast to the Sivachars, the Uttaradis do not extent their craft into trade, let alone trade beyond goldsmithy. Under the single umbrella of the Visvakarma ideology and apart from individual variations, there thus seems to be a sub-caste bound view on such matters as craft, trade and money. How do these apparently unchanging views relate to the changing pattern of sub-caste?

Throughout history, i.e. at least from the seventeenth century till today, the Kulachars have been the maintainers, if not founders, of the Visvakarma Kali temples. They thus emphasize horizontal ritual connections. The Sivachars were the first to escape from such connections by opting out of the priesthood and by not maintaining temples (they worship the goddess in her manifestations of Sri Chakra at home, i.e. individually). In other words, they have opted for a vertical ritual connection. At the same time, we have seen that they stressed education since at least the last three generations and hence became eligible for official occupations at an early stage. This, and their enterprising activities in craft and trade signals their extensive use of the opportunities offered by the Modern State. In other words, they use the money and market economy as a means on their way to prosperity and liberation. Money in their view is thus not polluting, but neutral.

The Uttaradis' stress on education and the opportunities offered by the Modern State are juxtaposed, hence their lack of interest in continuation of priesthood. It is as if they realized their escape from horizontal ritual connections rather late. For the Uttaradi money is not pure - they do not open "jewellery marts". In a general situation of commercialisation of religion[14], their turning away from the temple priesthood may not be so strange. However, when coming from the north, they accepted temple priesthood. The question arises whether the impact of the environment is at loggerheads with the Uttaradi interpretation of the Visvakarma ideal. I surmise it is not. In the days of the old regime the Uttaradis as Minters (of the chief of Holenarsipur) were able to establish their own power base. In a situation in which they had lost (contact with) their *guru*, the ideal of completeness could only be approached by balancing their power with the authoritative function of priesthood. In their present environment in which they view themselves as independent workers, they have re-recognized their *guru* as symbol of authority and can leave the priesthood. Here there is also a correspondence with the views of the Sivachar: both prefer vertical ritual connections to horizontal. In opposition to the Sivachars, the Uttaradis have one thing in common with the Kulachars, namely their lateness.[15] The Sivachars were the first to realize the vertical ritual connections and to use the money and market economy.

In the Visvakarma ideology and exegesis, the concept of "purity" is a leading theme. We have met this theme again in the perceptions of the three sub-castes. In the changing locations of the Kali temples, in its 'renovations' and change of priestly rights, and last but not least, in the iconography and the 'journey' of the goddess herself from the wilds, via the bazaar to the fort, we see the concept of purity as the leading theme. All the three sub-castes, each in his own way, strive for purity or their development towards prosperity and liberation.

What can we finally say about the flexibility and adaptiveness of the goldsmiths? Adaptability defined as a capacity to alter something of oneself or one's group to respond to changed circumstances, has only been observed on an attributional level. The location, layout and icons of the Kali temples have been adapted so that they always express the interactional pattern of the sub-castes without compromising their views. Flexibility suggests a bending of oneself or one's group to suit newly arising conditions. This has been observed on the interactional level. The group of Chikkamane goldsmiths migrated, merged with a local, similar group of ironsmiths and thus formed the Uttaradis. In the present circumstances they re-merge with the Chikkamane sub-caste. The Kulachars gave the priestly rights of the Kali temples to those ready and available for it. Adaptiveness and flexibility is thus seen on the level of actual situation (empirical level). But did the goldsmiths' views change under the varying circumstances? The *inclusive* Kulachars continue to be maintainers (chief sponsors and donors) of the Kali temples under all circumstances and their position as such continues to be legitimized by an *exclusive* sub-caste (Sivachars or Uttaradis). Concurrently, the exclusive sub-castes stress education and opt out of the crafts, taking up modern occupations. The inclusive sub-caste, in spite of education, extent craft into trade. None of these sub-castes seem to have compromised their views. In a situation in which no exclusive sub-caste is available to vindicate the position of the inclusive sub-caste, the latter is likely to split into a vegetarian priestly set of lineages and non-vegetarian lay lineages. The first of this writing is already on the wall: few Kulachar goldsmiths families with vegetarian habits put forward claims to the priesthood.

NOTES

1. The fieldwork and research on which this paper is based was carried out in Karnataka (South India) during 1989. I am very grateful to Dr. D.P. Pattanayak and the Central Institute of Indian Languages, as well as the Institute of Applied Language Sciences in Mysore for their help and kind hospitality. I am also much indebted to the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) of the Hague in the Netherlands for having partly financed the fieldwork. Without the help of Mr. Chandrashekar, Mr. Keshva, and Mr. Narayanaswamy the collection of data would not have been possible. My sincere thanks are also

due to them.

2. Kali is said to be identical with Parvati for which the Visvakarmas narrate the story in which Siva and Parvati have a dispute. They cannot decide who is the most beautiful of all, so they conclude that only Visvakarma can solve the problem. The goldsmith makes a mirror, so that Siva and Parvati can judge for themselves. Parvati was very happy but Siva becomes angry when he sees himself in the mirror. He, therefore, wants to kill the goldsmith. When he is about to burn him with the fire from his third eye, Parvati protects him with her sari. "Because of her protection of the goldsmith Parvati became black. That is the reason why we worship Kali!" This story tells us why the goddesses Parvati and Kali are identical.
3. The settlement story of the Kali temple in Mysore is particularly clear on this point: the people of the locality object to the establishment of a temple for the goddess by the Kulachars as it would be a Marigudi, i.e. a temple of a low, non-vegetarian manifestation of the goddess.
4. The Kali of the second Kali temple in Srirangapatna and the Kali of Halgur are both called Hankali and said to be elder and younger sister respectively. Both temples are maintained by Kulachars and the Hankali priest at Halgur, is the younger brother of the Hankali priest in Srirangapatna. Both are Sivachar ironsmith-cum-carpenter. The situation and meaning of these two shrines are being discussed in a separate paper (forthcoming).
5. Since the goddess is installed in the Kali temple of the fort, the devotees no longer worship at this temple. The Kulachar priest now uses the temple building to store timber. In a situation in which the Sivachars no longer look after their Sugnanamurthy shrine of the same compound, this Kulachar priest has moved the old Kali idol with weapons to attack and without bangles into the shrine of Sugnanamurthy, so that this image of a bull faces Kali.
6. The Kulachar priest serving the image of Lord Visvakarman belongs to a family with a vegetarian tradition. Each year there is a dispute over the priestly rights between the Uttaradis and the Kulachars. The latter demand also priestly rights in the main shrine, which the Uttaradis reject "because the Kulachars are non-vegetarian". It seems plausible that in the next ten years the Kulachars will succeed, as there is a lack of priestly functionaries in the youngest generation of the Uttaradis. Possible consequences would be the withdrawal of Uttaradi devotees (who will worship the goddess at home like the Sivachars) and a fission in the Kulachar sub-caste into two sets of lineages: vegetarian, priestly lineages and non-vegetarian sponsoring lay lineages.

7. The Uttaradi's twelve lineages are:
    1. *Thattekere Vamsa*. Village: Thattekere (Holenarsipur Taluk).
    2. *Kodihalli Vamsa*. Village: Kodihalli (Holenarsipur Taluk).
    3. *Petemane Vamsa* of Holenarsipur town.
    4. *Guddenahalli Vamsa*. Villages: Guddenahalli and Belaguli (Holenarsipur Taluk).
    5. *Kallur Vamsa*. Village: Doddakadanur (Holenarsipur Taluk).
    6. *Moolemane Vamsa*. Village: Moolemane (Holenarsipur Taluk).
    7. *Bommanahalli Vamsa*. Village: Bommanahalli (Holenarsipur Taluk).
       The lineage deity of the lineages 1-7 is Mailarlingesvara of Ranibennur (Dharwad District).
    8. *Sthanika Vamsa* of Peryapatna town (Mysore District).
       Lineage deities: Virupaksha of Hampi and Virabhadresvara of Huvinagu (Davangere Taluk).
    9. *Lalabandi Vamsa* ('Horse Shoe Lineage') of Peryapatna town (Mysore District).
       Lineage deity: Subramesvara of Ramnathapur (Arkalagud Taluk).
    10. *Aravattu Chagalli Vamsa* ('Sixty Cradles Lineage'). Village: Chagalli (Holenarsipur Taluk).
        Lineage deity: Virabhadra of Anekere (Channarayapatna Taluk).
    11. *Galipura Vamsa*. Village: Galipura (Holenarsipur Taluk).
        Lineage deities: Anjaneiah of Ajjampur and Subramanesvara of Ramnathapur (Arkalagud Taluk).
    12. *Pavitra Vamsa* ('Pure Lineage'). Village: Hoovanalli (Holenarsipur Taluk).
        Lineage deity: Karibasvesvara of Malavalli (Mandya District).
8. In the Fort Story, all Visvakarmas, all pure and united, lived in a solid, magnetic fort, which could not be destroyed by anything., However, the fort is besieged resulting in a mixed marriage, a fire and escapes and the origin of endogamous sub-castes (different and new descent lines). For an extensive analysis of this story see Brouwer, 1988.
9. From Anegundi and Hampi, the old route to Penukonda and Hindupur leads via Bellary town and the Village Hirehal. It is in Hirehal that the Anegundi *matha* was re-established. It was the *guru* of this *matha* whom the Uttaradis of Holenarsipur (re)recognized as their *guru* in the 1980s.
10. "Ajjampur derives its name from Azim Khan, an eminent officer of the Government of the Sira province of the Mughals, in the 17th century. He constructed a fort here and the place became known as Azimpur bearing his name, now generally called Ajjampura. A tomb is pointed out as that of Azim Khan. Earlier, the name of the village which stood on this site, is said to have been Keral.

Hanumappa Nayaka, a chief of Tarikkere restored the fort and rebuilt a temple which is stated to have been originally erected by Bukka Raya of Vijayanagar. The fort and the temple were reduced to ruins in the siege of Haidar Ali who seized the place in 1761 A.D. The town has shrines of Anjaneya and Someshvara and a temple dedicated to Karalamma. under the auspices of which a *jatra* is held for six days about April" (Chikmagalur District Gazetteer, 1981: 555-556).

11. The history of the Anegunda *matha* is still wrapped in mystery. The remains of the original *matha* in Anegundi itself are quite substantial and the descendant of the former rulers told me that once the *matha* controlled six acres of wet land. However, according to law (absentee ownership) the Visvakarmas can no longer claim the agricultural land. But the lands on which the buildings stand is still considered to be theirs.

    At the time of the fourteenth century kingdom of Kampli, Anegundi was already mentioned as the seat of a ruler. The founders of the Vijayanagar Kingdom (Harihara and Bukka) "made use of their former connection with Anegundi" (Sastri, 1976: 237). During the Vijayanagar period Anegundi remained important and was connected with Hampi by a bridge and even earlier "according to some inscription, in the fourteenth century, the kings provided stepping stones (or was it a causeway?) to cross the Tungabhadra River" (Deloche, 1984: 2-26).

    Oral tradition has it that the Anegundi *matha* was a *Sannyasi pitha* up to the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565. The last *guru* married and moved with his family northward and settled in Yadgir which came under the same ruler, who conquered Vijayanagar. His sons are said to have parted: one stayed where he was and the other went southward to finally settle in Hirehal.

    The area in which Hirehal is situated has been under the same administration as the present eastern districts of Karnataka for the greater part of its history. Even today half its population speaks Kannada.

    It would be interesting to study the motives of settlement of *mathas*. Why was the character of the *matha* changed from *sannyasi pitha* into *simhasana pitha* in the sixteenth century? Why did one brother not move to Srirangapatna or Penukonda?

12. See note 4.
13. Including modern India into his perspective, Heesterman observes three juxtaposed traditions: (i) the "lived-in order of society characterized by conflict and interdependence": the traditional practices; (ii) the "separative and conflict free order of transcendence that denies society and its web of relationships": the scriptural tradition; and (iii) "the tradition of modernity", or the Modern State with its "total identification of the mundane

with the transcendent order" (Heesterman, 1985: 9).

14. About the phenomenon of commercialisation of religion see Barry and Block, 1989, especially therein Fuller pp. 33-93, and Van der Veer, 1985.

15. It seems to me that the Sivachars have best understood the axial thoughts of the Visvakarma ideology. This is not to say that such thoughts have not penetrated the others. The Uttaradis and the Chikkamanes certainly come close to the Sivachars in this respect, but the Kulachars seem to lack behind more. In this context, the life-history of the Kulachars' holiest man Siddappaji comes to mind. In this tragic story Siddappaji is sent to the Kulachars by Siva to preach *dharma*. Although Siddappaji conquers passions and difficulties of the most violent kind, he does not gain ultimate victory. He has to retire with the weapons of the Kaliyuga. The myth recounts the Kulachars' view of their development from the impurity of the wilds to the purity of *dharma*. However, the wilds are also the abode of esoteric knowledge and the final settlement of Siddappaji in the forests is thus not without problems. In the myth, the Kulachars refuse to grant Siddappaji's request for iron; they are ready to part with gold, not iron. In this as well as in other Kulachar narratives iron stands for the goddess, land, life and death. Small wonder that the Kulachars continue to maintain the Kali temples?

RITUAL, STAGE AND HISTORY: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERFORMERS AND AUDIENCES IN A TAMIL THEATRE TRADITION

H.M. de Bruin

1. *Introduction*

This paper attempts to define the delicate relationship between performers of a Tamil folk theatre, *kaṭṭaikkūttu,* and their audiences. It also tries to show how this relationship influences performances.

The performers-audience relationship is characterized by interdependence. Audiences, which often pay collectively for the engagement of a theatre-company and are, therefore, at the same time patrons as well as future clients of the artists, need a ritual form of entertainment which is considered a potential medium to come into contact with 'special' (divine) power. Professional *kaṭṭaikkūttu* artists depend financially upon (village) audiences and, keeping within the limits sets by the tradition, will adapt their performances to the requirements of different contexts as well as to audiences' (changing) demands, tastes, expectations and moods.

In the course of the last fifty years the relationship between performers and audiences has changed from one in which a theatre-company enjoyed the traditional right to perform in a village on a particular occasion, receiving a more or less fixed remuneration (in kind and/or in cash), to a 'commercial' relationship in which the rate and conditions of a performance are negotiated. The changed relationship is reflected in the improved social and economic status of the artists, who under the new 'commercialized' system have become more professional in their out-look and self-assertive towards their clientele, and in a renewed popularity of the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition.

The data on which this paper is based should be considered preliminary: it covers the performance traditions of ten professional theatre-companies which are found around the town of Kanchipuram, but further research among companies belonging to other styles and regions may well lead me to partly consider my conclusions. Most of the data have been collected through informal interviews with actors, musicians and other people closely associated with the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition, such as the wives and children of performers and members of audiences. Questions were sometimes posed to them directly; often informants themselves came up with answers to certain problems without being asked; some answers were overheard or elaborated upon by others. Finally, information was obtained through careful observation of the daily activities of performers and by attending the performances themselves.

I have taken the performers' information on their profession and their relationship with audiences as a starting point for the following analysis. It should be noted that the views presented here represent the performers' reality *as I have interpreted it*. These views are naturally influenced by my own social background and professional training. Moreover, consciously and unconsciously these views have been moulded by personal experiences of European and Indian culture.[1]

In the absence of any original written sources on the social history of the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition I had to rely entirely upon oral information about former situations as my informants recollected it. Especially the exact location in time of events and prevailing situations proved to be difficult to ascertain and wil not always be accurate.

2. *The kaṭṭaikkūttu tradition*

Kaṭṭaikkūttu, or *kūttu*, is a genre of folk theatre which flourishes in the northern parts of Tamil Nadu, South India.[2] It derives its name from the fact that the actors wear wooden head-, shoulder- and breast-ornaments, called *kaṭṭai* or *kaṭṭai cāmankal*. These ornaments are a visible characteristic through which *kaṭṭaikkūttu* can be distinguished from other theatre genres in the region. Moreover, for performers as well as members of the audience the *kaṭṭai* represent (one aspect of) the sacral nature attributed to this theatre form.[3]

Plays depicting predominantly local versions of episodes from the epic *Mahābhārata* are staged throughout the night as part of annual festivals for goddesses, such as *Māriyammaṉ*, *Celliyammaṉ*, *Aṅkalammaṉ* and *Tiraupatiyammaṉ* (see below) and, more rarely, for gods like *Perumāl* (Vishṇu) or *Piḷḷaiyār* (Ganesha), or on the occasion of private rituals, e.g. at the conclusion of the 16 days of funerary rites. Recent publications (Richard Frasca's doctoral thesis 'The Terukkūttu: Ritual theatre of Tamilnadu' and Alf Hiltebeitel's *The Cult of Draupadī. Mythologies: From Gingee to Kurukṣetra*) may give the impression that the enactment of *kūttu* (in the above mentioned works referred to as *terukkūttu*) is almost exclusively confined to festivals for *Tiraupatiyamman* ((Draupadī), the heroine of the Mahābhārata who is worshipped in Tamil Nadu as a goddess.[4] During the so-called Pāratam (Mahābhārata) festivals in honour of Tiraupatiyammaṉ plays are usually enacted for five to ten (or more) successive nights. Though the *Pāratam* festivals are indeed an important performance context, they make up roughly only 30% of the total number of kūttu performances.[5]

All *kūttu* actors are male, but some of them specialize in playing female roles. Most of them belong to families which are in the profession for three or more generations and have learned the art from their fathers or other close relatives. However, people for whom *kūttu* has never been a hereditary profession have also become actors.

Professional performers predominantly belong to the low (but not untouchable) vaṇṇāṉ- or ēkāli-caste (washermen) and the slightly higher paṇṭāram-caste (non-Brahmin temple priests and makers of flower garlands).[6] Vaṉṉiyars, alternatively called kavuṇṭars or paḷḷis (primarily a caste of cultivators, often carrying the title of Nāyakkar), as well as mutaliyārs are also involved in *kūttu*. Both vaṉṉiyars and mutaliyārs are dominant castes in the northern districts of Tamil Nadu. The vaṉṉiyars occupy a position at the bottom of the middle level of the caste-hierarchy, but have been politically very active in trying to move upward. They claim to be Agnikula ('fire race') Kshatriyas and have the main responsibilities at many *Tiraupatiyammaṉ* temples, which are important venues for *Pāratam kūttu*.[7] Mutaliyārs are classified higher in the caste-hierarchy than vaṉṉiyars and are considered socially superior. Though I do not know of any *kūttu* company which is owned and run by mutaliyārs, they participate on an individual basis in *kūttu* and some well-known *kūttu* authors belonged to this caste (e.g. Kōṇamēṭai Rāmacāmi vāttiyār, author of (a version of) *Kuṟavañci nāṭakam* and *Iraṇiya vilācam*).[8] In addition to these communities other castes are not to be excluded.[9] For example, my research did not cover *kūttu* of the paṟaiyars (untouchable agricultural labourers and ritual musicians), who usually perform only in their own quarters (the cēri or 'colony') situated apart from the caste-villages.

Kūttu companies perform on a contractual basis and are paid collectively by the village (or part of the village) which organizes the festival or, e.g. in the case of a performance on the occasion of a private rite, by an individual sponsor. In the former instance a delegation of a few people represents the organizing group in the negotiations with the *kūttu* company. The oral agreement, fixing date and rate of the performance, is sealed by the exchange of *tāmpūlam*, i.e. the requesting party gives betel leaves, areca nut and a small donation (about Rs 10) to the representative of the *kūttu* company indicating that the agreement cannot be broken without consequences for the erring party. Nowadays the oral agreement is often supplemented by a signature of someone of the requesting party in the diary of the *kūttu* representative. Sometimes also some advance money is paid.

3. *Performances and their sacral status*

A *kūttu* performance is built up through an intricate alternation of poetic songs and dialogues produced by the various characters whose virtues and vices, descent, behaviour and motivations are continuously questioned by the central figure of this theatre, the *kaṭṭiyakkāraṉ*. The *kaṭṭiyakkāraṉ* embodies many roles among which that of herald and guardian of the king, comedian, devotee of the God Kṛshṇa as well as some typical 'folk' characters. Every *kūttu* performance is characterized by the presence of two levels representing different worlds: a royal-divine level to which the kings, princes and gods of the stories belong, and an 'every-day-life' level which highlights the joys and problems of ordinary people, such as the lady-in-waiting of the queen, the servant of the king, a *mṛdaṅgam*-player, an oilman or a typical village couple. The *kaṭṭiyakkāraṉ*, participating in both of them, connects these two levels which alternate all the time. Ritually charged moments in performances, sometimes resulting in (violent) possession among members of the audience as well as actors occur only at the royal-divine level.[10] During *Pāratam* festivals some episodes, such as Arjuna's penance to obtain the pācupati-weapon and the final battle between Bhīma and Duryodhana at the end of the Mahābhārata-war (referred to as *paṭukaḷam*, lit. 'battlefield', cf. note 34), are enacted 'off-stage' in the middle of the village, i.e. outside the previously prepared, well-defined performing area. During the enactment of these as well as other powerful episodes, such as the attempts by Duḥśāsana to disrobe Draupadī (performed 'on stage'), an atmosphere of ritual tension is created which visibly affects the audience.

Kaṭṭaikūttu and the ritual context in which it is performed clearly belong to what Heesterman called the 'lived-in order of society characterized by conflict and interdependence'.[11] Following his distinction between ritual, which he interprets as codified, stylized, and individualized and which he places in the sphere of the ultramundane, transcendent order, and sacrality, which is chaotic, violent and belongs to the mundane order[12], *kaṭṭaikkūttu* should be termed sacral rather than ritual theatre (as it has been called by Richard Frasca). However, people participating in the chaotic, violent sphere which a village festival often provides can not be denied the experience, catalyzed by the medium of a sacral performance, of temporary access to (what they perceive as) a transcendent world.

The sacrality of *kaṭṭaikkūttu* seems to lie exactly in its potential to establish contact with the transcendent world, or with what I prefer to call in more neutral words, with 'special power', using a free interpretation of John Stanley's term.[13] Through contact with special power the goods of life - e.g. prosperity, health and off-spring - can be mediated. Special power can be thought to originate from a non-human (divine) source, or find its inspiration in human beings themselves. It is something that under normal circumstances lies beyond our reach and that becomes accessible only when an appropriate environment, in this case the festival for a god or goddess, is provided. In this context it is significant that some informants conceptualize the enactment of a *kūttu* in terms of a sacrifice to the goddess (*ammaṉ*) for whom the festival is put on. Sacrifice pre-eminently is a means to come into contact with special power and mediates between the human and transcendent world. The fact that a performance, irrespective of its artistic standard, is considered a sacrifice offered to entertain and propitiate the deity and that such a performance can be a catalyst in mediating contact with the world beyond, explains the need of audiences to engage a company for a *kaṭṭaikkūttu* performance.

The idea that the performance embodies a sacrifice can be inferred also from other facts. Before a performance starts a simple *pūjā* for Viṉāyakar (Gaṇeś) is made in the green-room whereafter the actors start applying their make-up. The accepted custom is that the sponsor(s) of the performance make(s) a small donation (about Rs 10) for this *pūjā* which is referred to as *taṭciṉai* (< Skt. *dakṣiṇā*), the gift(s) a sacrificer is required to present during a sacrifice.[14] Moreover, after the procession around the village (*cuvāmi ūrvalam*) has been completed the *uccava mūrtti* (processional idol) of the goddess is usually placed in front of or near the performing area, so that the *ammaṉ* can watch and enjoy the performance. Actors often express the effect which such performances, taking place under the eyes of the *ammaṉ*, have upon themselves in terms of 'heat'. They say they have acquired at the end of the festival a lot of heat and have, therefore, to go home urgently (where most of them have a family). Not only is 'heat' an important concept in South Indian culture in general[15], but the cult of *Tiraupati* (*Draupadī*), during whose festival (*Pāratam*) *kūttus* are put on, in particular is associated with fire (e.g. she is born from fire, her devotees perform 'firewalking' at the conclusion of her festival). In this context it seems we may interpret the artists' expression both as 'physical heat' accumulated during the nightlong performances depriving the artists of proper sleep (which deprivation is thought to bring about 'overheating' of the body), as well as 'sexual heat' resulting from the close presence of the *ammaṉ*. Moreover, the idea of heating also calls to mind the heat of the sacrificial fire. Lastly, it should be noted that the performing area, usually called *capai* (< Skt. *sabhā* or 'royal court, audience hall'), is sometimes referred to as *kaḷam*. In addition to 'theatre' or 'court', this word has the meanings of 'sacrificial hall', 'battlefield' and 'threshing floor' (TL 812).[16]

4. *Professionalism*

A factor which determines to a large extent the relationship between performers and their audiences-cum-sponsors is the degree of professionalism of a theatre group. The groups which will be discussed here are all professional *kūttu* companies, i.e. groups of village-based artists who have *kūttu* as their main source of income and who lead a more or less itinerant existence during the top-(theatre-)season. *Kūttu* is also practiced on a semi-professional basis by people who are engaged in other work for part of the year, and on an amateur basis, e.g. when villagers themselves put on a performance for the annual village festival.[17] In the latter case the amateurs often hire the services of a professional *kūttu* teacher to train them and arrange for professional assistance in the make-up and costuming.

The degree of professionalism of a company is reflected in its composition and internal organization, which tend to be more balanced and firm in professional companies. Though their individual competence may differ, the artists of professional companies for most of whom *kūttu* has been a hereditary profession, usually are more skilled performers than their semi-professional and amateur colleagues. They have a greater stock of verbal elements at their disposal, know how to perform different roles in various plays and have in general a better grip on the tradition.

Professional companies perform on request and negotiate their performance-rates. Semi-professional companies operating within a more limited area than professional ones perform below the current rate and their repertoire contains fewer plays.[18] Amateur groups usually perform exclusively in their own village and do not expect to be paid for their services, but have on the contrary to pay for the professional assistance mentioned above. At least one instance is known of a popular semi-professional group of non-hereditary artists which has gradually turned professional.[19]

5. *Changed performers-audience relationships: increasing professionalism replacing traditional performing-rights*

My impression is, that in the two northern districts of Tamil Nadu (the Tiruvannamalai-Sambuvarayar District and the Chengai Anna District) where I carried out my fieldwork, *kūttu* companies are operating on a more professional basis than in the South Arcot District where *kūttu* is also an important performance genre.[20] As far as I know there were in 1990 at least ten professional companies comprising each about 13 to 17 actors and musicians in the Cheyyar Taluk of Tiruvannamalai-Sambuvarayar District.[21] With such a large concentration of professional troupes this taluk is an important centre of the *kūttu* tradition. About fifty years ago there were only three traditional *kūttu* companies in the same area. Eight of the present companies developed out of these traditional companies. One company used to be a semi-professional one of which the artists have become full-time actors during the last ten years. Another company was started by a non-hereditary performer who was trained by a traditional *kūttu* teacher.

The professionalism of the Cheyyar Taluk groups has increased in recent years. This shows, for example, in the increase in the number of performances and performance rates (which in turn demand greater professionalism). The number of performances of the Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam, one of the top-raking *kūttu*-companies from the village of Peruṅkaṭṭūr (25 km from Kanchipuram) with which I work closely together, has increased from 94 to 148 performances per year between

1982 and 1990.[22] In the same period the average rate which this company received for a performance has gone up from about 300 to 600 rupees. Informants belonging to other companies confirm that the number of performances has risen to about 120 to 140 per year (as compared to not even 100 performances per year ten years ago) while the remuneration is also steadily going up.[23] Though no hard quantitative data are available on these other companies, we can safely assume that the demand for performances and the rates as well as the number of companies which can operate on a commercial basis in order to saturate this demand are governed by a kind of market-mechanism.

The gradual commercialization of the relationship between the performers and their clientele partly replaces an older situation, still valid in some villages, where a company had the traditional right to perform on a particular occasion (called *māmūl* < Arab. 'that which is established, customary or usual', TL 3163), but had to accept whatever the sponsors wanted to give for the performance.[24] Because of their long-standing relationship (and sometimes patronization in times of hardship)[25] the sponsors/audiences had a claim on the performers. It seems that forty to fifty years ago the greater part of the performances took place on māmūl-basis. The Peruṅkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam held this right some twenty-five years ago in about ten villages. Already then the bulk of the performances was negotiated. In many instances the right was relinguished and replaced by the 'commercial system' either by the companies themselves because these could get higher rates elsewhere, or by the villagers who started critically judging the qualities of several companies known to them and sometimes decided that they preferred to see another group. In 1990 the Peruṅkaṭṭūr Ponnucāmi Nāṭaka Manṛam performed on *māmūl*-basis only in two villages.

The disappearance of the *māmūl*-based performances appears to have been partly the result of changed social relations in Indian society. Formerly, *kūttu* artists often consented, in the absence of any further income, to perform under the social pressure of patrons which the performers, ranking low on the social ladder, found hard to resist. Tiru P. Rājakōpāl who took over his father's company at the age of nineteen recounts that in the beginning of his career (i.e. the early 1970s) his refusal to perform in villages where his father held *māmūl* against a remuneration which was less than the current rate often led to heated discussions. If he was told to oblige because 'his father and his grandfather had always performed' on a particular festival-day he used to remark: 'I am not your slave. If my father has given this promise to you in writing, please show it to me and I shall perform'.

6. *Changing status of kūttu; kūttu and nāṭakam*

The changed relation between performers and audiences, expressed in an increasing professionalism of *kaṭṭaikkūttu* companies has led to an improvement in the social and economic status of those artists who remained in the profession, despite the competition of modern mass-media, such as film, television and video. Moreover, it has attracted others to take up kaṭṭaikkūttu as a full-time job. Though *kūttu* artists are still at the bottom of the income-scale, an average performer is now earning about Rs 6000 per year (the poverty line lies at US S 370 or Rs 6800 a year according to the latest World Bank report).

However, even ten years ago the remuneration for *kūttu* artists was still exceptionally low. Sometimes *kūttu* actors, already under the physical strain of the night-long performances, complied to perform only for food or because alcohol would be freely available. The system of performing on the basis of *māmūl* left few options to negotiate the performance-rate (at the risk of losing their right or reputation). This combined with the need to generate at least some modest income placed *kūttu* artists in a position where they were hardly able to insist upon a more generous remuneration.

With the introduction of the Tamil speaking film in the 1930s, which soon found a firm commercial base in Madras[26], the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition appears to have suffered a serious setback. Not only was the competition of the film felt (which according to *kūttu* artists was in the beginning inspired by just such popular theatre traditions as *kaṭṭaikkūttu*)[27], the 'filmy' style of acting, singing and dressing of the Tamil cinema was in turn imitated in the so-called nāṭakams or ṭirāmās (< Eng. 'drama') which, consequently, won in popularity and took away part of the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* audiences.

Till that time *kaṭṭaikkūttu* and *nāṭakam* (in which no kaṭṭai are used and which differs in musical style, movements and structure) were not strictly separated; *kūttu* artists performed both *kūttus* and *nāṭakams*. However, after the rise of the Tamil film the *nāṭākams* seem to have been disconnected from the *kūttu* tradition and to have developed into an independent genre performed by a separate group of artists, the so-called *nāṭaka-* or drama-companies. The data collected so far give reason to believe that within the *nāṭakam*-genre again a specialization took place resulting in two varieties of *nāṭakam*: the first or 'old' type has episodes from the epics or Purāṇas as its theme, the second type, sometimes referred to as 'novels', which developed in this first period of the Tamil film, focuses upon secular themes (*camutāya katai*).[28]

Part of the popularity of the 'novels' can be attributed to the fact that these were used as a medium to spread political messages during India's struggle for independence.[29] Even nowadays political parties and groups, such as the DMK and the Vaṉṉiyar Caṅkam, sponsor dramas to advertise their political objectives among village audiences. In contrast, *kūttu* companies by virtue of their intricate link with a network of clients and audiences belonging to different sections of society and different political directions, cannot afford to choose sides at the risk of loosing part of their clientele and, as a result, part of their livelihood. Moreover, the religious context in which most *kūttus* are being performed hardly lends itself to the spread of (secular) political messages. Consequently *kūttu* has never developed into a political theatre, but has always tried to accommodate the wishes of its mixed audiences (see also section 9 below on the rule of *kirāmattiṉ ishṭam*). This does not mean that in *kūttu* no references are made to political issues. *Kūttu* used to contain, for example, several songs which had India's independence as their subject.[30] This was, however, an issue about which more or less general consensus existed and no members of the audiences had to be compromised. Most of these songs have disappeared from the repertoire, because they have lost their actuality.

7. *Terukkūttu*

The changed status of *kūttu* has led to the more or less complete abandoning of the practice of *terukkūttu* by professional companies, because it was considered denigratory by many artists. Both Frasca and Hiltebeitel have discussed the terms *kūttu* and *terukkūttu*.[31] They have indicated that, though they are clearly related, there is a difference between *kūttu* and *terukkūttu*, without being able to exactly pinpoint the difference. According to information I have collected on both terms, *terukkūttu* or 'street theatre' (the name is confusingly used to refer to the *(kaṭṭaik)kūttu* tradition) is performed on three-day long festivals for the goddess *Māriyammaṉ* (the so-called *Māriyammaṉ yāttirais*). On the evening of the second day of the festival two, usually young actors-one dressed as a male (*kaṭṭai vēsham*) and one as a female character[32] - and the leader of the group together with the *mṛdaṅgam*-player accompany the procession of the *karakam* or pitcher, symbolizing the goddess. While the procession proceeds through the streets of the village the actors sing songs in honour of Māriyammaṉ, songs special to *terukkūttu*, as well as songs from the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* repertoire (performing a *terukkūttu* is considered a kind of training for the young actors who can practice the *kūttu* songs they already know). The actors collect some money or other gifts (e.g. old clothes to be used as costumes) and, though my *kūttu* informants were not very willing to give information on this subject, it seems that the actors are, often under social pressure, forced to consume alcohol, resulting in a not always serene performance. *Terukkūttu* is sometimes also referred to as *pakal vēsham* ('day time disguise'). The *terukkūttu* is followed by a full-night enactment of a play starting on the evening of the third day of the festival. The difference between the performances of *kaṭṭaikkūttu* and *terukkūttu* lies in the fact that, in the words of one actor, '*kaṭṭaikkūttu* tells a story through the use of various kinds of song and speech and is performed on a previously prepared location, whereas in *terukkūttu* an actor sings whatever songs come to his mind while moving along the streets'.

The practice of *terukkūttu* has been abandoned not only because actors experience it as humiliating to be made to sing (and drink) at the cost of others' amusement, but also because of the increasing commercialized relationship between performers and audiences mentioned above. The performance of a *terukkūttu* (for which the group, apart from the gifts collected during the procession, does not receive any remuneration) requires the company to stay an additional day in the village. Because the actors often have an opportunity to perform at a different location, the customary *terukkūttu* is given up in favour of another performance. This is not to say that the practice of *terukkūttu* has been given up by the villages. In many cases a *terukkūttu* is now performed by amateur-actors from the village itself or it has been replaced by another kind of performance, such as *karakāṭṭam* or *kai cilampu* dancing. In some villages the man who plays the ritual *pampai*, a double drum, replaces the *terukkūttu*.

Some informants indicated that *kaṭṭaikkūttu* as a full-fledged theatre form may have developed out of the practice of *terukkūttu*. This opinion would contradict that of Hiltebeitel who, on the basis of a description, found in the Colin Mackenzie collection, of the Draupadī festival in Dindigul at the beginning of the nineteenth century suggests that, as Dindigul lies outside the core-area of the Draupadī cult, the 'street dramas' described 'had come to substitute for more traditional *Mahābhārata* "Kūttu"'.[33] It should also be remembered that some of the 'off-stage' episodes during Pāratam festivals, especially the fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana on the eighteenth day of the war (*paṭukaḷam*, cf. note 34), are literally acted out in the streets of the village. Though my informants referred to the practice of *terukkūttu* as being performed during Māriyamman̲ festivals, it is tempting to see a relationship between *terukkūttu* and these 'off-stage' episodes. The latter could represent an intermediate stage, containing already the basic, often ritually charged elements of a story, from which the elaborate, 'on stage' *kaṭṭaikkūttu* performances can have developed.

Nowadays, some of the enactments of 'off stage' episodes such as Arjuna's tapas (Arccun̲an̲ tapacu) or the *paṭukaḷam*, form the ritual culmination of stories enacted 'on stage' during the previous night.[34] Other 'off stage' enactments, e.g. the fight between the Āsura Baka and Bhīma (Pakācuran̲ vatam) or Arjuna's son Aravān̲'s self-immolation (Aravān̲ kaḷappali)[35], are at least in the *kūttu* tradition of the Cheyyar Taluk companies not (or no longer) connected with 'on stage' performances either because no relevant 'on stage' play exists, or, if one is available, because it has been omitted from the festival programme. Before we can draw any further conclusions about the *kūttu* tradition and its development, we have to look into the relations between this tradition and other dramatic and musical genres performed at the village level.

8. *The complex of 'village performing genres'*

Terukkūttu seems in some cases to have substituted another form of dramatic enactment, called *catirkaccēri* (see below). It can itself be replaced by *karakāṭṭam*, *kai cilampu* dancing, or the playing of the *pampai*-drum. These different genres found in processions of an idol appear to be (ritually) equivalent dramatic forms which can substitute each other.

Catirkaccēri was performed by professional female dancers, called *tēvaṭiyāḷ* or devadāsis who belonged to what is known in villages in the northern districts of Tamil Nadu as the *kūttāṭijāti* or 'community of *kūttu* dancers or -actors'. The *tēvaṭiyāl* held the traditional right (māmūl) on some festivals of village deities (kirāmatēvikaḷ)[36] to walk in front of the idol of the deity when it was taken out for a procession. The procession came to a halt at certain (fixed?) points where the devadāsis performed a catirkaccēri, the fore-runner of the present-day bharatanāṭyam performances, while the male members (the naṭṭuvar) played mṛdaṅgam, provided the curuti (śruti or drone) and directed the dance.[37] The festival of Poṉṉiyammaṉ in Perunkaṭṭūr, for example, used to be locally famous for its performances of the tēvaṭiyāḷ who accompanied the procession of the idol. The tēvaṭiyāḷ-dancers from Peruṅkaṭṭūr held the māmūl to perform during this particular festival. However, when the festival took place in January 1991 after a break of ten years, the tēvaṭiyāḷ had been replaced by two (female) karakāṭṭam-dancers.

Like the *kūttu* tradition, which includes both *terukkūttu* and *kaṭṭaikkūttu,* the *tēvaṭiyāḷ* tradition also knew two forms performed by the same group of professional artists. Apart from the *catirkaccēri,* members of the *kūttāṭijāti* used to perform full-fledged plays or *nāṭakams* in which the women enacted both female and male roles while the men provided the music and direction and also donned roles. During these performances it seems to have been the duty of the washermen-caste (*vaṇṇār* or *ēkāli*), to which quite a few of the present-day *kūttu* artists belong, to illuminate the performance area with torches consisting of cloth soaked in oil and attached to a stick. Several people held these torches and were supposed to move backward and forward following the movements of the characters. Some informants claim that attending these performances enabled members of the dhobi-caste to pick up large parts of the songs, texts and performance-techniques 'through kēḷvi ñāṉam' ('knowledge through hearing').[38] According to them members of this community have gradually turned to performing themselves, especially after the practice of the *tēvaṭiyāḷ,* who were dedicated to the god of a particular temple, was banned in 1947. Many devadāsis had to give up their professionbecause the practice had come to be considered offensive and even shocking.[39] I have been able to trace and interview two former devadāsis who used to perform on local village festivals.[40]

They denied any relationship between the dramatic performances of their community and the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* performances or the practice of *terukkūttu*. In the days they were performing *kaṭṭaikkūttu* was already a well-established, separate theatrical genre. In their opinion it is likely that the contemporary *nāṭakam*-genre (cf. section 6) developed out of the *nāṭakams* performed by the devadāsīs.

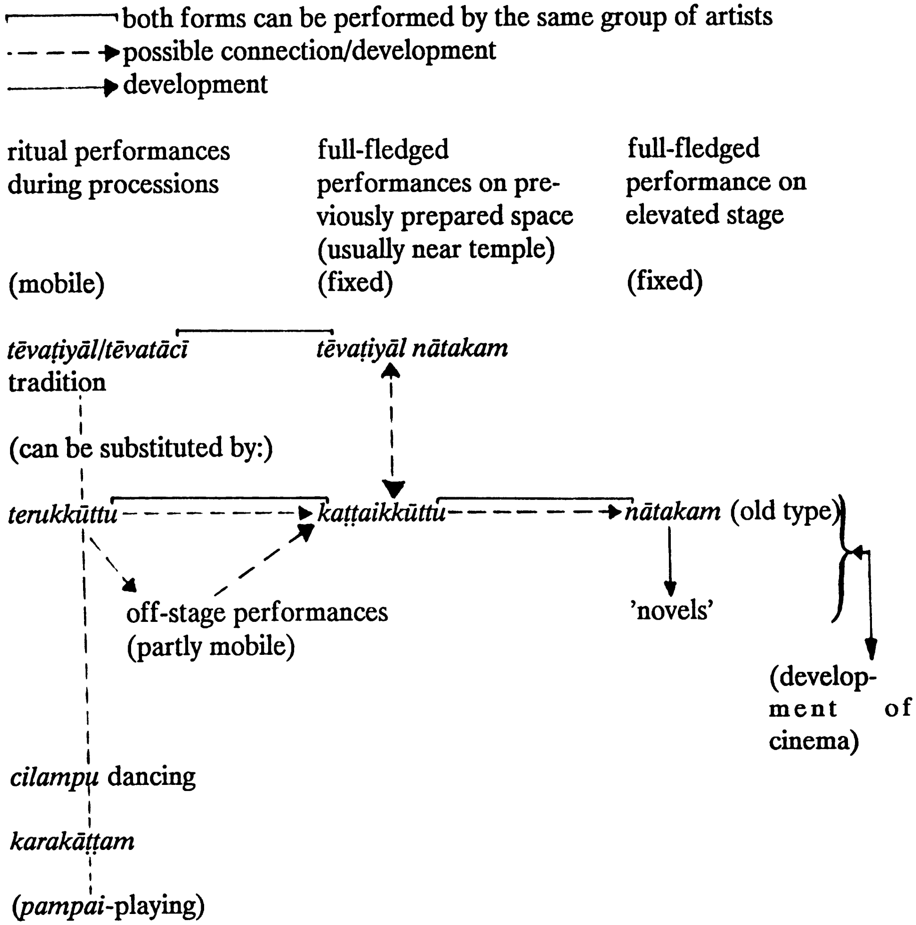
The possibility of vaṇṇāṉs taking up the profession of acting as a result of their exposure to the dramatic performances of the kūttāṭijāti-community, does not explain the involvement of other castes, such as paṇṭāram, vaṉṉiyar and mutaliyār, in the *kūttu* tradition. Frasca's finding seems significant that 'in the past some Tampiraṉs [i.e. Tamil speaking paṇṭārams, HMB] were noted teachers of the classical dance form bharata nāṭyam in temples in northern Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam'. According to him this would explain why, 'despite many Tampirans' vigorous and probably correct denial of any genealogical ties with the Deva-dāsī community that became the repository of this classical form, the terukkūttu and bharata nāṭyam appear to have a very close relationship in the area of dance'.[41]

The relationship between *kūttu* and other performing genres certainly needs to be investigated further. The vehement denial of a possible relationship between the two theatre forms by the tampirāṉs as well as the devadāsīs seems somewhat suspicious, especially in the light of the fact that the father of one of the devadāsīs I interviewed was familiar with the kūttu tradition, whereas her younger brother is a full-time *kūttu* actor performing female roles in a professional *kūttu* company.

In anticipation of further research I would like to propose the hypothesis that there exists a complex of 'village performing genres' each of which is engaged on different occasions, such as marriages, death ceremonies, ear-piercing ceremonies, pilgrimages, and festivals (the latter representing a multi-layered occasion including several performing contexts and genres), and which fulfill within their particular contexts different functions. Some of these genres, such as *terukkūttu* and *kaṭṭaikkūttu* or *catirkaccēri* and the devadāsī-*nāṭakams*, are performed by the same group of professional artists. Occasionally, performances within a particular context are replaced by others, in which case the genres seem to be mutual substitutes.

Though the exact functions of the various performing genres in different contexts are not yet clear and have to be looked into in depth, it seems that at least for the festival context we can distinguish between 'mobile' performing genres, such as *terukkūttu*, *catirkaccēri*, and *karakāṭṭam*, which are not restricted to one place and which as a rule accompany the *movable* icon of the deity (*uccavamūrtti*) when it is taken out for a procession, and performing genres like full-fledged *kaṭṭaikkūttu* performances or the *nāṭakams* of the devadāsīs which are performed at a previously prepared, 'fixed' location, usually near the temple, i.e. the place of the *fixed* icon of the deity as well as the place where the movable icon comes at rest after the procession.

To conclude this section, the following diagram shows the tentative relationships between different village performing genres and their (mobile and fixed) 'stages':


both forms can be performed by the same group of artists
possible connection/development
development
ritual performances during processions
(mobile)
full-fledged performances on previously prepared space (usually near temple)
(fixed)
full-fledged performance on elevated stage
(fixed)
tēvaṭiyāl/tēvatāci tradition
tēvaṭiyāl nāṭakam
(can be substituted by:)
terukkūttu
kaṭṭaikkūttu
nāṭakam (old type)
off-stage performances (partly mobile)
'novels'
(development of cinema)
cilampu dancing
karakāṭṭam
(pampai-playing)

9. *Influence of the performers-audience relationship on the performance*

The influence of the performers-audience relationship upon the emergent performance is reflected in what I consider to be one of the most important conventions, pervading all aspects of the *kūttu* tradition, namely that a performance should be 'kirāmattiṉ iṣṭam', i.e. according to the wish of the village (audience). The selection of a play, for example, is kirāmattiṉ iṣṭam; in actual practice this usually means that the organizers of the performance decide which play will be staged. Their decision is communicated to the artists only shortly before the performance is to begin.

Adapting performances to suit the wishes of a particular audience and context requires great flexibility on the part of the artists as well as on the part of the tradition itself. The way in which this flexibility is realized on the textual level of the tradition has been described elsewhere and I will refer here only to those aspects which are relevant for the present discussion.[42] A *kūttu* text is conceptualized as consisting of a more or less fixed framework and a number of 'building blocks' which can be inserted into this framework and which are used to build up a sustained text in performance. Building blocks are of varying nature and length. They may be highly standardized prose episodes (vacaṉam) rendered more or less verbatim, songs (*pāṭṭu*) or *viruttams*, musical interludes, or less well-defined portions of prose which show great internal variation. Building blocks form part of the 'oral reservoir' of the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition. The oral reservoir is defined as a hypothetical construct containing apart from verbal and non-verbal material (the latter pertains to aspects of music, dance, make-up and costuming), also conventions and devices belonging to the tradition abstracted from its performing context. Demands of the audience can be accommodated as long as they do not violate the framework of a performance which determines a play as being *kūttu* and not another performance-genre (incidently, it may violate the conventions of a company as will be seen below). Accommodation of demands and adjusting the performance to the different audience-moods and contexts occurs through a versatile use of these building blocks within the limits set by the framework of the performance. For example, at an appropriate moment during a performance of *Karṇa mōksham*, performed on the 15th night after somebody has died, a building block can be inserted in which the sponsor of the performance (usually the eldest son of the deceased) is praised by stating that it is only 'because the late Mister so and so has left behind a dutiful son that this performance takes place'. It will be clear that the accommodation depends for a large part on the individual competence of performers: artists who have a large hold over the oral reservoir, i.e. well-trained, experienced and talented performers, are usually better equipped to incorporate the wishes of patrons into their performance and to cope with particular audiences and situations.

Performers, and especially the leader of a company, try to collect information about the local situation (castes, politics, occasion of the performance, names and occupations of important persons) through informal conversations before the performance starts (in villages where they are often asked to perform these things are generally known). On the basis of this information it is decided e.g. whether a performance should be cast in a serious mood or whether the audience would prefer a more light-hearted performance in which the *kaṭṭiyakkāraṉ* or comedian gets the opportunity to entertain the audience. The artists use some of the information collected in their dialogues or weave it into announcements of a donation (*anpaḷippu*) received from members of the audience. In order to pass on information about the performance or the situation in a particular village which should not be overheard by patrons or audiences, artists use an 'insiders-language' or jargon, called *kūttu pāshā*.

During the actual performances actors react to signals from the audience (restlessness, noise, sleepiness, questions, possession) and constantly adjust (parts of the) text in performance to the situation. They hardly ever really improvise (i.e. add new material to the oral reservoir in an innovative way), but to an unaccustomed spectator the intricate use of building blocks, which are combined and recombined within the framework of the text with great dexterity to develop a sustained text in performance tailored to the demands of a particular audience, may seem to happen rather arbitrarily without adhering to any rules or conventions.

The unwritten rule of *kirāmattin̲ iṣṭam* is followed very strictly and any suspicion of trying to influence the village's decisions is avoided. When performers arriving in the village are asked by passers-by which play will be staged that night their stereotyped answer will be 'con̲n̲ā teriyum', 'If told, we'll know'.

10. *Structural changes in the tradition as a result of the changed performers-audience relationship*

The changed relationship between performers and audiences-cum-clients has also led to structural changes in the tradition. Increased professionalism has resulted in an internal reorganization of the groups: companies are operating with fewer members leaving each artist a bigger share (paṅku) in the remuneration. The minimization of the numbers of artists within a company affected (the structure of) actual performances. Some characters, like the *cūshtiratār* (< Skt. *sūtradhāra* or 'stage manager') and the *pālar vēsham* (two small children who appeared on stage during the introduction of the play), disappeared or were combined with other roles. With the removal of the *pālar vēsham* and the *cūshtiratār* the long introductrion of a play (up to two hours) also was abandoned. However, this seems to have been the result not only of economizing upon the number of performers within a company but also of a change in taste of the audiences.

Probably under the influence of the film, people became more interested in 'action' and demanded that the troupe started the actual story as soon as possible; a long-winded prologue became to be considered 'old fashioned'. The performers reacted upon the demand for action by elaborating upon the dance movements in a performance whereas the many fights (*canṭai*) richly represented in *kūttu* took on more and more of physical encounters in stead of symbolic ones. Tiru P. Rājakōpāl choreographed a number of dance-movements based upon traditional *aṭāvus* (dance steps) and the *kiriki*, a fast, whirling movement typical for *kūttu*, only during the last ten years. These movements have now become common property of several (related) companies where his students have been employed.

In general, performances have been shortened by a few hours, or even whole nights. Formerly, the enactment of stories, like *Kirushṇaṉ tūtu* ('Kṛshna's embassy'), could be stretched over two to three nights. Recently, companies have started enacting condensed versions of popular plays following the demand for one to two hour(s)-enactments, e.g. on cultural festivals, or even twenty minutes-enactments for television. It will be clear that such severe shortenings of plays must have far-reaching consequences for the actual performance: the adaptions can no longer always be realized without distorting the framework of a performance.

Lastly, it appears that *kūttu* companies have been continuously adjusting their repertoire to the changing demands of their clientele. About 25 years ago the repertoire of the Peruṅkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam included apart from *kūttus* a great number of plays performed in *nāṭakam*-style, such as *Nalāyiṉi carittiram*, *Nīli nāṭakam*, etc. Most of these *nāṭakams* were based upon Rāmāyaṇa- and Purāṇa-episodes and local stories. The number of plays which had episodes from the Mahābhārata as theme was limited. In contrast the present repertoire of the Perunkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam includes seventeen Pāratam-plays, one play based on a (local version of a) Rāmāyaṇa-episode and four Purāṇa-episodes which, except for one which belongs to the *nāṭakam*-genre, are all performed in *kaṭṭaikkūttu*-style. The enactment of stories from the Mahābhārata, which have become very popular during the last ten to fifteen years, seems to have become associated especially with the *kaṭṭaikkūttu*-style of performing.

Recently, the Peruṅkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam has taken two 'new' plays on its repertoire.[43] At least three other companies in the Cheyyar Taluk have added also plays to their repertoire during the last three years.[44] However, many of the 'new plays' are reworkings of old *kūttus* or *nāṭakams* which used to be performed by an older generation of artists. The only really new story which, to my knowledge, has been produced so far is *Eṅkalukkum uyir uṇṭu* ('We also live'). It features an ecological theme, the importance of trees for our environment and welfare, and was written by Tiru P. Rājakōpāl. The story was performed for the first time in 1990 by the students of the Peruṅkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Kaṭṭaikkūttu Payiṟci Paḷḷi, a school where children are being trained in the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition. It may well be that by addressing developmental issues of general importance, a new trend within the flexible *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition has set off.

11. *Conclusion*

It has been illustrated above that the relationship between professional performers and audiences, the latter often being at the same time the collective sponsors of a play, has changed in the last fifty years from one based mainly on *māmūl*, i.e. the traditional right (often amounting to an obligation) to perform in a village on a particular occasion accepting whatever was given in kind or in cash, to a 'commercial' relationship in which both parties negotiate the rate and conditions of a performance (cf. sections 4, 5 and 6). Performances on *māmūl*-basis appear to have lost their attraction for both artists and audiences as a result of changing social relationships in Indian society. The 'commercialization' of the performers-audience relationship contributed to increased professionalism of companies and a better social and economic status of professional artists, giving them in turn greater freedom to negotiate performance rates (cf. section 6).

Nowadays most professional companies refuse to perform (as part of the deal) a *terukkūttu* which has come to be considered by the artists as humiliating and degrading practice. However, it was quite normal that the same company which was engaged to enact a full-night play deputed, in the case of Māriyamman festivals, two actors to accompany the procession of the *karakam* and perform a *terukkūttu*. It is therefore not impossible that *kaṭṭaikkūttu* as a full-fledged theatre form developed out of *terukkūttu*, though a link with the 'off-stage' episodes which are still performed in villages during Pāratam festivals can, until further research has been carried out, not be excluded (section 7). The *kūttu* tradition forms part of what I would like to call a hypothetic complex of 'village performing genres' each of which can be engaged on different (ritual) occasions and which fulfill within these various contexts different functions. The relationships, genealogical or other, between *kūttu* and other genres, especially the performances of the *tēvaṭiyāḷ* (devadāsis), as well as their different functions need to be investigated further in order to get a fuller picture of the *kūttu* tradition, its development and function (section 8).

The sacral status of *kaṭṭaikkūttu*, thought to be a catalyst to come into contact with 'special' or divine power and mediate prosperity, health and spiritual well-being, explains the need of audiences to arrange for performances (cf. section 3). From the point of view of the artists their relationship with the audience is reflected in the convention that every performance should be *kirāmattin iṣṭam*, i.e. following as far as the tradition permits, the wishes of the village (audience). The unwritten rule of *kirāmattin iṣṭam* affects both actual performances which are adapted to different contexts and audiences, e.g. by including more or less humour or referring to sponsors or relevant events, as well as has led, in the long term, to structural changes in the tradition itself. The inherent flexibility of the tradition, provided by the subtle interplay of various 'building blocks' consisting of text and/or music within the more or less fixed framework of a performance, allows for the accommodation of the wishes of audiences.

The performers-audience relationship influences not only the emergence of an actual performance as a tangible product on stage, but is also felt during the time prior to the performance. For the *kūttu* artists this is a time of negotiating the performance both financially and artistically, gathering information about and judging the mood and wishes of the audience and patrons. Lastly, it involves taking care of maintaining a network of contacts with (potential) clients in order to secure future performances. Every *kūttu* performance should, therefore, be considered the negotiated result of prolongued contact between performers, sponsors of the performance, and audiences in general (cf. sections 9 and 10).

Though the memory of my informants does not go further back than three generations, and it is hard to say what was the form and status of this theatre before that time, it is clear that the popularity of *kaṭṭaikkūttu* shows an undulatory movement. Judging from the enormous number of printed *nāṭakam*-books[45] - cheap chapbooks which often do not indicate the author of the play - theatrical performances must have been popular during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. With the rise of the Tamil (speaking) film in the 1930s and the competition of other dramatical genres, such as the popular *nāṭakams*, *kaṭṭaikkūttu* lost much of its attraction (cf. section 6). It came to be considered 'old-fashioned', and had already before that time been termed 'vulgar' and 'crude'.[46] During the beginning period of my research I was often confronted with the opinion that 'this folk theatre does not exist anymore'. However, reality proved different and as the increase in the number of performances and performance-rates (cf. section 5) clearly shows, *kaṭṭaikkūttu*, performed by professional groups, has staged a come-back in the northern parts of Tamil Nadu in the last ten years.

Abbreviations

TL	*Tamil Lexicon* (University of Madras), 6 vols and supplement (Madras: 1937 (reprint 1982))

Transcription

1. Tamil words are transcribed according to the system followed by the *Tamil Lexicon*. The transcription of Sanskrit words follows the conventions found in most Sanskrit dictionaries.

2. Names of well-known Tamil towns, taluks and districts are given without diacritics in the transcription one finds on most maps and in newspapers and other popular writing, e.g. Kanchipuram, Cheyyar Taluk, Tiruvannamalai Sambuvarayar District. Names of smaller villages and names of informants are transcribed according to the conventions of the *Tamil Lexicon*, e.g. Peruṅkaṭṭūr, Tiru P. Rājakōpāl. The former are given with diacritics, the latter without.
3. Familiar names and terms from the Mahābhārata are given either in their Sanskrit forms, e.g. Bhīma, Duḥśāsana, Draupadī, or in Tamil transcription with their Sanskrit form added between brackets, e.g. Tiraupatiyamman (Draupadī).
4. The transcription of Tamil words in which my informants retained (part of) the Sanskrit pronunciation posed a problem. These words have been given in the standard Tamil transcription, e.g. *Iraṇiyan*, *uccavamūrtti*, *curuti*, though these were actually pronounced as Iraṇyan (< Skt. *Hiraṇya*), *utcavamūrtti* (< Skt. *utsavamūrti*) and *sruti* (< Skt. *śruti*). Words in which the Sanskrit 'sh' is retained have been transcribed accordingly, e.g. *vēsham* (in stead of *vēcam*), *mōksham* (in stead of *mōṭcam*).

NOTES

1. See Edward W. Said's enlightening Introduction to his book *Orientalism* (London, 1978) in which he analyzes differrent factors influencing the production of texts which have the Orient as subject.
2. This theatre tradition is usually referred to as *terukkūttu*, literally meaning 'street (*teru*) theatre (*kūttu*)'. However, *terukkūttu* denotes a different practrice as will be seen in section 7. The name *kaṭṭaikkūttu* seems to describe this theatre tradition most accurately without calling to mind - as does the English translation of *terukkūttu* - connotations of a politically oriented theatre performed just 'somewhere in the streets'. *Pāratam kūttu* which takes its themes from the epic *Mahābhārata*, is a specialization within the *kaṭṭaikkūttu* tradition.
3. The sacral value of the *kaṭṭai* ornaments can for example be seen in the fact that for every new *kirīṭam* (big crown) a so-called 'eye-opening ceremony' is carried out before the performers start using it. During this ceremony the craftsman who has made the wooden ornament 'opens' the eyes of the *tiruṣṭi* (< Skt. *dṛṣṭi*) on top of the crown by applying some black dye (*mai*) upon these,

symbolically giving life to the crown. The *kirīṭam* is also one of the objects worshipped during the *pūjā* before every performance. See on the sacral value of the *kaṭṭai* ornaments Frasca, Richard Armand, 'The Terukkuttu: Ritual theatre of Tamil Nadu' (Doctoral thesis, Berkeley, 1984): 262-3.

4. Frasca, 1984; Hiltebeitel, Alf, *The Cult of Draupadī. Mythologies: From Gingee to Kurukṣetra* (Chicago, 1988). According to Frasca the *Pāratam* festivals are 'the most important context of the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam (roughly the present day Tiruvannamalai-Sambuvarayar District, North Arcot-Dr. Ambedkar District and the Chengai District, HMB) Terukkūttu' (1984: 270). This view does not correspond with my data, on which see note 5.
5. This figure is based on performance of the *Peruṅkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam* in 1982, 1985, 1986, 1989 and 1990 during which this theatre company performed on resp. 2 *Pāratam* festivals (totally 21 performances or 23%), 6 festivals (61 performances or 40%), 6 festivals (55 performances or 35%), 3 festivals (29 performances or 21%) and 4 festivals (38 performances or 26%).
6. *Vaṇṇāṉs* carry the honorific title *mēshṭri*; *paṇṭārams* include the Tamil speaking subcaste of *tampirāṉs*, as well as Telugu speaking *paṇṭārams*, referred to as *jaṅkamar*, though no members of the latter subcaste are, as far as I know, at present actively involved in *kūttu*.
7. In contrast to the South Arcot District, where many performers seem to be *vaṉṉiyar*, in the Tiruvannamalai-Sambuvarayar District and Chengai Anna District (part of the former North Arcot District and the Chingleput District) the *vaṉṉiyars* seem to have joined the *kūttu* tradition recently and have taken to full-time acting only in the last ten years. Because of their caste-background they appeal especially to audiences of *vaṉṉiyar* dominated villages, which sometimes demand explicitly that the roles of Draupadī and Arjuna are being performed by *vaṉṉiyars* (cf note 18).
8. The Perunkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam consists, for example, mainly of *vaṇṇāṉs* who are all related. The *mṛdaṅgam*-player is a *vaṉṉiyar*, the harmonium-player a *mutaliār*, and the *mukavīṇai*-player is a barber, the caste to which players of this windinstrument (and of its bigger brother the *nātacuram*) traditionally belong.
9. See on the involvement of the various castes in *kūttu* also Frasca 1984: 178, Frasca, Richard Armando, *The theatre of the Mahābhārata. Terukkūttu performances in South India* (Honolulu, 1990): 190 and Hiltebeitel 1988: 138-9.
10. See note 16 on possession.
11. Heesterman, J.C., *The inner conflict of tradition. Essays in Indian ritual, kingship, and society* (Chicago, 1985: 9).

12. Heesterman, 1985: 81-94.
13. Stanley, John M., 'Special time, special power: The fluidity of power in a popular Hindu festival', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (1977): 27-43.
14. However, some actors referred to this gift as *kuru taṭciṉai* (< Skt. *guru dakṣiṇā*), which they explained as a gift made to the main teacher of the troupe.
15. See for example Beck, Brenda, 'Colour and heat in South Indian ritual', *Man* 4, 1969: 553-72.
16. See on the sacral nature of *kūttu* Hiltebeitel, 1988: passim, and Frasca, 1984: chapters VII and VIII. During *kūttu* performances, and especially during performances on *Pāratam* festivals, which are usually more ritually charged than one-night-performances, possession (*āvēcam*) or possession-like states occur both among performers as well as members of the audience. Possession could be seen as an expression of coming or being into contact with 'special power'. Frasca speculates - not convincingly - about the possible entities causing the possession (Frasca 1984: 295-6). However, this phenomenon has not been investigated thoroughly enough to draw any definite conclusions. Significantly, Tiru P. Rājakōpāl, an outstanding actor who has performed many main roles, such as Duḥśāsana in the play *Tiraupati tukil* and Kīcaka in *Kīcaka vatam*, which seem to require 'possession' at certain ritually tense moments, denies that he is at these times possessed (an exception forms the enactment of Iraniyan (Hiraṇya) in *Iraṇiya vilācam* in which he says to 'have lost control over himself' on a few occasions). He attributes his possession-like state to the *aṇal* ('fire', 'heat, as of fever', TL 189), the accumulation of heat caused by the performance in front of the deity.
17. See Frasca, Richard 1984: 92-96, and Arivunampi, 1986: 183-193 on the distinction between professional and non-professional performers.
18. One of these semi-professional groups, the *Vēṅkaṭēshvara Nāṭaka Capā* from the village of Kiḷvēṅpākkam (also known as the *Vāṇpākkam Kōpāl Nāyakkar* company), seems to operate successfully on the basis of caste-relationships. Though this troupe has on its pay roll also *kūttu* actors who belong to castes which have traditionally provided (hereditary) *kūttu* artists (e.g. *vaṇṇāṉ-* and *paṇṭāram*-castes) the owner and most of the other actors are *kavuṇṭar* (or *vaṉṉiyar*). The company, which started as a semi-professional company but is now operating on a full-time basis, is often invited to perform in villages which have a majority *kavuṇṭar* population.
19. See note 18.
20. This impression was confirmed by Alf Hiltebeitel in a personal communication (Madras, 20-04-90).

21. I was able to list the following companies: Māriyamman̲ Terukkūttu Nāṭaka Capā of Kuṇṭaiyārtaṇṭalam village, Pāñcāliyamman̲ Nāṭaka Capā and Nārāyaṇamūrtti Nāṭaka Capā both from Iruṅkūr village, Om Ñān̲a Murukan̲ Nāṭaka Capā from Anakkāvūr village, Kalaimāmāṇi K. Naṭēcattampirān̲ Nāṭaka Man̲r̲am and the company of Kalaimāmāni R. Kaṇṇappattampirān̲ (company name not known to me) both from the village of Puricai, Celvavin̲āyakar Nāṭaka Man̲r̲am from Narmāppaḷḷam village, Vēṅkaṭēshvara Nāṭaka Capā from Kīl̲vēṇpākkam village, Kīl̲vīti Kan̲n̲iyappan̲ company from Kīl̲vīti village and Pon̲n̲ucāmi Nāṭaka Man̲r̲am from the village of Peruṅkaṭṭūr.
22. Based upon diary-notes of the leader of this company Tiru P. Rājakōpāl, showing the dates of performances in 1982, 1985, 1986, 1989 and 1990.
23. Note that this situation is quite the contrary to the assumption, current among urban-based elite groups, that *kaṭṭaiikkūttu* is a dying theatre form.
24. Information obtained from interviews with the actor Tiru M. Mācilāmaṇi (Vaḷḷimēṭu, 24-03-90), Tiru D.K. Tiruvēṅki Āccāri and Tiru Maṇi Aiyaṅkār (Tūci, 10-01-91) (cf. note 25) and discussions with actor and company-owner Tiru P. Rājakōpāl.
25. According to members of the Brahmin (Aiyaṅkār) community of the village of Tūci (near Kanchipuram), who have been patrons of the *kūttu* tradition for at least three generations, they used to accommodate, especially during years when there was a water- and foodshortage, a company (consisting in those days of 20 to 25 men) for 40 days to three months in their village. The artists were fed and in return performed during the nights.
26. Bhaskaran, Theodore S., *The message bearers. The nationalist politics and the entertainment media in South India, 1880-1945* (Madras, 1981: 99-101).
27. In one of the standard introductions used at the beginning of a play it is stated explicitly that 'modern day drama and cinema' developed out of *kūttu* (cf. introduction to *Karṇa mōksham* performed by the *Peruṅkaṭṭūr Pon̲n̲ucāmi Nāṭaka Man̲r̲am*).
28. This hypothetical classification in genres is based on discussions with Tiru P. Rājakōpāl, Tiru D.K. Tiruvēnki Āccāri and Tiru Maṇi Aiyaṅkār. It should be noted that this classification refers only to the northern districts of Tamil Nadu; in South Tamil Nadu the classification may be different an the same terms may refer to other genres than discussed here.
29. Bhaskaran, 1981: 21-63.
30. Based on information of Tiru P. Rājakōpāl who also gave the texts of a few *kūttu* songs which have the independence struggle as theme.
31. Frasca, 1984: 96-7 and Hiltebeitel, 1988: 150.

32. The two characters are referred to as Vētan (i.e. Murukan, disguised as hunter) and Vaḷḷi. They have their own songs and dialogue (*tarkkam*, literally 'debate') which are used only in the performance of a *terukkūttu*. Though the two characters appear in *terukkūttus* of Mariyamman *yāttirais*, their names suggest a link with dramatic performances in honour of Murukan.
33. Hiltebeitel, 1988: 151.
34. The 'on stage' performances preceding the 'off stage' enactments referred to are resp. *Arccunan tapacu nāṭakam* and *Patineṭṭām pōr* ('The eighteenth day of the battle'). The former describes the obstacles Arjuna encounters when he is on his way to Mount Kailāsa in the form of two erotic female characters, Mohinī (Vishṇu in his female form) and Kāṭṭupēraṇṭi (a comic temptress living in the forest, i.e. not in touch with civilization) who try to break Arjuna's asceticism (see also Hiltebeitel 1988: 283-284). After a short break in the morning the actual penance starts at an auspicious time. For this Arjuna has - in the then already blazing sun - to climb the *tapacu maram*, a huge pole, symbolizing Mount Kailāsa, to which steps have been attached in a perpendicular fashion. At each step he is supposed to sing a different song, addressed to Lord Śiva. When he reaches the top he meditates upon Śiva in order to obtain the *pācupata*-weapon, needed to secure victory in the impending Pāratam war (see for more complete accounts Frasca 1990: 150-154 and Hiltebeitel 1988: 282-286).

    The play *Patineṭṭām pōr* is about the events on the eighteenth day of the war, culminating in the fight between Duryodhana and Bhīma, performed in the morning 'off stage'. The two actors Duryodhana and Bhīma go around the village fighting, till they reach an open space (usually near the *tapacu maram* and the stage) where an enormous mud figure of Duryodhana has been made on the ground. The decisive fight is enacted here, on the *paṭukaḷam* ('battlefield'). When Bhīma, upon Kṛshṇa's instigation, finally wounds Duryodhana mortally, he hits not the real actor but the thigh of the mud figure in which a pot with red *kuṅkum* water has been hidden from which a stream of 'blood' pours forth, while both actors as well as members of the audience usually fall into a violent trance (cf. also Hiltebeitel 1988: 413-435).
35. Aravān (<Skt. Irāvat), son of Arjuna and the Nāga princess Uḷupī (in the *kūttu* tradition known by the name of Nākakaṇṇi or 'Serpent Maiden'), sacrifices himself to the goddess Kāḷikātēvi (Kāli) to secure victory for the Pāṇḍavas (see also Hiltebeitel 1988:320-332). The episode of Aravān's 'battlefield-sacrifice' (kaḷa-p-pali) is found only in the Tamil Mahābhārata tradition.

36. My informants distinguished between *potu tēvikaḻ* or goddesses found in all villages, like Māriyammaṉ, and *kirāmatēvikaḷ* or 'village goddesses', such as Poṉṉiyammaṉ or Celliyammaṉ, whose temple is specific to a particular village.
37. This and following paragraphs are based upon information obtained from interviews with Tiru D.K. Tiruvēnki Āccāri and Tiru Māṇi Aiyaṅkār, the *kūttu*-actor Tiru P. Rājakōpāl, and two former devadāsīs, Tirumati Taṉṉammā (Kalavai, 02-02-91) and Tirumati Tirumaṇi Citammā (Cheyyar, 12-02-91). Both ladies, who are now about 50, resp. 70 years old, were professional dancers and actresses who gave up performing about twenty years ago.
38. This opinion was volunteered by Tiru D.K. Tiruvēṅki Āccāri and Tiru Maṇi Aiyaṅkār.
39. Catirkaccēri was, according to my two devadāsī-informants, performed at village festivals till about fifteen years ago. See on the tēvatāci (devadāsī) tradition Kersenboom, Saskia Cornelia, 'Nityasumangalī: towards the semiosis of the DevadāsI tradition of South India' (Doctoral thesis, Utrecht, 1984).
40. Cf. note 37.
41. Frasca 1990: 192.
42. de Bruin, Hanne M., 'Analysis of an oral theatre text: Preliminary findings', *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, vol. VIII, No. 2 (Madras, 1991), pp. 98-130.
43. The titles of these plays are *Pōrmaṉṉaṉ caṇṭai allatu pōttarājā kalyāṇam* ('Pōrmaṉṉaṉ's fight or the marriage of Pōttarājā') and *Pāñcāli capatam* ('The curse of Pāñcāli'). Other plays which were added to the repertoire of the Perunkaṭṭūr Poṉṉucāmi Nāṭaka Maṉṟam in the last twenty-five years are e.g. *Apimaṉṉaṉ Cuntari kalyāṇam* ('The marriage of Abhimanyu and Sundari') and *Aravāṉ kaḷappali* ('The sacrifice of Aravāṉ on the battlefield'). It should be noted that some performers regard the first two mentioned plays, to which they referred as kaṟpaṉai katai ('fantasy story') and which feature (local) stories derived from the main themes of the Mahābhārata usually not found in the classic Sanskrit or Tamil versions of the epic, not with the same regard as the 'old Pāratam stories written by (locally) well-known kūttu authors'. A same distinction between 'traditional' and 'derived' plays is found in the wayang tradition of Indonesia which features many themes from the Mahābhārata: stories which closely follow the textual traditions are called lakon baku (or pokok), plays which use characters from the epic stories as well as locally created figures and which usually develop a new plot, independent from the literary traditions are referred to as lakon carangan (see for example Brandon, James R., *On thrones of gold: Three Javanese shadow plays* (Cambridge: 1970)).

44. For example, *Intirajit*, performed by the Puricai Kaṇṇappā Tampirāṉ troupe, *Rēṇukacammāram* and *Puliyēntiraṉ kaḷavu* by the Māriyamman Terukkuttu Nāṭaka Capā of Kuṇṭaiyārtāṇṭalam village, and *Ciṉṉaṉ arjuṉa caṇṭai* by the Om Ñāṉa Muruka Nāṭaka Capā of the village of Aṉakkāvūr.
45. Cf. Hiltebeitel, 1988: 153-168.
46. A Government of India publication, *Indian Drama* (1956, revised edition 1981), characterizes Tamil drama in the last century as 'something to be looked down upon not only for its lack of any intrinsic value but for the lack of character, respectibility and purity in those who were connected with it' (119-120).

SOME NOTES ON ANCIENT INDIAN RITUAL IN INDONESIA

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In contrast to particular religious beliefs or sects, which may arouse strong feelings for long periods but may fade away in the end, ritual seems to have a life of its own and may persist for many centuries without undergoing much change. It is therefore the very backbone of established religion. It is well known that doctrines and beliefs change all the time. Belief in the Devil was universal among Christians in the Middle Ages, but few are convinced of his activity at present - despite occasional reports of exorcism. Yet, Holy Mass, even if no longer sung or recited in Latin, has remained the same as in the Middle Ages. The recent consecration of the Japanese emperor is one of the examples out of many showing the tenacity of medieval ritual, apparently unaffected by democracy or technological developments. Ritual may become fossilized, yet it is always there at the background. One just cannot escape from it, as it seems to exert a subtle, but unceasing, influence on the behaviour of us all. A royal wedding on T.V. invariably attracts millions of viewers, more even than football matches.

It is no exaggeration to state that the perennial strength of Hinduism is largely due to its many rituals regulating life from the cradle to the tomb. Foremost among these are the great public rituals, such as the ceremony of royal consecration (*rājasūya*). Its analysis by Heesterman[1] has revealed many significant features which are of direct importance for a correct understanding of the position of a king in ancient India. Although the ceremony as a whole is typically brahmanic in nature, it had considerable influence in other parts of South and Southeast Asia, including Buddhist countries such as Sri Lanka. The description in some Pali texts (such as the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā*) of the (second) consecration of king (Devānampiya) Tissa shows how easily such a ceremony could be adapted for use in a Buddhist society.[2] In this case (perhaps because it was the first in the history of the Island) the ingredients, including water from the Ganges, were taken from northern India.

Hindu ritual was important in all areas which underwent strong cultural influence from India, but South East Asians were eclectic and applied only those forms of ritual which were consistent with their own ideas. This clearly applies to ancient Indonesia where, for instance, the rules concerning caste, as formulated in the *Dharmaśāstras*, were largely considered irrelevant and therefore generally disregarded. This is clearly the case with ancient Java where, however, the attitude towards caste was more complicated than would appear at first. Thus, the four *varṇas* are regularly mentioned in texts and inscriptions and the same applies to some of the Harijans. A few texts also list the rights and duties associated with these groups[3], but there is no evidence showing that the Hindu rules concerning intermarriage, commensality or untouchability were generally observed.

On the other hand, some of the Hindu rituals were certainly carried out. This applies to some domestic rites, such as the *śrāddha*[4], but also to some public rites including in particular those relating to kingship. On an earlier occasion I have called attention to Puranic rituals such as gift-giving, attested in some fourth- or fifth-century inscriptions from eastern Kalimantan.[5] In this paper I may discuss a few references to rituals or ceremonies mentioned in Old Javanese inscriptions, in particular those concerning the mysterious 'deity' Haricandana.

More than half a century ago Krom devoted one of his magistral articles to what he called 'an old-fashioned form of Hinduism',[6] attested on the Dieng plateau and adjoining areas. Actually, Krom used the term 'Śaivism' in the title of his article, although it is doubtful whether all of the terms and the institutions mentioned by him have any connexion with the cult of Śiva. It should not be forgotten that the Old Javanese sources do not only mention Śaivism and (Mahāyāna and/or Tantric) Buddhism as the two established religions but regularly add a third, viz. Ṛṣi or Mahābrāhmaṇa.[7] This third group is usually translated by terms equivalent to Brahmanic ascetics and hermits. Although there is no doubt that the latter were an important constituent of this group, it seems unlikely that they should have been the only ones, for such ascetics and hermits must have been limited in number, too few to be classified as a separate group on a par with the Śaivas and Buddhists. This means that other, smaller, communities were probably included.

This division into three 'congregations' (*tripakṣa*), first mentioned in inscriptions of king Airlaṅga, about whom more will be written in the course of this contribution, is described in detail in the fourteenth-century *Nāgarakertāgama*. This text first gives a list of seven 'free domains places of friars' (*dharma lepas kareṣyan*) in the first half of the first verse of Canto 78, followed by a list of nine 'offshoots' (*aṅkura*) of the same. The number of residents of such domains, though probably much lower than those in the Śaivite and Buddhist domains, may well have been considerable in absolute terms. Their occasional designation other as *mahābrāhmaṇa* leaves no doubt that the group consisted of brahmans other than Śaivas or Buddhists. It is also clear that they could not have been Vaiṣṇavas, for the latter are mentioned separately as *waṅśa wiṣṇu* in the *Nāgarakertāgama* (Canto 78, verse 5). I therefore believe that this third group also included teachers living in *āśramas*, surrounded by their pupils, as well as astrologers and probably other court brahmans in charge of various royal functions - in addition, of course, to ascetics and hermits.[8]

Old Javanese texts and inscriptions supply little information on the nature of most of the royal functions. Foremost among these was the ceremony of royal consecration (*rājasūya* or, more often, *abhiṣeka*, the most important part of this ceremony). This rite conferred true legitimacy upon the ruler, who henceforward became a consecrated king. It is, however, curious that we know little about the manner in which the royal consecration was performed in ancient Java, nor do we know whether all kings were duly consecrated.[9] In the fourteenth century, if not earlier, not only kings were consecrated but also queens and other members of the royal family, including the king's brothers-in-law (*Nāg.* 6-1a: *huwus labdhābhiṣeka prabhu*). An important part of the ceremony was the conferment upon the prince of a consecration name, invariably a Sanskrit compound (in contrast to the names given shortly after birth, which were normally Austronesian).[10] In addition, these princes and princesses were associated with a definite city or locality.[11] The importance of the conferment of a consecration name is reflected in the use of the word (*a*)*bhiṣeka* for such an official name.[12] A special case was that of king Hayam Wuruk himself (1350-1389), about whom the *Nāgarakertāgama* (1-4a) writes that he was born a king (*garbheśwara*), as though he had already been consecrated in the womb.[13] If the presence of a consecration name of the normal type (*i.e.* in the form of a Sanskrit compound ending in such words as *-wardhana*, *-nagara*,*-rājasa*, *-warma*, *-uttuṅgadewa*) is an indication, then most of the kings would indeed have been consecrated, but the fact is rarely explicitly mentioned.

One of the few examples where this is the case concerns king Airlaṅga (c. A.D. 1010-1050). The so-called 'Calcutta' inscription of this monarch, dated A.D. 1041[14] mentions the king's consecration both in its Sanskrit part (verse 15) and, with greater detail, in the Old Javanese prose version (lines 13-15). The Sanskrit version informs us that in A.D. 1010 (śaka 932)[15] Airlaṅga, when still an exile living in the forest in the guise of an ascetic, was approached by a delegation of people headed by brahmans with the request that he should protect the whole of the country.[16] Airlaṅga apparently consented, as appears from later developments, but no details are given. The Old Javanese version states, however, with reference to the year 1019/20 (śaka 941), that Airlaṅga was solemnly consecrated (*kāstwan*) by Buddhist, Śaiva and 'brahman' priests (*mahābrahmaṇa*).

As to this nine years' discrepancy between the two versions it should, however, be added that they do not actually relate to exactly the same event. Thus it is possible that Airlaṅga formally accepted his subjects' request in 1010, but could be consecrated only after he had established a firm basis of his authority.

There are other examples of long gaps between accession and consecration. The four-years' interval between Aśoka's accession and his consecration is the first example that springs to mind, but Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and Vijayabāhu I of Sri Lanka are probably better documented examples,[17] but, at least in the last two instances the reasons of the discrepancies are clearly indicated by the course of events. For Airlaṅga the cause of the nine-year discrepancy between the Sanskrit and Old Javanese versions is not clarified in these texts. As already suggested above, one may suppose, as Krom did,[18] that Airlaṅga, though accepting the delegation's proposal in principle, had to wait for a suitable time to give effect to its implementation. After the disaster, described as a *pralaya*, '(periodic) destruction of the universe', the East-Javanese kingdom was split between a number of chieftains, whose authority Airlaṅga was still unable to challenge. By having a formal consecration ceremony carried out he would have incurred his rivals' hostility. He had to wait nine years before controlling a substantial area which enabled him to have the ceremony of royal consecration carried out.

As to the manner in which this ceremony was carried out we get only a few details in the text of the 'Calcutta' inscription. The ceremony itself is described as *kretasangskāra pratiṣṭa ring siṅhāsana*, 'after having received the consecration, he ascended the lion throne', paid his respect to the 'deified king (*haji dewatā*) whose mortal remains are interred at Īśānabajra.' Subsequently the Halu (rice pestle)[19] was ceremonially erected (*pinakakapratiṣṭān*) and the king was accorded the title of Rakai Halu and the consecration name as Śrī Lokeśwara-dharmawangśa-Airlaṅgānantawikramottuṅgadewa by the priests of the Buddhist, Śaiva and Mahābrāhmaṇa denominations in the Śaka year 941.

The important part played by the representatives of the three main religious groups illustrates how this ceremony, though based on the ancient Indian *rājasūya*, had assumed different features in ancient Java.[20]

But Brahmanism was by no means limited to the ritual of royal consecration. Already some of the earliest inscriptions, such as the fourth- to fifth-century Sanskrit inscriptions of Mūlawarman and Pūrṇawarman deal with rites such as gift-giving to brahmans[21] and the festive inauguration of a canal by brahmans[22] without any clear evidence for Śaivism. It rather seems as though brahmanic Hindu ritual, as described in Puranic literature, was applied to more or less adapted Austronesian ceremonies.[23]

In this connexion I may return to a point briefly mentioned at the beginning of this contribution. I there mentioned an important study by Krom concerning forms of worship attested in some inscriptions of Central Java. It does not seem correct to describe these forms of religious worship as (old-fashioned) Śaivism as there is no clear evidence relating to either Śiva himself or to any deity closely associated with the great god. On the other hand, the copper-plate inscription of A.D. 878, discussed by Krom,[24] orders the annual worship of god Brahma by offering an *annaliṅga*, presumably a conical 'mountain' of rice as presented at modern Javanese *slametan*. Most of the inscription deals, however, with ceremonies in honour of the god Haricandana, described by Krom as a 'nebulous character' (nevelachtige figuur). Sarkar, however, notes that 'this deity is otherwise unknown' but also infers from an obscure term that 'the worship of Haricandana was falling into disuse' at that time.[25]

Neither statement is correct in the form in which it was given. Sarkar's statement about the absence of data concerning Haricandana is true as far as ancient India is concerned but, as we shall see, there are other references to Haricandana in ancient Java, as Krom and Poerbatjaraka had already noticed. Sarkar's second statement is a comment on the words *tan pīṭhā i tkani kapūjān bhaṭāra haricandana ing trisamwatsarādi*, 'They must not sit idly with the arrival (of the time) of worshipping god Haricandana once in three years and so forth'. The main difficulty is the precise meaning of *pīṭha*. The word means 'stool, seat', but especially, a sacred site, such as those devoted to the cult of the Great Goddess.[26] Although the transition from a 'seat' etc. to 'sit idly' is not entirely impossible, the word is nowhere used in that meaning; and why should such an unusual term be used if it had been the intention to indicate that they (the donees) should observe the triennial (and other) cults devoted to Haricandana?

But, whatever the precise meaning of *pīṭha* may have been, there is no reason to suppose that it indicates that a (once flourishing) cult of Haricandana had fallen into disuse for, apart from a possible reference to this cult about half a century before the inscription under consideration, about which later, there is no earlier reference to a popular cult of Haricandana.

On the other hand, there are a number of later references to Haricandana in Old Javanese texts and inscriptions. An inscription of the time of king Dakṣa (ca. 910-919) refers back to the edict of 878 and confirms the privileges granted in the latter with reference to the cult of Haricandana. This inscription gives a rare example of a direct citation of the words of a king, who exclaimed: 'Why should the order of the king interred at Pastika with reference to the sanctuary of Wintang Mas be modified, considering that this would lead to the discontinuation of the triennial festival of Haricandana?'[27] In other words, the king whose mortal remains were interred at Pastika had granted privileges to the sanctuary in order to guarantee the Haricandana cult. Who was this king whose original order in favour of Wintang Mas was confirmed? Poerbatjaraka[28] identified him with king Rakai Kayuwaṅi, but this cannot be correct, for how do we explain that, in other inscriptions, king Kayuwaṇi himself issued orders granting privileges on behalf of Pastika?[29] It is therefore clear that the Lord of Pastika must be identified with (one of) Kayuwaṅi's predecessor(s). We may therefore conclude that the worship of Haricandana must have been established *before* the reign of king Kayuwaṅi, i.e. before A.D. 856.[30]

Although these passages do not suggest that the Haricandana cult had declined, it is clear that it was controversial. Several kings must have been keenly interested in this cult, which they tried to maintain or even to promote. How else can we account for king Dakṣa's intercession with even a direct quotation of the king's words? This is quite unusual in Old Javanese inscriptions and clearly indicates not only the king's concern for this cult but also its controversial nature. From these inscriptions it can be concluded that a certain ecclesiastic dignitary, *samgat*[31] Manulihi, the Reverend Teacher Bhūti, contested the authenticity or validity of the grant made by the 'Lord (*bhaṭāra*) of Pastika' in respect of the privileges enjoyed by those in charge of the Haricandana cult. The king at that time (Kayuwani) confirmed the original edict.

This did not, however, put an end to the controversy, because the question was raised again about forty years later. On this occasion king Dakṣa made the quoted statement. Strange though it may seem, even this royal order put no end to the conflict, for a few years later (in 919) a new *samgat* Manulihi, the Reverend Teacher (*ḍang ācārya*) Bāmadewa, again demanded taxes from those in charge of the Haricandana cult, but the original grant was confirmed for the third time - not by the king himself but by his 'Prime Minister' (*rakryān mapatiḥ i Hino*), Pu Ketuwijaya. On this last occasion there does seem to have been a normal session of the court with witnesses etc. It is said that the royal edict inscribed on a copper plate (*tāmra-praśasti*, presumably the same as that preserved in the Museum at Leiden) was shown to the minister, who was clearly convinced of its validity. This, at last, seems to have concluded the controversy concerning Haricandana.

At the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to decide whether this disagreement concerned merely the legitimacy of taxation in respect of the property owned by the sanctuary of Wintang Mas or involved wider issues concerning the Haricandana cult itself. It seems likely that a mere question of taxation would have been adjudicated by administrative authority without recourse to the king and his closest assistant. The interference by more than one king suggests that important interests may have been at stake. The Haricandana cult must have been closely associated with the royal dynasty, perhaps as that of its divine protector from the middle of the ninth century to 919. After a new dynasty (the Iśānawaṃśa) had come to power in East Java with the accession of king Pu Siṇḍok (929), little more is heard of Haricandana till more than four centuries later. Actually, during these centuries, his name is confined to the beginning of imprecations, in which he is mentioned together with the sage Agastya.[32]

The list given by Poerbatjaraka[33] shows that Haricandana occurs in this position with only minor variations in inscriptions from the time of Siṇḍok to that of early Majapahit or, to be precise, between A.D. 929 and 1323. In all these cases the name of Haricandana is immediately followed by that of the great *ṛṣi* Agastya or Agasti. Following a suggestion by Bosch[34] Poerbatjaraka[35] interpreted the combination Haricandana Agastya Mahāreṣi as a 'yellow sandal wood (image) of the sage Agastya'. It is, however, unprecedented that an image of the sage should be invoked instead of the sage himself. In addition, Haricandana always occurs by himself in the earlier texts which I have quoted. It is, therefore, impossible to interpret Haricandana as a mere epithet in those cases.

At the end of the Majapahit period we again get a number of references to Haricandana. In a curious passage of the Old Javanese *Nītiśāstra*, III: verse 10[36] it is said that: 'God (*bhaṭāra*) Haricandana is very cool, cooler than the rays of the moon; however cool he may be, his coolness is surpassed by the words of a sage (*mahardhika*)'. There can be little doubt that this passage is based on the qualities of the (heavenly) Sandal tree and echoes some references in Indian texts and inscriptions. In connexion with a *Rāmāyaṇa* passage on different kinds of sandal wood Sylvain Lévi[37] quoted a passage in a commentary to the *Amarakośa* to the effect that it is the tree which refreshes Hari ('C'est l'arbre qui rafraîchit (*candayati; cadi āhlādane*) Hari, c'est-à-dire d'Indra; d'où son nom de Haricandana!' In one of the Pallava inscriptions of Amarāvati[38] the shade of the tree is praised (*haricandanataruchāyā*). Although Poerbatjaraka did not give an Indian verse as the prototype of the Old Javanese verse in the *Nītiśāstra*, it is likely that the verse is based on an Indian aphorism in which Haricandana was considered the *summum* of coolness - just the opposite of the burning fire in the second half of the verse. This *Nītiśāstra* passage is, however, of some interest in the present discussion because Haricandana, though conceived of as a refreshing shade tree, is also called a god (*bhaṭāra*). This passage therefore strongly suggests that a direct connexion between the god and the tree was felt (like that between Agni and the fire). This dual nature of Haricandana should therefore be kept in mind.

To make matters even more complicated there is a curious story in the *Tantu Panggelaran*[39], dating back to the end of the Majapahit period (end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century), which specifically relates the Haricandana worship to India, not to Java. It is told that a Javanese brahman, Empu Barang by name, visited India (Jambudwīpa) and there met a crowd of (Indian) brahmans (one thousand in number) who were worshipping the sacred (*sang hyang*) Haricandana. The Javanese brahman, however, showed no interest. The Indian brahmans protested by saying: 'Why do you keep standing without paying homage to the Lord? We (*kami*) are brahmans of pure birth who pay homage to the Lord because he created the three worlds.' The Javanese replied: 'I am unwilling to pay homage because I am a Javanese brahman.' Subsequently the Indian brahmans forced him to pay homage, but at that very moment the icon of Haricandana split into two! The Indian brahmans were, of course, overwhelmed by this example of spiritual power and brought him all kinds of presents. Even the king (*cakrawarti*) came and offered him a gold image of Wiṣṇu.

What are we to make of this story? Two points stand out. Firstly, it emphasizes the superiority of the Javanese brahman over his Indian colleagues; but secondly, it suggests that the Javanese objected against the Haricandana cult, which would have been popular in India! This is precisely the opposite of what the other sources on Haricandana suggest, viz. that the Indians greatly appreciated the coolness of the *haricandana* tree without venerating it as a god. The Javanese, however, paid real worship to god Haricandana, as appears especially from the early examples of the ninth and tenth century, but it is also implied in e.g. the use of *bhaṭāra* in the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century *Nītiśāstra*.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the *Tantu* passage is that the worship of Haricandana was controversial. The author of the text knew about the worship of this god, but considered this worship entirely wrong. He may have thought that the Javanese Haricandana devotees blindly imitated an Indian sect in which this worship was current. He therefore produced an example of the Javanese brahman showing his opposition to this cult, while on a visit to India!

At the beginning of this paper I called attention to a few inscriptions of the early phase of so-called Indo-Javanese culture. Some of these give an impression of the difficulties which devotees of Haricandana sometimes faced - in particular their drawn-out conflict with the *samgat* Maṅulihi, who apparently took no account of the privileges granted by several kings in respect of the cult of Haricandana, and continued to exact taxes with respect to the property assigned to this cult. There are other examples of similar difficulties, sometimes leading to litigation, but, on the whole, they are rare and therefore point to particular circumstances. As we saw that a late text of the end of the fifteenth century relegates this cult to India - where it is unattested! - it follows that it was no less controversial six centuries later. As to the origin of the Haricandana cult and its significance in the religious life of ancient Java there is little to add to Krom's assessment of Haricandana as a largely unknown and still somewhat mysterious figure, whose outstanding feature is his association with the Sandal tree. Hopefully fresh research, especially the publication of more Old Javanese texts and inscriptions, may supply new data about this curious cult. We even do not know whether there still are any unrecognized Haricandana images in Old Javanese iconography as long as we are quite uncertain as to what kind of images we have to look for!

NOTES

1. J.C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration. The rājasūya described according to the Yajus texts and annotated.* The Hague 1957.
2. H. Ellawala, *Social History of Early Ceylon*, 1969: 20-27. The nature of the ceremony was quite different from that described in the Indian texts. Thus, not a *purohita* but a *kṣatriya* maiden carried out the *abhiṣeka*, the ceremonial sprinkling, of the king. About the manner in which the ceremony was carried out in ancient Indonesia little is known. For some modern accounts of the ceremony as it was carried out in Bali see J.L. Swellengrebel, *Een vorstenwijding op Bali* (naar materiaal verzameld door de heer H.J.E.F. Schwartz, Leiden 1947); Th.C. van der Mey, 'A Balinese account of the royal consecration ceremony of I Dewa Manggo of Gianyar in 1903' in C.M.S. Hellwig and S.O. Robson, 'A Man of Indonesian Letters. Essays in honour of Professor A. Teeuw', *Verh. Kon. Inst.* 121, 1986: 257-270.
3. For instance in the *Nāgarakertāgama*. See Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. I, Canto 81 and *passim*.
4. The *śrāddha* on behalf of the soul of the Rājapatnī, king Hayam Wuruk's grandmother, was carried out in 1362, twelve years after her death. This seems to have been the normal interval between death and *śrāddha*. We have a long and detailed description of this ceremony in the *Nāgartakertāgama* in no fewer than seven Cantos (63 to 69). It was clearly a purification ceremony during which the Rājapatnī's soul was made to descend into a puppet made of flowers (*puṣpa*) and transformed into Perfect Wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitā*) before her ascent to the transcendental world.
5. J.G. de Casparis, 'Some notes on the oldest inscriptions of Indonesia', in C.M.S. Hellwig and S.O. Robson, 'A Man of Indonesian Letters', *Verh. Kon. Inst.* 121, 1986: 242-256.
6. N.J. Krom, 'Over het Çiwaïsme van Midden-Java', *Med. Kon. Ned. Ak. Wet., Afd. Lett.* 58, B No. 8, 1924: 199-225.
7. For Airlaṅga's 'Calcutta' inscription see the edition and translation by H. Kern in *Verspr. Geschr.* VII, 1885 & 1913: 85-114. Some important corrections to Kern's publication were proposed by C.C. Berg, 'De Arjunawiwāha, Er-langga's levensloop en bruiloftslied', *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 97, 1938: 19-94 and especially by R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka, 'Strophe 14 van de Sanskrit-zijde der Calcutta-oorkonde', *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* LXXXI, 1941: 424-437. I may add that Poerbatjaraka's article is not confined to verse 14 but also includes a new translation of lines 1 to 17 of the Old Javanese part of the inscription. A re-edition of the entire text is desirable.

8. Texts such as the *Tantu Panggelaran*, mentioned towards the end of this paper, reflect, more clearly than any other source, the number and importance of such institutions in the fifteenth century, but probably earlier as well.
9. Royal consecration is rarely explicitly mentioned in Old Javanese texts and inscriptions before the thirteenth century (the inscription mentioned in note 7 above is exceptional in this respect as well as in several others). The absence of any clear reference does not imply that kings were not regularly consecrated in earlier times. On the contrary, the use of long Sanskrit names (such as *śrī dharmodayamahāśambhu* for king Balitung (*c.* 900-910) may suggest that most kings were actually consecrated. An exception has to be made to those kings whose reign was too short or too controversial to allow the performance of the consecration ceremony (e.g. in the period between the end of the reign of Dakṣa and the beginning of that of Siṇḍok, i.e. between A.D. 919 and 929.
10. Cf. J.G. de Casparis, 'Pour une histoire sociale de l'ancienne Java, principalement au Xème siècle', *Archipel* 21, 1981: 125-151, in particular p. 143 f., where the example king Siṇḍok is given, whose complete names and titles are given as *śrī mahārāja rakai hino pu siṇḍok śrī īśānawijayadharmottuṅgadewa*.
11. Thus we find, e.g. in the *Nāgarakertāgama* such titles as *haji* (*raja, ratu*) *i Kaḍiri, haji i Wengker* (the king's brother-in-law, *alias* Rājasawardhana), haji i Jīwana (= Kahuripan: the king's father, *alias* Kertawardhana) etc. There were also princes or princesses of Lasem, Pajang, Matahun, Paguhan etc. It is not quite clear whether these associations with areas were mere titles (such as the Prince of Kent in the United Kingdom) or reflected close links with such localities. The occasional more elaborate form as *sang siniwi i dahana*, 'who is obeyed in Kaḍiri' suggests the latter. It probably implies that such princes or princesses, though residing in Majapahit most of the time, regularly stayed at the localities mentioned in their titles for certain ceremonies or other duties.
12. Thus frequently in the *Pararaton* 24: *abhiṣekanira raden Wijaya duk prabhu śrī kertarājasa*, 'the consecration name of Prince Wijaya after he had become king was Kertarājasa.'
13. *Nag.* Canto 1, verse 4: *an garbheśwara nātha ring kawuripan*, 'as a *porphyrogenetos* ruler in Kahuripan' (Pigeaud).
14. There has been some doubt as to the correct reading of some of the Old Javanese numerals or of the numerical value of some words. In this case, however, there cannot be any doubt. The words *locanāgniwadana*, 'eye, fire, mouth', or 'two, three, nine', i.e. (Śaka) 932 or A.D. 1010. This is important especially on account of the correct reading of the date of the *pralaya*. Kern's reading of the numerals as 928 (śaka) = A.D. 1006/7 had always

been accepted until Damais (*B.E.F.E.O.* XLVI, 1952: 64) 'corrected' the reading to 938, i.e. A.D. 1016/17, when Airlaṅga was sixteen years old, according to the inscription. According to this chronology Airlaṅga would have been ten years old when he was offered the throne! If, however, we keep to Kern's reading of A.D. 1006, Airlaṅga was born in 990 and was twenty years old when requested to ascend the throne. As the delegation approached Airlaṅga *after* the *pralaya* Kern's reading was certainly the correct one.

15. See the beginning of the preceding note for the correct interpretation of the numerical value of the words expressing the date. As this event must have taken place *after* the destruction of the royal residence, it follows that the date proposed by Damais for the latter event is incorrect.

16. The words *pāhītyutāntān=kṣitim* at the end of verse 15 of the Sanskrit part of the 'Calcutta' inscription (Kern 1917: 99) strongly remind us of the famous words pronounced by the dying Candra Gupta I to his chosen successor Samudra Gupta in v. 4 (line 8) of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, *viz.: nikhilāṃ pāhy=evam=urvīm=iti*. It is usually thought that Candra Gupta took this unusual step because there were others of equal descent (*tulyakulaja*) as Samudra Gupta, who was his father's choice. In the case of Airlaṅga there certainly were other princes claiming the right to the throne, but Airlaṅga was selected as the most capable person to restore the kingdom. The intention was no doubt to legitimize Airlaṅga's (and Samudra Gupta's) position.

17. For Harṣa see the excellent analysis by D. Devahuti, *Harsha. A political Study*, 2nd ed. Oxford 1970: 69-72 and 77-81. Harṣa acceded to the throne in 606 but was consecrated in 612. As to Vijayabāhu I, this king acceded to the throne at Kataragama in 1055/6 but was solemnly consecrated at Anurādhapura eighteen years later in 1073. The old Anurādhapura, not Polonnaruva, was chosen to emphasize the continuity with the earlier Siṅhala kings prior to the Chola occupation.

18. N.J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd ed. 1932: 243 f.

19. Halu is also a high title, probably named after an ancient kingdom (see L.-C. Damais, *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 83, 1949: 21 f.).

20. Instead of being acclaimed by representatives of the four *varṇas* as in the classical Indian ceremony as described in the *dharmaśāstras* the Old Javanese king was acknowledged and inaugurated by representatives of the three main religious congregations. The actual ceremony, though essentially based on the classical ritual, underwent many local modifications, such as the circumambulation of the capital in ancient Tamilnadu and the important participation of the Buddhist Saṅgha in ancient Sri Lanka.

21. Thus, Mūlawarman's *dakṣinā* consisted of the gifts to brahmans of incredible numbers of cattle (see J.G. de Casparis in C.M.S. Hellwig and S.O. Robson, 'A Man of Indonesian Letters', *Verh. Kon. Inst.* 121, 1986: 242-256.
22. J.Ph. Vogel, 'The Oldest Inscriptions of Java', *Publ. Oudh. Dienst* I, 1926.
23. This applies e.g. to the Old Javanese *śrāddha*, as described in the *Nāgarakertāgama* (see note 4 above).
24. N.J. Krom, 'Over het Çiwaïsme van Midden-Java', *Med. Kon. Ak. Wet., Lett.* 58, B, No. 8, 1924: 24 f.
25. H.Bh. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, Vol. I, 1971: 206, note 8. This view was based on his interpretation of *tan pīṭhā*.
26. The latter term is best known to indicate the sites where different parts of the body of the Devī were buried and venerated by the Śāktas (see D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, Delhi 1979, *passim*), but the word also means 'seat' in general. From the latter meaning, if used as a 'verb' with the suffix *-a* (the so-called 'irreal' form), one could possibly derive the translation 'they should not sit idly'. As long as no other example of the use of this term in that meaning is known, the translation remains quite conjectural. As the texts contain a number of terms referring to specific, probably Śāktic, ritual (such as *annaliṅga, makhakāla*), it seems likely that *pīṭha*, too, should be explained in connexion with ritual.
27. Krom righly noted that this is one of the very few examples where the words of a king appear to be literally reproduced. Dakṣa was probably irritated at the thought that an order of one of his predecessors should be disregarded. See Krom, *'Over het Çiwaïsme'* etc. (see note 24 above): 25.
28. Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel*, 1926, note 2 to p. 78.
29. J.L.A. Brandes & N.J. Krom, *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden*, No. XII (A.D. 879): line A-4; No. L (A.D. 881): line 3; *Not. Bat. Gen.* 1888: 74 f. (of the same year); *Oud-Jav. Oorkonden* LII: line 3 (A.D. 882) etc.
30. J.G. de Casparis, *Prsasti Indonesia* II, 1956: 289.
31. This authority, whose title *ḍang ācārya* indicates a priestly function, occurs more often in connexion with the Dieng plateau. He probably had some control over land held by monastic institutions.
32. See the list given by Poerbatjaraka, *op.cit.*: 65 f.
33. It is by no means clear why Haricandana was invoked at the very beginning of these lists, before Agastya and the great gods. It was perhaps his close association with the royal dynasty, which appears especially from king Dakṣa's intercession, that gave Haricandana this foremost place as a protector of the royal order.

34. F.D.K. Bosch, 'De Sanskrit-inscriptie op den Steen van Dinaja (682 Çaka)', *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* LVII, 1916: 439 note.
35. Poerbatjaraka, *op.cit.*: 67.
36. Poerbatjaraka, 'Nītiśāstra', *Bibl. Jav.* 4, 1933: 40 verse III-10.
37. S. Lévi, *Journ. Asiat. Onzième Serie, Tome XI*: 105.
38. E. Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1890 (reprint 1972): page 27, line 36: *kanakatataruhaharicandanataruchāyānandita-hṛdayah:* 'enjoying the shade of the yellow sandal-trees which grow on the slopes of gold'.
39. Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924: 115 (text), 181 (translation). My English version is based on Pigeaud's translation.

CULTURAL TRADITIONS, CONCEPTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY AND STATE FORMATIONS IN INDIA AND EUROPE

A Comparative View

S.N. Eisenstadt with Harriet Hartman

I

One of the many distinct contributions of Jan Heesterman has been the exploration of similarities in many central characteristics of institutional formations - especially in the political arena - in medieval and early modern Europe and India.

Heesterman's work has indicated that, perhaps contrary to the many comparative analyses which have focused on the comparison between Europe - "The West" - and either China or Japan -, it is the comparison between Europe and India that may be most fruitful. This is for a very simple but basic reason - namely that from a broad comparative perspective, India and Europe shared some very important characteristics that cannot be found in so pristine a form in any of the other great civilizations in the history of mankind. The most important of these characteristics was the existence of relatively broad common civilizational frameworks, rooted in basic ontological conceptions and cultural-religious orientations combined with a multiplicity of continuously changing political centres and subcentres, and of continuously changing economic formations.

In these two civilizations, many of the concrete structural or organizational aspects of the political and economic arenas (especially the former) seemed to evince - as Heesterman has shown in a series of brilliant essays[1] - very strong similarities of structural forms, e.g. in the forms of political domination-kingship, patrimonial, semi-feudal, and semi-imperial regimes as well as in structures of cities. Given these similarities, the greatly different civilizational dynamics of these two civilizations are indeed very striking. This applies to the overall political and economic dynamics, the structure and construction of the centres and of their activities, the nature of the protest movements, their articulation into political conflicts as well as to the modes of the incorporation of such movements and of their demands into the centre.

It is not only that in India the modern Western type of capitalism and the modern bureaucratic-territorial state did not develop. The very posing of the problem in such terms is faulty. It is not faulty because such a development did take place after all: obviously it did not and the question whether some such development would have taken place but for British Imperialism, is a very moot one. But the posing of the question in such terms is faulty because contrary to many of the implicit - and sometimes even explicit - assumptions, to be found abundantly in historical and social science literature, that the development of the West should constitute the major yardstick according to which the dynamics of other civilizations should be measured, it is much more fruitful to assume that each civilization developed distinct institutional formations and dynamics. Accordingly, the specific characteristics of these civilizations should be analyzed not only in terms of their approximation to those of the West, but also in terms of their own internal dynamics as they have developed throughout their history.

Lately, Heesterman himself as well as several other scholars influenced by him - perhaps above all André Wink[2] - have shown how the cultural definitions of the political arena and of the major actors within it developed in India in a distinct way, different from that of the West, but with its own specific dynamics. They argued that India developed a concept - and practice - of sovereignty, which emphasized the multiple rights of different groups and sectors of society and not the existence - real or ideal - of a unitary, almost ontological concept of the state. Concomitantly, a rather specific combination developed of a tendency to civilizational, universal - or "Imperial" - expansion with such "fractured" sovereignty.

These definitions have not been "only academic" conceptions of the political realm - they also shaped the principles according to which interaction between rulers and "subjects" were regulated in these arenas.

II

These definitions of the political arena and of the concomitant rights and obligations between rulers and subjects are closely related to the basic ontological conceptions of these respective civilizations and of their political orders. Accordingly, in this paper we shall focus on one central aspect of Heesterman's work - namely the close relations between ontological conceptions, ritual and institutional formations.

Hinduism, most fully articulated in Brahminic ideology and symbolism, was based on what was, among the Axial Age civilizations, the most radical recognition of the tension between the transcendental and mundane orders - derived from the perception that the mundane order is polluted in cosmic terms, because its very creation constituted a breach of the original cosmic harmony.[3] This pollution can be overcome in two different ways, which are at the same time complementary and contradictory. One way is the faithful performance of the ritual and mundane activities ascriptively allocated to different groups - above all to caste and subcaste groups - which signify different degrees of social and ritual purity or pollution. Closely related is the arrangement of social ritual activities and nexuses in a hierarchical order that reflects an individual's standing in the cosmic order and the performance of his duty with respect to it. At the same time, however, the stress on the pollution of the world also gives rise to attempts to reach beyond it, to renounce it: the institution of the renouncer (*Sannyāsa*) has been a complementary pole of the Brahminic tradition at least since the post-classical period.

The two approaches to the mundane were based on two distinct value orientations, on two 'axes of sacred value' - those of auspiciousness and purity.[4] These two distinct value orientations were always closely interrelated; although purity was hierarchically higher, it could never be concretely realized without auspiciousness. The concrete working out of the tension between these two axes constituted one of the major motive forces of the dynamics of Indian ideologies, institutions, and history.

At the same time, as indicated above, Hinduism evolved a strong tendency to escape the limitations set up by these hierarchical-ritual prescriptions by going beyond them through acts of renunciation. Such renunciation could be the last stage of one's life-cycle, but it could also entail the breaking out from this life-cycle. Such breaking out was usually manifest not only in purely individual acts, but also in the development of various group processes centred around the figure of the renouncer, which could become the starting points of sectarian formations.[5]

Given this strong articulation of the tension between the cosmic and mundane orders, Hindu civilization, like all the Axial Age civilizations, developed a distinctive centre. The major centre of Hinduism was not, however, political. Louis Dumont, in *Homo Hierarchicus* and other works, and Jan Heesterman have pointed out how Indian conceptions of the political realm differed from the European.[6] They both stressed that in India the political realm was not seen as a major arena of 'salvation', where the tension between the transcendental and mundane orders could be bridged fully. According to Dumont, it constituted a secondary arena in relation to the realm of the sacred, as represented by the Brahmin; Heesterman pointed out that it constituted one of the major manifestations of the degeneration of the given world of 'artha' - against the absolute state of Dharma. According to both interpretations, the political arena did not command a high degree of transcendental commitment, even though kings were often seen as having sacred or sacral attributes and although kingship constituted a central and necessary organ of society, regulated by some combination of orientations of auspiciousness and purity-pollution. It was epitomized, as Heesterman has shown, in the king-Brahmin-renouncer nexus.[7]

III

Thus a central aspect of Indian civilization - in comparison with other "Great Civilizations", especially with the monotheistic ones and, in a different mode, with the Confucian one - is that the political order, the political arena, was not conceived as the major locus of 'salvation', of the bridging between the transcendental and the mundane orders, and that the obligations of rulers were conceived accordingly.

These conceptions about the place of the political realm in the overall ontological vision, had far-reaching repercussions on the formation of political institutions and on political dynamics in India. Here some of the major differences between the Indian and the European civilizations, despite their common structural and political-ecological features, stand out.

The major centre of Indian civilization was the religious-ritual one. In close relation to its other-worldly emphasis, its wide ecological spread, and its being strongly embedded in ascriptive primordial units, this centre was not organized in a homogeneous, unified, organizational setting. It rather consisted of a series of networks and organizational-ritual subcentres - pilgrimage shrines and networks, temples, sects, schools - spread throughout the subcontinent, and often cutting across political boundaries.

Truly enough the political arena in India was characterized by a relatively high level of symbolic and organizational distinctiveness and imbued with strong universal orientations. Accordingly, the political ruler achieved a high level of sacral or semi-sacral status, distinction and honor. The king was often portrayed as "king of the universe", his rule extending to the four corners of the earth, his coronation ceremony and its accompanying horse sacrifice renewing his powers annually.[8] The king's claim to universal sovereignty, as "lord of all lords", and the manifestation of his greatness through temples and monuments attested to the power and distinctiveness of political authority. The symbolic portrayal as king of the universe also reflected an ever-present desire to extend political domination and constant attempts to aggrandize mundane power, primarily through territorial expansion or, even more so, through the encompassing of the loyalty of peoples in the area. Therefore, although the king's symbolic authority was in principle derived from the overall cultural-religious vision and was symbolized through religious rituals, some degree of authority seems to have been attributed to him independently of religious legitimation.

Yet, given the basic orientation of Hindu civilization away from mundane affairs, the political arenas maintained a certain, even if only partial, detachment from the more "other-worldly" religious arena. This detachment allowed different criteria of access to power, based on mundane criteria of success - military strength, wealth and articulation of solidarity of different local and regional groups or centres - or on some previous traditions of kingship in the area, to develop in the political arena. This was an opening for foreign rulers to be accepted, and for potential rivals to try to usurp power. One manifestation of the distance of the political centre from the religious one, was that political leaders entered into office without the appropriate varna qualifications. Chandragupta, for instance, came from obscure origins, yet became one of the greatest emperors.

Concomitantly, while classical Indian religious thought has a lot to say about policy, the behavior of princes, and the duties - much less about the rights - of subjects, yet to a much greater extent than in other civilizations, politics was viewed in non-transcendental terms that emphasized its distance from the religious centre of the civilization.

IV

Moreover, Indian politics developed predominantly patrimonial characteristics, the rulers relying mostly on personal loyalty and ties for recruitment of personnel and for contacts with different sectors of society.

Despite efforts to penetrate the periphery through administrative contacts between the centre and the people, such as public works, temple and monument building, and tax privileges, at no time did the rulers completely disengage themselves from the more personal orientations of the tradition: ritual and kinship-based networks. Nor did they succeed in restructuring the personalized, patrimonial systems which developed. The Indian king remained firmly embedded in the social structure dependent on personal relationships of loyalty.

In the Mauryan empire we know that an extensive espionage system supplemented the system of personal relationships to nip insurgence in the bud. Even the Mughal rulers found it necessary to create an extensive network of personal interrelationships to secure loyalty to the empire, and depended on traditional leaders at the local level to insure a steady flow of resources. Similarly, in most of the great kingdoms or empires, such as the Mauryan, Gupta, even to some extent in the Delhi Sultanate, access to bureaucratic or administrative power was a matter of loyalty or personal relation to the king. Under all regimes the central administration was dependent on the local elites for the collection of taxes and other free-floating resources, and access to these elites continued to be based on local criteria, e.g. dominant caste status based on ritual and social status.[9]

Nor did regular channels of access of different sectors of the society to the centre develop, whether by group representation or other regularized avenues of communication. The gap between the centre and the periphery became successively greater with each empire, usually bridged by a double system of centrally-appointed and locally selected provincial and district officials - a system which came to its fullest fruition under Muslim rule. Accordingly, the political arena was characterized by a relatively high degree of political instability and turnover, manifested among other things in the continual changing of boundaries and in the expansion and contraction of political units.[10] Despite their political distinctiveness and the drive for civilizational expansion, few polities achieved anything near unity of the subcontinent.

Although India knew states of different scope, from semi-imperial centres to small patrimonial ones, the overall Indian cultural tradition was never identified with any of them. Kingdoms of various sizes were in constant competition, especially in the fringe areas, resulting in an instability temporarily overcome only by exceptionally strong rulers who formed strong networks of personal ties and espionage. The segmental nature of the political collectivities fostered the relatively easy transference of allegiance to a larger authority, adding to the fluidity and instability of the political structure.[11] The difficulties of maintaining political power were expressed in the underlying segmental nature and decentralization which constituted, as A. Wink has shown, a basic component of most Indian political systems.[12]

V

These basic characteristics of political organizations and dynamics in India were closely linked to the basic characteristics of civil society in India. The core of this civil society was the relative autonomy of the major social groups and elites, the complex of castes and villages and the networks of cultural, economic and political communication. These castes and caste-networks were not simple primordial or territorial units of the kind known in many tribal or non-literate societies - defined in terms of closed 'given' criteria. They were, in fact, much more elaborate ideological constructions - continuously reconstructed -, imbued with a more sophisticated level of symbolization and ideologization, and giving rise to wide-ranging sectors, communities, networks, and arenas. Above all, they led to broader ascriptive groups such as local and regional caste-networks.

It was within these sectors and networks that the major types of institutional - political and economic - entrepreneurs and elites, and articulators of models of cultural order and of the solidarity of different ascriptive groups, emerged and were active. The entrepreneurial activities carried out by these elites were rooted and defined by the combination of highly ideological, ascriptive, primordial, and ritual criteria with a strong emphasis on the proper performance of mundane activities in terms of their transcendent rules.[13]

These various sectors of civil society were characterized by a very high extent of autonomy, but an autonomy fully embedded in ascriptive (albeit widely and continuously reconstructed) units whose place in the social order was in principle prescribed by their ritual standing in the purity-auspiciousness scheme. Hence these various sectors of civil society did not have, in principle, autonomous access to either the religious or political centres; their access was dependent on their place in the social order.

VI

One of the most important derivatives of the relative non-centrality of the political arenas and of the specific structure of civil society in India was the fact that the principled reconstruction of these arenas did not constitute a major focus for movements of protest for the numerous sectarian activities that developed in India.[14]

These movements and sects - Bhakti, Jainism, Buddhism, and other minor sects or movements in Hinduism - had a far-reaching influence on the civilizational framework of Indian civilization and of the various institutions and political regimes that developed in these civilizations, giving rise to the restructuring of culture, to the institutional frameworks of Indian civilization, and to its specific dynamics. These processes of cultural and institutional formation and dynamics developed distinct characteristics of their own, unique in the history of mankind and differing greatly from those in purely this-worldly Axial Age civilizations such as China, or in the monotheistic civilizations.[15]

In the mundane sphere, these movements were oriented towards the reconstruction of religious and civilizational symbols and collectivities. They could become closely connected with the extension of the borders of political communities or with the establishment of new ones, but rarely with the reconstruction of the premises of political centres. Buddhism did give rise to new premises, but these became fully institutionalized only outside India, in the new Theravada Buddhist polities of Southeast Asia, and in Mahayana Tibet.

The basic definition of ontological reality and the strong other-worldly conceptions of salvation that developed in these civilizations did not generate strong alternative conceptions of the political order. True, many of these visions and movements tended to develop a strong emphasis on equality, especially in the religious and cultural arenas, and to some extent also in the definition of membership in the political community. But the articulated millenarian and egalitarian orientations one finds in some of the heterodoxies or sectarian movements and which sometimes became connected with rebellions and political struggle, were not characterized by any strong articulation of political goals, nor were they linked with attempts to restructure the political regimes. Only in some popular uprisings against alien or 'bad' rulers such goals crystallized for a short while.[16]

Thus, throughout its long history, India has witnessed the development of far-reaching changes in the organizational, political, or economic arenas, changes in technology and in levels of social differentiation, redefinitions of the boundaries of political units, some restructuring of the economic sphere, and changes in social and economic policies - all effected by coalitions of the different caste-entrepreneurs. But except for the ultimately failed attempt of Asoka, most of these processes or movements of change did not succeed in-

and possibly did not even aim at - restructuring the premises of the political arena, or of the basic centre-periphery relations.

These characteristics of the major movements, their relations to the centre, and the institutional and symbolic characteristics of the political arena explain one of the most interesting - from a comparative point of view - aspects of Indian medieval and early modern history, namely, that - unlike in Christianity or Islam - wars of religion, i.e. wars in which political goals were closely interwoven with, and legitimized by, attempts to impose a religion on a society and redraw political boundaries accordingly, did not develop within it. Concomitantly, given the basic characteristics of Indian civil society, a basic ideological confrontation between state and society also did not emerge.

VII

All these features of the different processes of change and protest movements constitute some of the distinct characteristics of Indian political dynamics which stand in marked contrast - as we have alluded at the beginning of this paper, and as Heesterman himself did in an as yet unpublished paper[17] - to the mode of such dynamics as they developed in Europe and in Islam.

In Europe, like in most Christian civilizations, and unlike in India, the resolution of the tension between the transcendental and the mundane orders (or, to use Weber's expression, the road to salvation) was not conceived as attainable through a principled negation of the mundane, but rather through different combinations of other- and this-worldly activities. In other words, salvation was attainable not only through religious ritual and worship, and through the performance of ritually defined activities in the social order, but also through the reconstruction of the political, military, cultural, and even - especially in Protestantism - economic arenas.

Consequently, Christianity - in contrast to India - defined the individual as an autonomous and responsible ontological entity with autonomous access to the sacred and mundane orders. Finally, in most Christian civilizations, one notices a high level of activism and commitment to these mundane orders on the part of broader groups and strata, while in India commitment and activism were oriented much more towards the transmundane order, to the religious arena.

VIII

These tensions in the basic premises and orientations of Christianity were played out in the institutional arenas that were fundamental to this civilization: state-Church relations, monastic organizations and orders, family and community. But the concrete way in which these tensions were played out varied greatly in different historical periods and in different parts of Christianity.

Among the most important of such historical experiences was the fact that in Europe a multiplicity of cultural orientations emerged: the Judeo-Christian, the Greek and the various tribal ones. This greatly reinforced the tendency to pluriformity and complexity of ways to resolve the tensions between the transcendental and mundane orders, through either worldly (political and economic) or other-worldly activities.[18] Concomitantly, these different cultural traditions were not organized in hierarchically organized segments but remained in a state of continuous interaction and competition. Thus, in contradistinction to, for instance, the Byzantine Empire, several orientations rooted in tribal traditions, such as equality of access to the sacred and to the centres of power, were much more strongly articulated in Europe.

Among the economic, structural and political aspects, of crucial importance is the type of structural pluralism that developed in Europe.[19] It was characterized above all by a strong combination of low (but continuously increasing) levels of structural differentiation. The combination of the multiplicity of the cultural traditions and of the concomitant modes of resolving the tension between transcendental and mundane order explains the fact that in Western and Central Europe, perhaps even more than in other Christian civilizations, tensions evolved constantly between hierarchy and equality, i.e. between the strong commitment and autonomous access of different groups and strata to the religious and political orders, on the one hand, and the emphasis on the mediation of such access by the Church or by political powers, on the other. Closely related to this was the tension between equality and hierarchy as basic dimensions of participation in the political and religious arenas.

IX

This multiplicity of both symbolic models and structural conditions generated several basic institutional characteristics of 'traditional' Western European civilization, which distinguish it from other Axial Age (inclusing Christian) civilizations in general, and from Indian civilization in particular. This distinctiveness is epitomized in the crystallization of rather specific definitions of the political arena and of the rules regulating its dynamics, as well as in the patterns of legitimation of authority, and in the structure of the centre, the centre-periphery relations, and the major collectivities that developed in Western and Central Europe.

It was not only that the construction of political arenas was conceived as one major possible way of bridging the gap between the transcendental and the mundane orders - this was also the case, even in a more pronounced way, in Islam. In Europe, however, unlike in Islam, and certainly unlike in India, this arena (as well as most collectivities) was defined - very much under the combined influence of Greek philosophy and of the basic sociological conceptions of Christianity - as a distinct ontological entity.[20]

The impact of such definition could be seen in some crucial aspects of the institutional formations and dynamics of Europe that stand in marked contrast to those of Indian civilization. Thus the patterns of legitimation of political order that developed in Europe were characterized by a tension and a continuous oscillation and separation between the sacred, primordial, and civil dimensions of legitimation in different arenas of social life. Collectivities defined themselves mainly in primordial terms, whereas the Church defined itself in purely sacred ones, and so on. On the other hand, each collectivity and centre also attempted to arrogate all the different symbols of legitimation to itself. The combination of these two tendencies was closely connected with a continuous restructuring of the boundaries of the major collectivities-primordial, political, and religious - and of the relations among them, giving rise to continual conflict.

These patterns of legitimation and of structuring collectivities were also related to the structure of centres and centre-periphery relations that developed in Western and Central Europe. In common with imperial societies, China, the Byzantine Empire, Western and Central European societies were always characterized by a relatively strong commitment to common 'ideals' or goals; the centre permeated the periphery in order to mobilize support for its policies, and the periphery impinged on the centre in order to influence the shaping of its contours. Contrary, however, to imperial societies, in Europe multiple centres developed: political, religious, and regional. The mere existence of multiple centres, and especially multiple political centres, is not unique to Europe. It can also be found, as we have seen, in India. What distinguishes the European experience is not the multiplicity of centres, but certain characteristics of this multiplicity.

In Europe, these different centres dit not coexist in a sort of adaptive symbiosis - as in India and to a smaller degree in Islam - with the religious legitimizing the political, and the political providing the religious with protection and resources, while they battled with each other over the relative terms of this adaptation. Rather these multiple centres and subcentres tended to become arranged in a complicated but never unified rigid hierarchy, in which no centre was clearly predominant, but in which many aspired not only to actual but also to ideological predominance and hegemony.

Accordingly, different centres and collectivities tended to struggle over their relative standing in such a hierarchy, and the centres were continuously changed and restructured. Naturally enough, the activities of the more central ('higher') centres were of a wider scope than those of the local ones, but the former did not have a monopoly over any component of 'central' activities. Each type of centre claimed some standing with respect to, and autonomous access to, the 'central' functions of the other, i.e. the religious towards the political and social, and so on. Hence, the various centres were never completely separate from one another. This was true not only of the relations between Church and State, but also of those between different centres and subcentres.

Various movements of protest and heterodoxy have played a very important role in the reconstruction of the various centres and collectivities. This was so because the reconstruction of the political arena - this in marked difference from the Indian case - constituted a very important component in their orientations. Closely related to the place of such heterodoxies in the processes of reconstruction of the centres, many of these centres aimed at universal expansion which would encompass all the other centres and communities. Such expansion was often legitimized in religious and ideological terms - giving rise to wars of religion or to ideological wars.

Hence European political dynamics were characterized by strong tendencies to continuous expansion and consolidation of territorially, ideologically compact units. Accordingly, the processes of social and political dynamics in late medieval and modern times were characterized in Europe by: (a) the existence of multiple centres; (b) a high degree of permeation of the peripheries by the centres and of impingement of the peripheries on the centres; (c) a relatively small degree of overlapping of the boundaries of class, ethnic, religious, and political entities and their continuous restructuring, aiming at the creation of more homogeneous units but never succeeding in it; (d) a comparatively high degree of autonomy of groups and strata and of their access to the centres of society; (e) a high degree of overlapping among different status units combined with a high level of countrywide status ("class") consciousness and political activity; (f) multiplicity of cultural and "functional" (economic, or professional) elites, a high degree of cross-cutting and a close relationship between them and broader, more ascriptive strata; (g) a high degree of autonomy of cities as autonomous centres of social and structural creativity and the formation of collective civic identities.

X

These characteristics of the political arena, and of political dynamics, were closely related to the structure of civil society that developed in Europe, especially from the early modern period, though its nuclei developed already in the late Middle Ages.[21]

This civil society was characterized first by the existence of "private", yet open, potentially autonomous public arenas distinct from the State. Second, it was characterized by the development within such sectors of various associations which regulated many of its activities and prevented it from becoming a shapeless mass society. Third, it was characterized by the openness of these sectors, i.e. by their not being embedded in more or less closed, ascriptive or corporate groups; fourth, by the existence of a plurality of such sectors; and fifth, by autonomous access to the central political arena, and a certain degree of commitment to the centre.

This civil society was also characterized by the existence and relative autonomy of institutional and ideological links between its sectors and the State, such as the major constitutional frameworks of political representation, the major judicial institutions and arenas, and of the flows of politically relevant information.

It was these features of the society of modern Europe, that gave rise to continuous confrontation between the construction of centres and the process of institution building and to competition between different groups or strata and elites about access to the construction of these centres. Political forces, political elites, and the more autonomous social groups, the state on the one hand, and 'society' or 'civil society' on the other waged a continuous struggle over their relative importance in the formation of the cultural and political centres of the nation-state and in the regulation of access to it. This struggle between state and society developed in Western society in two opposite directions. One was that of the expansion and growth and reconstruction of civil society, i.e. the expansion of democracy. The other direction was that of the victory of state over society most fully epitomized in totalitarian regimes - the Fascist, Nazi and Soviet ones. In all these respects there was indeed a very marked difference from the Indian experience.

NOTES

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COLONIAL LENSES ON THE SOUTH INDIAN DRAUPADĪ CULT

Alf Hiltebeitel

Since it is high spectacle and usually the culmination of a south Indian Draupadī festival, it is not surprising that firewalking was the main, and often sole, focus of the briefer notices of the Draupadī cult that appeared sporadically from the late eighteenth to early twentieth century in travelers' accounts, journals, government reports, district gazetteers and manuals, and scholarly notices. Until recently, this literature was minimally descriptive, rather than interpretative, and, not until F.J. Richards' 1910 article on two Draupadī festivals in Bangalore and his brief 1918 account of a festival in Salem district, was serious notice taken of the relation between the firewalk and the Draupadī cult's most distinctive ceremonies, those linking it with the *Mahābhārata*.[1]

The earliest available western language, or at least western-sponsored or western-inspired, sources on the Draupadī cult are instructive for the issues they raise about changing colonialist constructions of Hinduism. This paper will trace these sources through their first three phases: the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century emergence of orientalism; the early to mid-nineteenth century handling of religious policies under the Company Raj; and the treatment of caste, especially through the Census, in the mid to late nineteenth century under the crown. My main focus will be on a document from the end of the second, "Company Raj" phase, called "Reports on the Swinging Festival, and the Ceremony of Walking through Fire" (Reports ... 1854).

A fuller paper could go on to document the brief turn-of-the-century emergence of anthropological description, for which Richards is exemplary; and then the almost total lack of interest - the exception is Sarat Chandra Mitra's 1936 article comparing a Draupadī cult firewalk with one in Bihar - from the time of the last gazetteers (up to 1918) and Bishop Henry Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India* (1922) to, and through, the early years following Indian independence in 1947. It should further be noted that since 1947, with the exception of brief notices by Carl Gustav Diehl (1956), F.A. Moses (1961), M. Fazlul Hasan (1970), and François Gros and R. Nagaswamy (1970, 119-23), the course of modern "Draupadī cult studies" - to coin a phrase - must be traced through Sri Lanka (Somander 1951; Raghavan 1961; Tanaka 1987), Réunion (Blaive, Penaud, and Nicoli 1974), Singapore (Babb 1974), and Fiji (Brown 1976, 1984), before it finds its way back to the cult's south Indian heartland in the mid-nineteen-seventies and eighties (Biardeau 1976, 143-44, 150-51; 1989, 13-22; Hanur 1983; Frasca 1984, 1990; Reddy 1985; Shideler 1987; Hiltebeitel 1982, 1988, in press a). The long silence before this recent flowering is itself symptomatic of trends that have governed scholarship on Tamil religion through the twentieth century. The prestige of the Tamil classics and Brahman-inspired interest in the "great tradition" in its sectarian transformations have left Tamilnadu one of the last regions of India, and the scholars who study it one of the last academic interest groups, to catch up, or catch on, in the study of popular folk religion.[2] One encouraging sign, however, is that this belated flowering has placed the study of Tamil, and more generally South Indian, folk religion at the center of recent, and, one must hope, forthcoming scholarly debates concerning the relation between "popular" or "folk" Hinduism and Hinduism more generally.[3]

One instructive game that can be played with the early sources is to imagine that they are all we could know about the Draupadī cult: that if we wanted to know *anything* about it, we would have to reconstruct it from them. This would be to take seriously the prognosticative and evaluative intentions of the 1854 report just mentioned. From the mid-nineteenth century on, firewalking was expected to have only a short future, and cults connected with it were expected to die out. This perspective allows us not only to identify the slants of the sources in terms of their foci and stated interests, but, from hindsight, to observe their selectivity in what they trivialized or left out. This is not, of course, to imply that recent research has uncovered the cult just as it was when it was first reported from 1782 to 1922. Changes are an important part of the story. But the earliest sources assure us that most if not all of the main features one finds today were part of the cult from the late eighteenth century on.

A. Mapping, Binoculars and Snapshots

Behind our first phase then, is the emergence of early French and British colonialist orientalism. The first generation of Indologists, which included the "orientalist" founders of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the College of Fort William in Calcutta, were reared on Enlightenment ideals of natural religion, tolerance, and classicism, and known as orientalists for their attempt to appreciate Indian culture, or at least what they thought to be the "best" of it, as a spur to its own inner renewal. According to C.A. Bayly, "Eighteenth-century Europeans were still impressed by the richness of the high traditions of Hindu and Muslim civilizations in India and intrigued by their popular forms" (1988, 39). Hindu literatures, both Sanskrit and vernacular, were sought out and studied with an eye to determining their chronology and the history that lay behind, and was embedded within, them. For south India and the Draupadī cult, one may look at two sources against this background: Pierre Sonnerat's 1782 *Voyage aux Indes orientales* and the Mackenzie Manuscripts, collected between 1795 and 1810, by Colin Mackenzie.

Sonnerat's description of a Draupadī cult firewalk is accompanied by a lithograph of four firewalkers, curiously led by a woman (I know of no parallel for this). The men in file behind her carry implements (a sword, a *karagam* pot) across the coals, in cue before a palanquin bearing the icon of the goddess. Sonnerat's treatment is noteworthy for its placement of Draupadī within a discussion of the wider pantheon that includes not only pan-Hindu deities, but other Tamil folk deities such as Māriyamma͟n, Aiya͟nar, Ma͟n͟narcuvāmi, and Kāttavarāya͟n (1782, 1:207, 244-47). He defines such deities as "Dieux subalternes", and observes that, with the exception of Aiya͟nār, they are disavowed by Brahmans, who regard them as profane ("impies") (ibid., 243). A brief discussion of Draupadī cult ritual is focused entirely on firewalking, and set back to back with a discussion, also with a lithograph, of hookswinging for Māriyamma͟n. He attributes the origin of the firewalk to a story that Draupadī did it originally to purify herself each year when leaving one of her five husbands "to pass into the arms of another" ("pour passer dans les bras d'un autre") (ibid., 248; cf. Hiltebeitel 1988, 438 and n. 4). One may note, however, that while Sonnerat emphasizes the "subaltern" character of these gods, and links their cults with the lower castes, he also takes pains to show that there is an interpenetration between their mythologies and those of the Brahmanical pantheon. Such a broad view would not be attempted again until the work of Gustav Oppert (1893), but by that time Oppert would organize his discussion around the Aryan-Dravidian issue, trying to place Draupadī and her cult in the Dravidian camp (1893, 89-101).

Mackenzie worked closely on his long tours mainly, but not solely, with Brahman assistants, with whom he had a kindly rapport, and is credited with "passessing [sic] that conciliatory turn of mind that soon reconciled all sects and all tribes to the course of inquiry followed in these surveys" (Mahalingam 1972, ix). Yet his collection by no means anticipates the work of romantic-nationalist folkorists. Mackenzie gives us a glimpse of how "The eighteenth-century concern with beliefs and systems of value [as with Sonnerat] gave way to the empirical documentation of known facts, the creation in social studies of analyses and taxonomies which distantly reflected the norms of Linnean botany" (C.A. Bayly 1988, 89). His work on the collection had to be frequently interrupted by his more professional duties as a mapper-surveyor, military engineer, and occasional secret agent (in Java). The collection no doubt had the same motivation as his mapping surveys of the Nizam's dominions of Hyderabad and the Guntur Sircar, which, as an 1810 citation put it, was to supply "information useful for military, financial and commercial purposes" (Mahalingam 1972, xi). The collection itself also provided a mapping of south India, but of its past: in particular, yielding information on the authenticity or legitimacy (as the British would see it) of land grants, claims to temple privileges, and the dynastic lineages of royal, poligar, and regional landed dominant caste "little kingdoms" of South India (see C.A. Bayly 1988, 23). As the British were wont to claim in the late eighteenth century, "most contemporary Indian rulers were tyrannical usurpers of previous dynasties and rights" (C.A. Bayly, 81). "Whereas [Warren] Hastings had often worked in the dark his successors after 1792 had at hand detailed family histories of most of the ruling families of India, assessments of their military capabilities and notes on their commercial resources" (ibid., 87). Mackenzie's collection supplied rich material for such assessments, and it is no accident that it was catalogued in 1828 by H.H. Wilson, the Sanskritist who mined the purāṇas for similar documentation of the pre-Islamic history of dynastic India (Mahalingam 1972, Preface; Kopf 1969, 167-77).

It is from two Tamil manuscripts in the Mackenzie collection that we get important glimpses into the Draupadī cult during this period. One, the *Karnāṭaka Rājākkaḷ Cavistāra Carittiram*, composed around 1802-3 (Dikshitar 1952), is virtually a commissioned history of the Gingee area by a knowledgeable Gingee resident named Nārāyaṇaṉ Piḷḷai, himself a member of the Kōnār herder caste that traditionally supplies the priest (*pūcāri*) of Draupadī's Gingee or Mēlaccēri temple. In this text there is a precious allusion to a myth about the hair of Draupadī's stone icon at this temple, and an assignment of the temple's building to the reign of the founder of the Gingee Nayak line, Tubakki Krishnappa (1509-21). According to Nārāyaṇaṉ Piḷḷai, it was to this ruler that, "revealing herself, Draupadī-ammaṉ showed the hair in the flower that had been fastened to her" (Hiltebeitel 1988, 89; Dikshitar 1952, 25). Fieldwork has shown that variants of this myth are still told at this temple, most notably by its present-day Kōnār pūcāri (from Nārāyaṇaṉ Piḷḷai's community), in which the king (whose name varies from version to version) is blinded when he doubts the authenticity of Draupadī's stone icon's hair. To get his sight back, the rāja undertakes to build or improve her temple. Within what I have called the Gingee core area of the Draupadī cult, this temple is regarded as Draupadī's original temple, the site of her "post-*Mahābhārata*" second advent (Hiltebeitel 1988, 88-100).

The second Mackenzie manuscript (Mackenzie Collection n.d., no. 68) is an account, probably by two pūcāris of a Draupadī temple in Dindigul, far south of the Gingee core area, of an eighteen-day festival structured around a sequence of episodes from the 14th-century Tamil version of the *Mahābhārata* of Villiputtūr Āḻvār rendered in Tamil songs and enacted in street processions. Recent fieldwork found that this type of festival, which can probably be traced to the Gingee core area, is no longer performed at the Dindigul temple, having been replaced in the intervening years by a highly Brahmanized type of festival highlighted by daily adornments (*alaṅkāra*) of the deity borne on a succession of different "mounts" or *vāhanas* (Hiltebeitel 1988, 43-51, 151-53). The two manuscripts together allow us to trace continuities in core area myths and rituals back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. We should appreciate that though they were collected by Mackenzie to meet his antiquarian and taxonomic interests, their historical and ritual information is native, having preexisted the process of its collection, and that though the form it took was no doubt influenced by Mackenzie and his assistants, the authors probably supplied it without misgivings about its potential for political, economic, or military purposes. The two texts give a glimpse of what could have been learned further about the Draupadī cult had Mackenzie, or someone else, studied the manuscripts closely and asked some more interesting questions. But the Draupadī cult was not, of course, an issue that was highly on anyone's mind.

Finally, one other source reflects this early period, but from a different angle. The 1961 Census of India volume on temples in Chingleput District and Madras City gives the following notice on the Dharmarāja [Draupadī] temple on Mundakanniyamman Koyil Street in Mylapore, Madras: "The temple was originally located in Sullivan gardens. At the time of the firewalking ceremony, an English-man Sullivan by name was looking at the crowd through his Binocular when he lost his eye-sight. He built the present temple in Mundakanniyamman Koil Street, Mylapore some 200 years ago and got back his eyesight" (Nambiar et al. 1965, 203). The story is also handwritten in a notebook at the Mundakanniyamman temple, whose Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (HRCE) Board government-appointed officers now oversee the declining Dharmarāja temple, which hasn't held its festival in at least fifty years. Nothing further was known about the story, even after an HRCE officer made some phone calls.

The "Sullivan" of Sullivan Gardens is by all accounts Benjamin Sulivan (sic), who stopped off at Fort St. George, Madras, in 1778 on his way to Calcutta, where he intended to practice in the Calcutta Bar. As the only "regularly educated Barrister" on the spot in Madras, he was consulted on an important legal case, and then decided to stay on there, first as a Standing Counsel, then, amid considerable and lasting controversy over his salary, as Attorney General, from 1781 until his appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1801 (Love [1913] 1968, 3:140, 164, 167, 301, 378, 479-80). He is also said to have been the "'Originator' of the Madras Post Office" (Muthiah 1987, 143). "A substantial house and ornamental grounds are shown in the survey of 1798" (Love [1913] 1968, 3:572; cf. 370 n. 2) in the area around what is now Luz Corner in Mylapore. This appears to have been his residence: "the only considerable mansion in the locality" from Teynampet and Royapettah to the Adyar River, a considerable tract that, aside from "a few parcels of private property", was for the most part "under wet cultivation" (ibid., 537). As we might expect, historical sources tell us nothing of Sulivan's blinding. But there is an intriguing detail that may have fed into our story. "In 1787 Government received a letter from ten gentlemen resident in the Luz, of whom Benjamin Sulivan was one, complaining of the nuisance caused by kilns in the locality. "We, the underwritten Inhabitants of the Luz, humbly beg leave to represent to you that between the Houses of Major Alexander and Mr. Sulivan there is a small Village of Potmakers, who are constantly employed in burning Pots and Tiles to the common annoyance of all the Neighborhood. We are informed that some years past there was a representation of this Nuisance made by the late Dawson [ne] Drake, Esqr., and that the kilns were in consequence destroyed by order of the Honble Board, but that these people, understanding the Order was not entered in the Minutes of Consultation, had the boldness, on the first subsequent change of Government, to reerect them" (ibid., 370). From potmakers' kilns to firewalking crowds is at least a plausible transition for an Indian folklore about British responses to indigenous "nuisances."

In any case, the converted - and often blinded - Britisher is a stock motif. As we have just seen, such a story is told about blinded kings at Draupadī's "original" temple at Gingee. One sees here how the popular culture of Madras was quick to insert the British into the traditional kingly role of temple protector and converted bhakta. Similarly, at the festival for the goddesses of the Gingee Fort, there is now a story - in the absence of the British - that revolves around the blindings and recovery of the local police inspector (Hiltebeitel 1985, 184; 198, n. 46). Indeed, I have become the subject of such a story myself. In 1982, while I was photographing the pulling of a large processional chariot at a festival for the god Kūttāṇṭavar (the son or Arjuna and his serpent wife Ulūpī), I was so engrossed that if someone had not pushed me out of the way, I might very well have been hit by one of the large chariot wheels. I was, of course, standing on the ground. Upon my return to the same festival in 1990, local informants identified me to my two companions, my friend Lee Weissman and assistant and friend J. Rajasekaran, as the person who, some years past, had been taking pictures of the procession from high up in a tree. I had fallen down, was blinded, and had my sight restored only after I gave some money to the temple.

Sulivan's blinding through his binoculars is, in any case, a vivid image, suggesting that the goddess's power is channeled through them. I always imagine an improvement to the story; that Sulivan was looking not at the crowd when he was blinded, but at the firepit. Indeed, the improvement is especially tempting, considering the following story, from the same 1961 Census publication, about the nearby "Kolamuzhi" (on the site, this goddess is known as Kōlaviḻi) Ammaṉ temple: "The deity is the village Goddess of Mylapore. There is a story that when an English man took a photograph of the fire-walking festival in this temple, he lost his eyesight. As advised by the temple trustee, he made a fervent prayer to the Goddess and got back his vision. To commemorate this event, the Englishman used to take the festival deity of the Goddess to the Fort

St. George and present her with *Koorai*, a silk saree and *Thali*, a gold jewel worn by married women" (Nambiar et al. 1965, 201; thanks for the reference to Lee Weissman, personal communication, May 1990). In fact, at the Draupadī temple in Singapore, there is a "widely circulated story" that brings all these themes together: "sometime early in this century one of the British officials of Singapore expressed skepticism about *timiti* [the firewalk]. He was persuaded to come and watch, and when he looked at the pit through a pair of binoculars he saw a beautiful woman draping the end of her sari over the coals. He was then struck blind and did not regain his sight until he had made a substantial financial contribution to the temple" (Babb 1974, 40-41). The skeptical British official is blinded seeing the goddess protect her devotees with her saree, while the converted British bhakta gives the goddess sarees. In every case, binoculars and cameras are dangerous ways to "see" a Hindu deity in any manifestation.

For the colonial period, such stories about British officials as converted bhaktas have their practical counterpart in the increasingly problematic assumption by the British - beginning in the 1820's and continuing to evolve into the present-day HRCE Board of the "secular" Tamilnadu state government - of the vacated royal "protective" role in Hindu temple administration (see C.A. Bayly, 114; Appadurai 1981, 70-71, 115, 137; Presler 1987, 15-36 and passim). Moreover, prior to the full licensing of Protestant missionaries in 1813 (Kopf 1969, 144), there is much to suggest that the British and French had a more receptive attitude to Hindu "power goddesses" (to use Susan Bayly's term [1989, 27-34]) than they did after that time. It is said that the goddess Kāḷikampāḷ, whose temple is now in Muthialpet (part of what used to be called Blacktown) was formerly the goddess of Fort St. George until missionary pressures forced the British to relocate her temple outside the fort (Lee Weissman, personal communication, May 1990). Indeed, the British missionaries came along with British women for British men to marry, a combination that must surely, along with the evangelical impulse, have helped to curtail any ongoing attentions by British men to Hindu ammaṉs.

B. Hooks and Fires

The surge of this evangelical tide sets the tone for our second period, in which utilitarian and missionary reform impulses introduce great cleavages into the orientalist construction of Hinduism, and into Hinduism itself. From this second phase on, the divide-and-conquer agenda was no less scholarly than political; there *was* a pre-colonial Hinduism, which Orientalists of this second phase did as much to deconstruct as to reify and "invent". As C.A. Bayly has shown, though "the Brahmin interpretation of Hindu society was theoretical rather than actual over much of India as late as 1750", only to be "firmly ensconced a century later", "the colonialists did not create this interpretation of India; rather they speeded up and transformed social and ideological changes which were already in train". "[T]he missionary and utilitarian critique of Hinduism, which became more bitter after 1813, had the effect of concealing here also the vitality of developments which arose from within the three main categories of Hindu religious activity-ritual, devotion to god, and the recension of knowledge - and which were often only lightly influenced by the West" ([1988] 1990, 158-59). In other words, Bayly argues that the traditional "three paths" maintained a Hindu sub-surface continuity through this period (and later ones). The Draupadī cult provides a good bhakti and ritual example: a cult whose own survival tactics can often be read between the lines of the colonialist reportage that was so ready to dismiss it. This brings us to a singular document from this period: the aforementioned report, commissioned from Fort St. George itself, and mentioned earlier, concerning hookswinging and firewalking practices throughout the Madras Presidency.

In a query sent out on 12 September 1853 to the Chief Magistrates of each district of the Madras Presidency (which covered areas of Tamilnadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka), four questions were asked about the practices of hookswinging and firewalking (extract from the Minutes of Consultation, No. 861):

1. Are they more or less frequent now than formerly?
2. In what way are they connected with the religious faith of the natives?
3. Are they accidents of frequent occurrence?
4. Has the Magistracy ever interfered with or discouraged the observance? (Reports ... 1854, 9-10, 25).

Normally the Draupadī cult would involve firewalking, and not hookswinging, so the document's treatment of the former will be our main concern. Unless otherwise indicated, the ceremony referred to will thus be that of firewalking. But for three reasons we must keep both ceremonies in view. First, the two rites elicit comparative judgments about them by the respondents. Second, they are not mutually exclusive, as is registered by E.F. Elliot, the Madras Magistrate, who mentions hookswinging (Chedul Feast) at a "Dhurmaraja Kovil" (ibid., 3). Similarly, W. Knox, the Acting Magistrate of Ganjam District, indicates that at one village named Chicacole, firewalking is done "immediately after the swinging festival, the same parties performing in both" (ibid., 21). Further, it is mentioned that in Nellore District hookswinging is done in commemoration of suttees (ibid., 13-14), while in Rajahmundry District firewalking is accompanied in some cases by "self-inflicted stabbings and woundings" (ibid., 29), and by flesh-piercing in Masulipatam District (ibid., 34). The common principle is in each case a combination of sacrificial posts and/or weapons on the one hand, and sacrificial fires (a prominent Draupadī cult myth tells that Draupadī's firepit makes the Kaurava widows into suttees; Hiltebeitel 1988, 440-42) on the other.

Let us take up the four questions in order.

1. *Frequency*. E.B. Thomas, Coimbatore and F.B. Elton, Nellore, say firewalking is frequent in their districts (Reports ... 1854, 28, 31), but most others agree that it is in a state of decline. However, H. Forbes, Magistrate of Tanjore District, illustrates this alleged decline by saying that though it is done to a lesser extent than formerly, "it is followed now in 415 places" (ibid., 26). He does not indicate the deities for whom it is done, but Draupadī temples are very common in that district and the firewalk remains there one of Draupadī's main rituals. Current-day informants estimate that she has about a thousand temples in Tanjore District. Similarly, E. Maltby specifies that there are 489 "Dhurmah Rajah" pagodas in the district of South Arcot, which we now know to be the heartland of the Draupadī cult core area. But he expects the rite "gradually to disappear" "as the wealthier and more educated part of the community do not join it further than as occasional spectators" (ibid., 32-33). Meanwhile, in Madras city, E.F. Elliot, Chief Magistrate and Superintendent of Police of Madras, regards the firewalk as decreasing in its frequency. The "narooppoo teroonaul, or Fire Feast, is still performed in sixteen Pagodas, within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, generally in the month of Audee, or July. It is less frequent now than formerly. It is observed, with one or two exceptions, at a particular class of Pagoda named after Dhurmarajah. Out of these sixteen places, seven are in the villages north of Black Town, five in the villages west of Black Town, and four in the Town itself" (ibid., 20). It would appear that some of these temples have indeed discontinued the practice since then, and even in a few cases ceased to exist. I know of only eleven Dharmarāja or Draupadī temples in Madras today, eight of which are in the "Black Town"-Parrys area. At least two of these continue the firewalk (the Dharmarāja-Vināyakar temple at Lingi Chetty Street, and the Draupadī temple at Sowcarpet, where I saw the ceremony for the first time in 1977).

2. *Connection with religion*.[4] H.C. Montgomery, the Chief Secretary in receipt of the various reports, in summarizing their contents indicates that hookswinging "does not seem to be in any way connected with the religion of the observers, but to be performed in the fulfillment of vows" (ibid., 1). He seems to share this judgment with, or base it on, the report of the Canara Magistrate, Chamier, who observes that hookswinging "forms no part of the religious worship of the Hindoos, and is merely the fulfillment of a vow made in time of extreme sickness" (ibid., 17-18). The criterion here for religious authenticity is whether the practice connects with worship. We may recall, however, that the questionnaire puts the accent on "religious faith". This is picked up by C.J. Bird, Magistrate of Tinnevelly District: "Though the ceremony is in no way connected with the religious faith of the natives, yet it is

observed by certain persons in performance of their vows" (ibid., 27). Similarly, T. Conway, Kurnool Magistrate, says firewalking is not connected with either the Muslim or Hindu faith (ibid., 37). In any case, reflecting the Protestant Reformation's attack on vows as detrimental to true religion, the authorities exclude them from both categories: worship and faith. Or else they are treated ambiguously, as by H. Forbes in Tanjore District: It "is only so far a religious ceremony that persons suffering from sickness either in themselves or their relatives, make a vow to pass through fire if recovery should ensure" (ibid., 27). E.F. Elliot, Madras, says: "Since the receipt of the letter from the government, I have had opportunity to converse with the assembled Wardens [= *tārumakarttās* or chief trustees; Appadurai 1981, 120] of the said Pagodas, and they admit that the ceremony is in no way connected with their religious faith, but they plead the usage of their ancestors for the continuation of the performance of this silly, but certainly not dangerous practice, - for I am not aware that there is a single accident arising from it on record" (ibid., 20).

Similarly, Montgomery says, "the ceremony of walking through fire like the Swinging Festival is of only partial occurrence, and can scarcely be called a religious observance, being for the most part in fulfillment of vows voluntarily made". Moreover, he adds: "The practice does not appear to be acceptable to the higher classes, and, on the whole, it is apparently falling into disuse, a result which must be accelerated by the increasing intelligence of the people". The Governor in council, he says, advises that "discouragement in the manner suggested with the Swinging Festival will suffice for its extinction" (ibid., 19).

Some of the reports widen the criteria for suggesting that firewalking might be non-religious. In Rajahmundry, T. Prendergast mentions that a class of "Lingadharloo" (Lingāyats) regard fire treading "as an efficacious observance for recovering their sanctity if by any chance they lose their lingam, but even amongst them it is not considered as an essential ceremony" (ibid., 29). In other words, it may be religious, but it is not *essential* to the religion. H.V. Conolly, Malabar, says: "The best informed parties allow that the ceremony though of ancient date and looked on as efficacious by many, is not one to which the Hindoos are bound by the precepts of their religion" (ibid., 28). More specifically, firewalking for village goddesses in Ganjam District, according to Acting Magistrate W. Knox, is "performed to avert some expected evil from the village, or from the performer. It is reported by all to be much on the decline, and is nowhere ordered by the Shastras" (ibid., 21). Similarly, in North Arcot, the Magistrate J.D. Bourdillon, writes: "This observance is not concerned with the Hindoo Religion by being prescribed in any religious books" (ibid., 23).

However, F.B. Elton, Nellore Magistrate, mentions that firewalkers for "Durmarauzooloo" (Dharmarāja) "state that it is done according to a work called Augamashaster" (no doubt Āgama-Śāstra) (ibid., 31).

Similarly, J. Bird, Magistrate of Trichinopoly District, indicates that it is "prescribed by the religious books of the lower orders" (ibid., 25). One may suspect that textual authority is often claimed on the basis of hearsay, and probably sometimes invented. But having voiced such a suspicion recently myself (Hiltebeitel 1988, 78 n. 11) about a "rumored" text called the *Tirōpatai Māṉmiyam* or *Draupadī Māhātmyam*, I stumbled across this very text at the Pondicherry Draupadī temple in April 1990. Bearing a 1901 title page, it contains not only the story of Draupadī's Gingee advent, as I had been led to expect, but her instructions on how to align the deities in her temple, to form their icons, and to perform her festival (Ilaṭcumaṇappiḷḷai 1902; cf. Hiltebeitel in press a, Appendix).

Along with the criterion of textual authority, Bourdillon, the North Arcot Magistrate, deepens the discourse on caste that has already surfaced in other evaluations. "The only classes who take any part in these proceedings are some of the Soodra castes, and for the most those of the least consideration and of the least range of intelligence. The Bramins [sic] have no concern with them; nor have many of the most respectable Soodra castes" (ibid., 23). H.A. Brett, Magistrate of Salem District also reports that "the ceremony is practised by the lower castes only and not by the Brahmins" (ibid., 24). On the other hand, F.B. Elton, Nellore, mentions that it is done, among others, by Brahmans (ibid., 31). In any case, there is a recurrent implication that lower caste religion is barely worth the name: says J.H. Cochrane, Chingleput District Magistrate: "This practice being observed only by the lower orders of the people (Hindoos) cannot strictly be considered as connected with their religious faith" (ibid., 37). The reports return repeatedly to this theme, referring the practice to the "lowest" and "most ignorant" "classes", "castes", "orders", or "grades" of people (ibid., 20 [Madras], 21-22 [Ganjam], 25 [Cuddapah], 27 [Tanjore], 28 [Coimbatore], 29 [Malabar], 32 [South Arcot]). According to the Madras Magistrate, "the same individuals exhibit annually like any other class of Jugglers" (ibid., 20). The range of terms for "caste" suggests a common administrative attitude behind a confusion of administrative terminology.

Bourdillon, however, does not see these criteria as sufficient to assess the rite as non-religious: "... it must be regarded as a religious observance, inasmuch as it is always associated with the worship of the deity styled Durmaroyswamy by the Tamil people and Veerbudra Swamy by the Teloogoo". He goes on to describe ten- to eighteen-day festivals, with dancing, singing, processions of the icons, as well as firewalking through a "shallow pit of half a foot deep and several yards broad and long". He notes that the festivals usually occur at no set times, "but only occasionally, when the people of the village or neighborhood subscribe to raise the necessary funds, being from 100 to 200 Rupees, or when an individual incurs the charge in fulfillment of a vow" (ibid., 22-23). Clearly he is talking mainly about Draupadī festivals. Similarly, for

South Arcot District, the Draupadī cult heartland, E. Maltby says that "Dhurmah Rajah's annual feast derives its name from the [firewalking] ceremony which is popular among the poorer orders who regard it as a religious duty which is efficacious in averting evil and assuring good" (ibid., 32). For Salem District, Brett observes that the rite is in decline among Hindus, implying that it is a feature of their religion, as it is also among Muslims in his district. He is the only official in this document to register an awareness of the *Mahābhārata*: "The practice is traced to some legend connected with Dropadee, the wife of the 'Pancha Pandavas', or five brothers, whose story is related in the Mahabharat" (ibid., 24). An obvious and unfortunate indifference is registered as to the legend.

Just as hookswinging - which one magistrate urges should be suppressed on Sundays, or at least removed from public sight! (ibid., 4) - probably evokes tacit reminders of the cross, religious overtones of firewalking are also registered by acknowledgment of affinities with Islam. Thomas, the Coimbatore magistrate, after his remarks on hookswinging and firewalking, refers additionally to "a practice often causing bloodshed, and always a risk of serious disturbance and collisiion. I allude to the Mahommedan and Hindoo festivals which occur, often simultaneously, at this season of the year. The two processions occasionally meet in the streets, and a public disturbance and often bloodshed ensues". He mentions "an affray having nearly taken place lately" at Ootacamund. It is not clear what Hindu and Muslim festivals he is referring to (as concerns the "season" in question, his letter is dated March 6). He urges that "It would be very *advisable* and *easy*, to restrict the two parties, (to any ceremonies or exhibitions they liked), *within their own limits* and houses, but forbidden to parade on the *public thoroughfares* - a single order of Government would stop it in every district, but of course the order should be *general* - these hurtful and often dangerous exhibitions are chiefly got up by the *lower* orders - the more respectable and intelligent of each class, Mahommedan and Hindu [sic], would gladly see them stopped" (ibid., 9-10). The general issue of rights during processions - not only of conflicting religions, but of conflicting castes - is frequently attested in nineteenth century sources, with the British often prompting legislative wrangling while shying away from direct arbitration in the manner of traditional kings (Appadurai 1981, 162; Dirks 1987, 344-45, 358-62; C.A. Bayly [1988] 1990, 114).

The Muslim-Hindu similarities are, however, more specific, for, as a number of the magistrates mention, firewalking is done by south Indian Muslims at Muharram. Thus F.B. Elton observes that it is done during Muharram at 123 villages in Nellore District (Reports... 1854, 31). Others mention its occurrence in Masulipatam (ibid., 34), Ganjam (ibid., 20), Canara (ibid., 36) and Kurnool districts (ibid., 37). Meanwhile, Muharram with firewalking was sponsored in Madras city, from this period to the present day, by descendants of the Nawab of Arcot (S. Bayly 1989, 174, 182, 229). Coincidentally, while Muslim elites, especially Sunni, sought to "reform the Shia festival of Muharram" (C.A. Bayly, 166), a reform Hindu movement - the Satya Narayani movement founded by Swami Narayan (c. 1780-1830) - had "condemned animal sacrifice, feasting and fire-walking" (idem, 161) as part of a suppression, approved of by the British, of "tribal andd low-caste forms of religion which persisted on the warrior and nomadic fringes of the society of Gujarat" (idem, 161).[5] Affinities in south India between ten-day Muharram festivals and Draupadī festivals modeled on the ten-day Navarātri-Dasarā deserve further study. Both festivals recall epochal battles with heroic deaths through rituals involving displays of weapons, their use for self-inflicted forms of self-offering, lamentations, and firewalking. Indeed, two facts suggest that the Islamic and Hindu traditions have influenced each other at this level. Draupadī has a Muslim guardian, Muttāl Rāvuttaṉ, suggesting that Islam was a catalyst in the formation of her cult (see Hiltebeitel 1988, 17-21, 42, 51, 101-27). And firewalking, to the best of my knowledge, forms part of Muharram only in India.[6]

3. *Dangers*. Most magistrates, including South Arcot's (Reports... 1854, 32), record little in the way of harm caused by firewalking. But Thomas, the Coimbatore magistrate, mentions "several accidents, nearly causing death, having happened" (ibid., 28). Forbes, the Tanjore Magistrate, mentions "one instance of a man having fallen in the middle of the fire, and been very seriously injured" (ibid., 27), while deaths occurred at Muharram firewalks in Nellore and Tinnevelly Districts (ibid., 31, 28). In Tinnevelly, "It was reported that the accident occurred from the individual being under the influence of liquor at the time when he fell in the pit. The true cause of his falling ... was not ascertained." The practice was then discontinued in both villages (ibid., 27-28). On the other hand, six years after two boys died in a firewalk for "Dharmarasuzooloo" (Dharmarāja) in Nellore District, the practice continued despite the order by the former Magistrate, named Smith, that "security ... be taken every year from the principal persons interested, that they be responsible that no accident will occur" (ibid., 31). H.V. Conolly, the Malabar Magistrate, and Cochrane, the Chingleput Magistrate, each voice the no doubt justifiable suspicion that accidents do occur, but that they were not being informed about them (ibid., 28-29, 37). Suffice it to say that firewalking can be dangerous, and a few injuries and one death have occurred in ceremonies I have witnessed (see further Hiltebeitel in press a, chap. 14 and n. 48).

4. *Government interference*. Hookswinging is generally regarded as more condemnable than firewalking, and is thus more frequently a target for suppression (Reports... 1854, 7, 9-10, 18). Thus E.B. Thomas, the Coimbatore Magistrate, says that "orders have been given for its entire discontinuance, and thus prohibition will be strictly enforced". He adds: "I would beg leave to submit for the consideration of Government

whether a similar festival celebrated annually both by Hindoos as well as Moossulmans, and more dangerous, though less disgusting than the 'Swinging Feast', might not also be discontinued - the *walking and running through fires* (author's italics), before temples, or in public places. It will be found on enquiry in every district, and is frequently attended with dangerous consequences, and even loss of life" (ibid., 9-10).

A few voices spoke for a more permissive attitude toward firewalking. Thus Bourdillon, the North Arcot Magistrate who recognized the practice as religious, encouraged a more condescending approach: "I cannot learn that Magistracy have ever interfered to check or discourage the practice of firewalking, nor do I think that such interference is called for; certainly not in the way of prohibition. Though seeming very dreadful at first sight, the thing loses this appearance on closer examination. It appears to involve little or no personal pain, and no danger of more serious injury; and it seems to me proper to be classed less among brutal and inhuman practices than among idle and foolish. It appears to be certainly on the decline, in this District at least, and it can hardly fail to continue so as knowledge and enlightenment advance; especially, eschewed and discouraged as it is already, by the most intelligent and influential classes of the community" (ibid., 23-24). Needless to say, many North Arcot Draupadī festivals still continue the practice vigorously.

Most magistrates, however, favored that firewalking be discouraged, and at least contained if not prohibited. For Madras, E.F. Elliot states, "This ceremony has been discouraged by the Police, in as much that the people are no longer allowed to perform it in streets or thoroughfares, but only within the enclosure of Pagodas. From my last interview with the Wardens [i.e., tarumakarttās], I expect that several of them will cease to celebrate the feast altogether, perhaps by substituting some other observance" (ibid., 20). Thurston mentions a suggestion by a Collector in Tanjore district that the coals be replaced by a pit of flowers (1906, 484).[7] In any case, in Madras today, firewalking is still performed in the streets, with police permission.

T. Prendergast, Rajahmundry, recommends government prohibition of firewalking rather than mere discouragement, supporting this by describing instances where firewalking is combined with "self-inflicted stabbings and woundings and the invocation of the deity ... when in the impotence of uncontrollable passion ... The mere fire treading is looked upon as the act of a desperado but when it is attended by wounding and effusion of blood the exhibition is disgusting and alarming" (Reports... 1854, 29). A. Purvis, Guntur District Acting Magistrate, finds it only in one village and recommends "forbidding any such proceedings in the future" (ibid.).

In Tanjore the Magistrate H. Forbes introduces a voluntaristic strain that runs through several accounts. He called the "managers" [again, probably tarumakarttās] of all the 78 pagodas where hookswinging was done, and received from them a "voluntarily ... written engagement to discontinue it, so that this cruel and revolting practice may, in this province, be considered as for ever at an end" (ibid., 18). A. Robertson, Magistrate in Vizagapatnam District, "was assured on enquiry that suppression of both practices would be agreeable to all respectable classes of natives throughout the District, and that they owed their observance only to vows uttered by the most ignorant or the impositions of the designing" (ibid., 26). In South Arcot, "The Magistracy has confined itself to preserving order at the festivals and preventing any compulsion being used to induce individuals to perform the ceremony" (ibid., 32). From Bellary District, C. Pelly's report similarly accentuates the volitional, though this time in the negative, along with a contractual commitment to discontinue the practice: "There seems to be no wish on the part of the people to continue this ceremony, and many of those who have engaged in it have appeared before me and executed written engagements agreeing to discontinue it altogether, and I expect those who have not yet come in, to do the same, which caused me to defer my reply" (ibid., 35-36). Considering the lingering pace, one suspects that Pelly's expectations must have had a long wait before it was met. He adds, however, that "similar engagements have been voluntarily given to discontinue the Swinging Festival" (ibid., 36).

This voluntaristic emphasis combines not only with the elicitation of written contracts, but with legislative ingenuity on the part of several other magistrates. Our 1854 document falls within a period from 1841-78 in which Arjun Appadurai marks an increasing drift toward court litigation of temple matters (1981, 157-64). W. Knox, Acting Magistrate of Ganjam, feels "pretty confident that if Government were to put a stop to it [firewalking], and the disgusting practice of swinging, the order would be approved by the great mass of native society, who do not attend these festivals; but perhaps the better way would be not to run the risk of exciting any ill-feelings, even among the lower classes, and merely to issue an order forbidding its introduction into any village, where it does not exist. As the best check under existing circumstances, I have issued orders that before either swinging, or passing through the fire, the actors shall appear before the nearest Police officer, and satisfy him, that they are voluntary agents in the business, and further have warned those taking part in these festivals, that in the event of death ensuing, they will be liable to punishment for homicide" (ibid., 21-22). Similarly, the Canara Magistrate F.N. Maltby advises no interference, but concludes: "if any serious injury were to result on any occasion the parties aiding and abetting would under the present law be liable to punishment" (ibid., 36). The same legal tactic has recently become law in the aftermath of the Roop Kanwar suttee case.

Indeed, Forbes, the Coimbatore Magistrate, compares firewalking instructively with suttee: "It is not really an object of religious faith, but only practiced by the lower orders; and might, with the swinging and other like unnatural, unreasonable, and dangerous practices, be easily abolished - indeed after the abolition of "Suttee", it is to be regretted that these minor evils and abuses, have so far been allowed to continue" (ibid., 28).

We need not over-scrutinize the "enlightened" rhetoric of reform that has such difficulty answering whether these rites are religious, and whether they should thus be supppressed despite the Company's general policy of non-interference and respect for religious differences. As Susan Bayly has shown, it is part of an attack on folk religion not only in Hinduism but in Islam and Christianity (1989, 193-215, 290-99 and passim). The Magistrates are caught in a bind on these issues. What is most striking is that the bind is sustained by a kind of willed blindness to certain realities of these cults and ceremonies. They are ceremonies of the "lower orders", but no recognition is given to which of the "lower orders" it is who are specifically most involved.

Firewalking and hookswinging rites are patronized, generally, by village headmen in Andhra; by landed dominant castes, often in village headman roles, throughout much of Tamilnadu; and, in the case of the Draupadī cult, by local leaders of the Vaṉṉiyar caste, a traditional landed warrior peasantry. Similarly, there is only the most minimal acknowledgment that both Hindu and Muslim firewalking festivals commemorate great tragic "mythologies" of battle, from Karbala to Kurukṣetra. It is precisely the martial ideology behind these rites that is being subverted, ridiculed, and nullified in these magistrate's reports and recommendations.

We see here the tail end of a long process carried out by the British in South India, and, as we have seen, paralleled elsewhere in the subcontinent. This was achieved by the neutralization, through reduction and appropriation, of the traditional Hindu and Muslim protective royal prerogatives: first, through the eighteenth century, of Hindu and Muslim rulers themselves; then of regional "little kings" such as the poligars at the end of that century; and finally, through the first half of the nineteenth century, of the last vestige of the "little king" ideal, that vested in the caste and village headmen who, among other things, sponsored village and local dominant caste festivals (see C.A. Bayly 23, 27-28, 67, 107, 109, 148-50, 174, 194, 205) for "royal" goddesses such as Draupadī and kingly gods such as Aiyanār (Dirks 1987, 298-304, 374-75). Indeed, as Appadurai has shown so nicely, the British could never attune themselves either intellectually, religiously, or politically to the "elegant and symbiotic division of sovereignty" in which, in traditional terms, "The sovereign deity is the paradigm of royal authority. By serving this deity, in the form of elaborate royal gifts that generate special 'royal' honors, and by protecting the redistributive process of the temple, human kings share in this paradigmatic royalty" (1981, 51).

As C.A. Bayly has shown, after they had "warred down intermediary chieftains and magnates in order to deal with the village elites", and thus "end the system of 'military land tenures' which had prevailed under the poligars", the British negotiated with village headmen beginning in the 1820s, enhancing their status as an entree to the economies of rural South Indian village culture ([1988] 1990, 107, 67-68). But by mid-century, the village headmen's traditional *mirasi* rights and status (cf. Appadurai 1981, 141) had been monetized, subdivided, and eroded through the increasing stress on cash crops, division and selling off of family (and temple) lands to create small, individual plots, and the "decline in openings for military service". The result was that farmer-warrior communities, not to mention so-called "criminal castes" like the Maṟavars and Kaḷḷars, were "absorbed" and "reduced" into the "wider peasant body" (C.A. Bayly 148-50) of what our magistrates, writing in 1853-54, referred to, without differentiation, as the "most ignorant" among the lower orders of Śūdras, the lower ranks and classes, and so on. Not coincidentally, 1853-54 marks what Dirks has called the "last gasp of the old regime" in Pudukkottai, the one remaining Poligar kingdom amid this sea of Madras Presidency districts. There the British had to make a stand of force to suppress a "rebellion" led by a dismissed member of the palace guard (*ūriyakārar*) that fed on resentment of rural taxes and discontent over the profligacy and extravagance of the Tondaiman rāja, himself thoroughly beholden by then to Brahman advisors and indebted to the Company. As one would expect, the rebels made efforts to appropriate symbols of the royal function (Dirks 1987, 309-16, 321). Meanwhile, for the north, just three years later, C.A. Bayly sees the "loss of status and political rights at the village level" as one of the "powerful incentive[s] to revolt in 1857": that is, of course, in the so-called Sepoy Mutiny [1988] 1990, 150).

C. Farmer-Warriors after a Century of Contempt

This brings us to the last phase of colonial Draupadī documentation that we will attempt to cover: the late 19th century imperial concern with the "concept of caste", which, as J.C. Heesterman observes, "was hardened by administration, law courts, and especially the census into a system of tight compartments, each stereotyped by its customs, beliefs, attitudes, means of subsistence, governing institutions, and other attributes. Like the 'village republic', each caste came to be seen as a separate world complete in itself" (1985, 182, cf. 180-202; Appadurai 153 on the "myth of the self-sufficient village"). T. Aiyakannu Nayakar's *Vannikula Vilakkam. A Treatise on the Vanniya Caste* (1891) addresses this situation.

The purpose of this well-researched treatise is to note that "in the former Census reports the Kshatriyas of Southern India were held in contempt", and to urge that the "present Census superintendant" make new inquiries and be more receptive to Vaṉṉiyar claims of Kṣatriya status (ibid., 6). Drawing equally on Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, which documents Rajput Agnikula Kṣatriyas (ibid., 24-28), and Tamil sources, including Villiputtūr's *Mahābhārata* (ibid., 16-17, 37), which identify the Cheras as ancient South Indian Agnikula kings, Nayakar is particularly keen on establishing the authenticity of a Fire-born lineage of kings along with the more widely recognized Solar and Lunar lines, or dynasties, since the Vaṉṉiyars claim to be Kṣatriyas of the Fire-lineage. Nayakar also draws on the opinions of various Brahman pundits and Madras academics that his statements are "consistent with" and "do not seem in the least contrary to the Shastras" (ibid., 1-5). Here he is appealing to the same authorities as the British magistrates 40 years earlier. The Kṣatriya claim is further buttressed by reference to Gustav Oppert's view that the Vaṉṉiyars, also called Paḷḷis, descend from the Pallavas (Oppert 1893, 89-101). As we have seen, Oppert draws these dubious connections into the Dravidian/Aryan divide. But Nayakar goes on, citing other British as well as Tamil authorities, to show that Vaṉṉiyars, who served as local chieftains in Chingleput and Ramnad Districts, as princes in Sri Lanka, and subordinate soldiers for the poligars, are now reduced to the status of cultivators (Nayakar 1891, 20-35; Appendix, p. 2). Though it is not his main focus, he is also well aware that Draupadī is widely worshiped among Vaṉṉiyars, and that her own birth from fire, along with that of her epic brother Dhṛṣṭadyumna, represents the purest and holiest form of Kṣatriya birth: one that occurs only "to effect a certain object" (ibid., 8-10), as in the *Mahābhārata*, where the object is the destruction of unruly Kṣatriyas and the renovation of the earth. Among special Vaṉṉiyar customs, he mentions that "As a relic of the origin of the Vannikula Kshatriyas from Fire, the Fire Pot (*neruppucatti* or *neruppukarakam*), which comes in procession on a fixed day during the occasion of the annual festivities of Draupadai and other goddesses, is borne on the head of a Vanniya. Also in dramatic plays the king persona has always been taken part by a Kshatriya who is generally a Vanniya" (ibid., Appendix, 10). Here he refers to the *terukkūttu* dramas performed at Draupadī festivals on *Mahābhārata* themes drawn from Villiputtūr.

It is easy to see that this document attempts to redress the leveling to an undifferentiated peasant status of warrior-farmers, and of village and caste headmen of landed dominant castes, that had occurred earlier in the century. It is also ironic that current-day Vaṉṉiyars are now agitating - in ways that much of the rest of Tamil society considers quite violent - for backward class status toward the end of gaining government "affirmative action" concessions in jobs and education.

For our purposes, what is striking is that despite the predictions of its decline that continue among some of Draupadī's devotees even today, the Draupadī cult has retained a vitality that such sources as these, including Nayakar's, with his reference to "relic" customs, consistently fail, or refuse, to acknowledge. Perhaps we may view the adaptability of such cults, in Ashis Nandy's terms, as a triumph of the dionysiac Kshatriyahood of "the uncolonized mind" (1983, chapter 2, especially 74-79). Indians crossed this cultural gap in ways the British could only find confounding:

> From the fire pit to the cricket field is a long jump, and Mr. Rajagopal Moodelliar, who took part in last night's fire-walking, plays at today's cricket match in Chepauk. His fire-walking performance is one instance which goes to establish the truth of the observation often made, that the average Hindu, while keeping abreast of modern times and benefiting from the civilising agencies of the West, holds fast to his ancient superstitious practices. (Firewalking... 1900, 320, describing a firewalk for a goddess called "Thanthoni Amman" near Madras.)

Among other factors, it was convenient and indeed purposeful for the British to ignore that the Draupadī cult, and the cults of other "power goddesses", represented access to a type of power that continued to draw on persistent but also changing images not only of the relations between the goddess and the little kingdom, but also her blessing of the little king or queen in every firewalker.

Finally, one more note on what is left out of *all* this early documentation. It is not until W. Francis's 1906 South Arcot gazetteer and F.J. Richards' 1910 article on Draupadī festivals in Bangalore that we begin to hear of Draupadī's chief guardian, Pōttu Rāja. Francis sets the tone: At South Arcot Draupadī temples, he says, "is often a figure of Pothuraja, or 'the king of buffaloes', a person of ferocious aspect ... The stories accounting for his connection with Draupadi are conflicting and puerile, and need not be set out" (1906, 99; Hiltebeitel 1988, 76). Francis registers surprise that Vaṉṉiyar peasants know the *Mahābhārata* uncommonly well. But he dismisses as "puerile" what we may call the Draupadī cult's innovations in its folk *Mahābhārata*. Today we know that this Buffalo King is Draupadī's link to Durgā, slayer of the Buffalo Demon (Hiltebeitel 1988, 76-88; 333-93). And we also know that Draupadī's other guardian, the Muslim Muttal Rāvuttaṉ, whom none of our sources acknowledge until 1975 (Babb 1974, map 1, with no discussion), has much to tell us about how this folk cult passed beneath the noses of so many early observers, or, as our Hindu sources tell us, blinded those who looked too closely, but only so that they might realize the power and grace of what they had seen.

NOTES

1. See Hiltebeitel in press, on the relationship between the firewalk and more specifically *Mahābhārata*-related rituals in the Draupadī cult (especially chapters 1, 8-15).
2. Not surprisingly, it is the folk religion of Bengal, and then that of the Bombay Presidency, that received the earliest attention, mainly in such serials as the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay*. For early developments, see Kopf 1969, 94, 149. On the Dharma cult in Bengal, which included (like the Draupadī cult) both firewalking and martial rituals, see such early and continuing notices as Sen 1833, Sarkar [1917] 1972, especially Chattopadhyay 1942, and further bibliography in Östör 1980.
3. Very selectively, see Biardeau in Biardeau and Malamoud 1976, 138-53; Reiniche 1979; the essays in Hiltebeitel 1989 (especially the Introduction, pp. 1-18, attempting to draw out the implications of debate between the various contributors); Biardeau 1984, 1988, 1989a, 1989b; Hiltebeitel 1988; in press a and b; Fuller in press. Cf. Heestermann 1985, 56 on the "agonistic festival" and its Vedic and epic prototypes.
4. Dirks 1987, 324-32 shows how the British nineteenth century land policy, in distinguishing inherited "private" property from land tenures for charitable and religious purposes, allowed the British to define both categories while proclaiming non-interference in the religious sphere so defined: "... the government appropriated to itself the right to determine whether religious objects were being met, and indeed to define the domain of the 'religious' itself" (ibid., 332).
5. Raymond Williams' work on this movement (1984) does not mention a firewalking prohibition. He indicates, however, that such a prohibition would not be surprising, given the movement's general orientation on popular practices, including suttee (personal communication, November, 1990). In a letter (3 December, 1990), however, he mentions "a reference in the *Sikshapatri*, one of their sacred texts that contains 212 rules, that may apply to firewalking: 'No one should mutilate any part of his body or that of others with a weapon, as a punishment for performance of misdeeds either by oneself or others, in a state of excitement, or as an atonement of misdeeds.' (16)". The text is translated in Dave 1974.
6. My colleague Seyyed Hossein Nasr (personal communication, January 1991) confirms what I have inferred on this point from studies of Muharram in West Asia. For other Indian examples of Muharram firewalking, see Derrett 1979, 287; Jaffri 1979, 225; Hjortshoj 1987, 296; Nambiar, Karup et al. 1968, 58. 1763-64

marked the suppression by the British of the campaigns of "the rebel commandant" Yusuf Khan, whose "rebellion" was commemorated in a ballad that extols his martyrdom and dismemberment in terms that show the affinities between popular Islam and Hinduism at the regional level (S. Bayly 1989, 194-215).

7. Firewalkers often compare the coals to cool flowers; see Hiltebeitel in press a, chapter 14 and n. 44.

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FIRE SACRIFICE IN NEPAL

A.W. van den Hoek

Introduction

Sacrifice occupies a pivotal position in the ritual and social structure of Nepalese (Newar) society. Fundamental social relationships in Kathmandu Valley are expressed by the sharing of sacrifice within or between different communities. Predominant is the blood sacrifice (*bali*) in which an animal victim is brought to death in front of a deity. Specific portions of its head are assigned to the patrons while its meat is distributed within the sacrificial community. Far less conspicuous but not insignificant are the fire sacrifices (*yajña* or *homa*) in which oblations of ghee and grains are made to Agni.

A prominent feature of Newar social structure is its organization in so-called *guthi*-s or associations (< Skt. *goṣṭhi*) which may serve many purposes. Foremost among the different kinds of guthis, and may be at the foundation of the system as a whole, are the cremation societies, the *sī* or *sanā* guthis. The organization of society, it might be said, revolves around death. The sī and sanā guthis are based on both caste and residence and more particularly on the use of a common site at a cremation ghat. But their task is seldom confined to the mere handling of death. It may include a number of other ritual observances by guthi members, both with regard to their inner circle and with regard to their participation in public ceremonies. Among those observances the partaking of sacrifice is of singular importance. Therefore the cremation societies could be more suitably described as sacrificial communities, the activities of which include, as a matter of course, the last sacrifice human beings are bound to perform. In that way Nepalese society can be conceived of as centered upon death and sacrifice which are converging and ultimately coinciding. Such a neat formula would however carry elegance to a point of excess.

I

The conception of cremation as man's ultimate sacrifice has been persistent in Indian thought from the Vedic epoch to this day. Yet it has been clear all along that the stakes and proceeds of sacrifice differ from those of a funeral. To start with, the principal act of abandonment has in case of a funeral already taken place, more often than not without a statement of intent. Furthermore, the ceremony which is called *antyeṣṭi* or last sacrifice cannot be carried out by the person for whom it is the last sacrifice: as a yajamāna or sacrificer he has to be replaced by his eldest son. The need for a son to conduct the last rites is a long-standing one, as vivid in present-day Nepal (Toffin 1979: 247) as it was in ancient India.

From the viewpoint of sacrificial requirements, the deceased is not an ideal victim either. As Malamoud (1982: 446) observed, a sacrificial victim has to meet certain conditions and should, generally speaking, be alive and healthy.

A whole list of incongruities thus looms up.[1] To be sure, the principal element of the cremation, the fire itself, seems to corroborate the idea of a last sacrifice. On the basis of several branches of Vedic ritualism, Caland (1896) gives an overview of the classical funeral ritual - including the main textual disagreements. It appears beyond dispute that the body of an *āhitāgni* - someone who in his life-time established the *śrauta* fires, will be cremated with those sacrificial fires. If the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies first, her body will also go accompanied by the sacrificial (śrauta) fires, which are carried in fire-pots (*ukhā*) to the cremation site.[2] The funeral pyre is erected with the three main śrauta fires surrounding it and derives its fire from them. Although there are textual variances regarding the procedure, a curious device for transmitting fire appears prevalent. The pyre is simultaneously connected by three lines of straw with the three main sacrificial fires. If the fire of the *āhavanīya*, the principal receptacle of oblations, reaches the pyre first, the deceased will attain the realm of the gods. If the *gārhapatya* arrives first, he will join the realm of the Gandharvas, and if it is the *dakṣiṇāgni*, the realm of the forefathers (Caland's summary, p. 58, cf ŚBr. XII 9,5-12). The last sacrifice in this way includes a kind of last gamble. If all three fires reach the pyre simultaneously, it is like a *kṛta* throw. The deceased will thereby attain the highest possible world, that of Brahman.

While fitting in with significant features of śrauta sacrifice, including the gambling simile, the last sacrifice leaves us with some puzzling questions. Regarding the nature of the cremation fire it is striking to note the appeal made to Agni not to consume the body even though it is considered his favourite food. Instead he is begged to burn with his blaze a he-goat bound to the pyre, and to carry the body of the deceased to heaven, well-cooked but intact (Caland 1896: 60, Malamoud 1989: 59).[3] Even man's last sacrifice thus holds a replacement, although, in ritual practice the goat is not burnt either but tethered loosely so that it can free itself (Oldenberg (1894) 1988: 327, Caland 1896: 60). Nevertheless the fire for cremation is considered to be flesh-eating and hence disqualified for further service.

The baleful nature of the cremation fire extends to its source, the fire of the gārhapatya, which consequently has to be removed and replaced by a freshly churned fire (Caland: 113). One may wonder whether the division of the fire into a ravaging and an oblation-carrying form *solves* the matter as Malamoud (1982: 444; 1989: 58, 59) has it, or rather poses the very problem.

Evidently the funeral fire, albeit originating in the sacrificial fires, assumes a different nature in the act of cremation. They are, so to speak, identical yet distinct, a qualification which at another level also applies to the set of sacrificial fires themselves.

II

While the gārhapatya by its name suggests being the hearth of the householder, its fire cannot be taken from the domestic hearth but has to be freshly churned. It is set apart but not completely dissociated from the domestic sphere. The *araṇi*, the two sticks of wood used for churning the fire of the gārhapatya are first held by the sacrificer above the fire used for preparing porridge (*odana*, served to four brahmins) in order to make them absorb the cooking fire. Heesterman has made a profound and ongoing analysis of the ambiguities involved in setting up the sacrificial fires, a concise overview of which can be found in his essay *Reflections on the Agnyādheya* (in: Sparreboom and Heesterman, 1989). After the major breakthrough that led to the śrauta system, the ritualists were, as Heesterman sees it, constantly struggling with the question how to keep the ultramundane *śrauta* sphere related to its mundane, *laukika* counterpart and yet hold them separate. Accordingly, the connection between the domestic or cooking fire and the gārhapatya is not a direct material one: "the only living link between the two fires is the sacrificer who forms himself the critical transition between the social and domestic world on the one hand and the world of śrauta ritual on the other" (*op.cit.*: 118).

The fire of the gārhapatya is in turn duplicated in the āhavanīya, this time directly, by transferring a piece of burning wood. In classical ritual the āhavanīya has become part of the fires installed in the agniśālā, the fire-hut, but the imagery that accompanies its installation suggests a warlike expedition and an originally mobile fire that was established away from the inhabited world. By unraveling the different layers of śrauta ritual, and of soma sacrifice in particular, Heesterman came to his pregnant reconstruction of how the classical system developed (1987: 104, 105; 1989: 11-13). Breaking away from a pattern of competitive exchange, of mutual raidings and sacrificial contests, the ritualists tried to construct a world apart, static and subject to rules and regulations, but eventually impossible to exist in itself (Heesterman 1984).

There is more to this than just reconstruction. Not all of Indian society was, or could possibly, be "śrautified", and the pre-existing patterns of exchange continued to exist alongside the development of ritualism and renunciation. But an impetus had been given to Indian civilisation that would long after determine its course, leading again and again to the kind of puzzles encountered in the śrauta ritual while carrying some of the old unresolved ones all along. Among the latter, it would seem then, are also the funerary rites.

In his teaching Heesterman persistently urged his students not to smooth over apparent incongruities but, instead, to make them bear fruit. Following his lead here in regarding the antyeṣṭi it might very well turn out that, as in the śrauta ritual, the ambiguities involved are in the end more telling than the grand scheme which they, often forcefully, have been made to fit.

While ideally the last sacrifice constitutes the culmination of a whole cycle of sacrifices performed by an āhitāgni, the antyeṣṭi of a consecrated sacrificer is at the same time not very different from the *saṃskāra* such as performed by any householder as part of the domestic ritual. Apart from the "gambling episode" the proceedings of the last rites for an *anāhitāgni* run about parallel, be it that in the latter case the domestic fire is taken to light the pyre. Consequently it is the domestic fire which has to be newly installed after the cremation, as still happens in present-day Nepal.

III

Although nowadays it is a rapidly vanishing feature, every Newar house used to have its *makaḥ*, a fire-pot kept permanently burning. By transferring some of the smouldering embers from the fire-pot, the cooking fire (Nep.: *culo*, New.: *bhutu*) is rekindled every morning.

It is also from the makaḥ that, if need be, the fire for cremation is taken. In that case the fire-pot is placed just outdoors, under the eaves (New.: *pākhā*) of the house. Some of its embers are taken out and nestled in a thick bundle of straw to be transferred to the cremation ghāṭ.[4] Higher castes used to charge a member of the farmers' caste with carrying the embers in the funeral procession. By this fire the son or chief mourner of the deceased will finally light the straw torch to set fire to the pyre.

Nowadays the makaḥ as a source of fire for kindling both the cooking hearth and the funeral pyre is more and more being replaced by matches, lighters and electric heaters. Still, at the death of the head of the household, the earthen cooking hearth is considered contaminated. In the course of the mourning process it has to be demolished and rebuilt again. During the first six days after cremation the old fire-place is still maintained, but the food cooked on it can only be eaten by members of the family who are themselves polluted by death.

On the seventh day a temporary fire is set up on the ground floor for the preparation of ritual foods, which are made to reach the deceased in three different ways (see Toffin 1979: 247). The fire has to be tended by the dead person's married daughters, who have already shed death pollution. Married daughters are also the only ones who may cook for people other than the family members tainted by death. For that purpose they install a makeshift fire-place on the top floor close to the demolished kitchen-hearth. The latter can only be rebuilt after the final purification, *ghaḥ sū* (>Skt.: gṛha śuddhi, Manandhar: 53) has taken place. The ghaḥ sū, most often performed eleven days after cremation, involves a fire sacrifice of ghee, rice and other grains, conducted at the ground floor by a family priest (in Toffin's case (1979: 250) a brahmin, but commonly a vajrācārya). It is this pure fire which is fit again to be installed both in the rebuilt kitchen-hearth and in the makaḥ - which need not be destroyed but can simply be washed in the river.

Both in ancient and in modern times, the fire is seen to embody different qualities, and its origin is altogether significant, whether it concerns the fire for sacrificial ritual or that for cremation. As for procuring the latter, a quotation from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with respect to a sacrificer dying on journey provides a telling warning against nonchalance: "[And] some indeed, burn him in [ordinary] fire [procured] in the village; but let him not do this; for such fire is unappeased: it would be capable of burning him up together with his sons and his cattle" (ŚBr XII.5.1.14, transl. Eggeling Part V: 201). In the gṛhya sūtras a number of not altogether clear instructions can be found for procuring fire at the death of for example students or family members who cannot be cremated with either the domestic or the śrauta fires.

Just like they do in the setting up of the sacrificial fires, the gṛhya and the śrauta spheres touch again in the antyeṣṭi. Elements so painstakingly distinguished in śrauta ritual - notably the fires of an āhitāgni - appear to be conflated in the last sacrifice. Or, to put it differently, what is separated in the agnyādheya comes together again in the antyeṣṭi, which constitutes in more than one respect a mirror image of the dīkṣā and of sacrifice proper. As Bodewitz (1976: 170-173) observed, agnihotra and cremation do more than once occur within the same context. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa expresses the explicit view that cremation is, indeed, the counterpart of the first, silent agnihotra that is performed immediately after establishing the śrauta fires. In the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa Agni *is* Death (Mṛtyu), subdued by the Gods with milk and soma, and maintained by men as their agents on earth (Bodewitz 1973: 44, 45; 116).

To be sure, the antyeṣṭi is the ultimate destination of the individual sacrificer all along and the way to his rebirth, but the gate through which to pass appears different from the one leading to immortality that opens up in śrauta sacrifice. It is no wonder then that the successor to the Vedic dīkṣita, the sannyāsin, abandons the worldly state before entering the antyeṣṭi and keeps beyond reach of the flesh-eating Agni.

IV

Looking at today's practice it seems as if a fundamental change has taken place in the ritual use of fire. While the funeral fire is ubiquitous, the fire sacrifice so central to the Vedic cult appears to be all but extinct. According to the received view it is only in a few pockets of the subcontinent that remnants of the once central ritual of the fire can still be observed, be it on the verge of extinction. Examples in case are Michael Witzel's (1976, 1986) observations on the present state of the Vedic ritual in Nepal and, of course, Staal's (1983) famous recording of the fire cult in Kerala. Yet the received view on the state of the fire cult in South Asia remains to be questioned, not only because the subcontinent is such a vast area to survey, but also because of the ways along which such a view has been reached. It is beyond doubt that the ritual once codified for eternity in the śrautasūtras is no longer common practice in South Asia, if it has ever been that common. Armed with the śrautasūtras and in search of their vestiges one runs the risk of becoming the victim of one's own point of departure.

Social anthropology generally corroborates the indologist view on the fire ritual in South-Asia. By overstressing (e.g. Fuller 1988) the distinction between blood sacrifice (*bali*) and more peaceful, vegetarian receptions (*pūjā*), fire sacrifice tends to be simply ignored. Yet the *homa* or *yajña* is part of popular ritual from South-India to Nepal, and usually precedes the more spectacular *yātrā* (procession) of a divinity.

Rather than just noticing the disappearance - and in rare cases the survival - of classical ritual it is to be investigated how the various forms of fire ritual presently encountered relate to each other. In Nepal, where many archaic rituals have been preserved, several forms of fire ritual continue to exist side by side. Fire rituals accompanying the *saṃskāras* or *rites de passage* - the contemporary version of the gṛhya ritual - largely fall beyond the scope of this article. An exception has to be made for the saṃskāra par excellence, cremation, which, as far as it can be tracked down, has been on the interface of the gṛhya and śrauta spheres.

The comparison of past and present is not without pitfalls, though. While it can be maintained that today's domestic ritual does, at least in outline, correspond to the ancient gṛhya rites, the variety of non-domestic fire rituals witnessed in Nepal cannot possibly be equated to the śrauta ritual. Nevertheless, some clues for comparison exist.

V

Alongside the numerous fire sacrifices which are, whether Hindu or Buddhist, generally designated as Tantric, there are a few instances of fire ritual which may be called Vedic. Foremost among them is the ritual performed in the Agnimaṭha in Pāṭan. This "fire temple", an ancient two-storied building with wood carvings at its front, has at the ground floor a blackened *agniśālā*. A Vedist inspecting the scene will on the one hand be struck by recognition and on the other hand be filled with surprise. The form and setting of the three main śrauta fires is in near-conformity with Vedic prescript. The round gārhapatya is located in the Western part of the agniśālā, the square āhavanīya East of it while the dakṣiṇāgni is, as a half circle, joined onto the Southern wall - be it in a position reverse to the prescribed one. The fire-pits are erected at about half man's height and are made of unburnt bricks covered with a mud layer. These well-like structures are completely filled with ashes, on top of which the fire burns. Leaning through the one open window one discerns two smaller square fire-pits in the Northeastern and the Southeastern corner which can be identified as the *sabhya* and the *āvasathya* fires with between them, against the Eastern wall, a similar structure on which no fire, but a *kalaśa* (earthen water jug) is installed.

While such pecularities are likely to be surmountable for a broad-minded Vedist, the actual use of the respective fires may shock him. For the āhavanīya is not only used as a receptacle for oblations, but also serves to cook the sacrificial substances: the daily *khir* offering to the forefathers (New.: *pitri*) and the fortnightly *puroḍāśa* rice cakes. It must at once be said that the officiants are aware of a deviation here. Without awaiting the question they explain that cooking should not take place at the āhavanīya.[5] But, as it is, the āhavanīya is kept permanently burning while the other fires receive only a token fire. It is therefore all the easier to make use of the ever-present fire.

Witzel (1986) made an elaborate comparison between the actions prescribed in the Vedic agnihotra and those witnessed in the Agnimaṭha and three more recently established agnihotras in Kathmandu Valley-notably the one founded by the Gorkhāli kings in Paśupatināth after their conquest of the Valley. The eldest manuscript on the agnihotra that Witzel could trace in Nepal dates from 1431 A.D. and is completely written in Sanskrit. By contrast the manuscript used by the priests of the Agnimaṭha today mostly consists of Newari instructions interspersed with Sanskrit ślokas. Witzel (1986: 6) found a number of intermediate manuscripts stemming from the vicinity of the Pāṭan Agnimaṭha. However, the priest who is presently in charge of conducting the daily agnihotra or *nitya homa* does so by heart. The textual instructions are only used in the fortnightly offerings in which other priests (*ṛtvijaḥ*) participate.

Judged by Vedic standards, the ritual of the fire in the Agnimaṭha contains a number of disconcerting features. At the same time the contrast with the popular, so-called Tantric fire ceremonies appears obvious, the most significant distinction being that the agniśālā contains several fires, one of which is permanently burning. The common fire sacrifice in Nepal has a single fire which is left to extinguish after the ceremony is completed - usually in one night. In a majority of cases these fire-sacrifices also take place outside the area of habitation, often adjacent to a cremation ghāṭ. In this respect it is most interesting to note that the Agnimaṭha also traces its origin to a shrine in the jungle, as if, in ancient times, such was the appropriate place for the sacred fires. Its original location is said to be in the jungle of Manicuḍa Hill on the Northeastern edge of the Valley. Its existence was put into jeopardy by the advent of Buddhism. Like in the Mahāvastu story of the Kāsyapas (Jones: 425-435), many fire priests converted to Buddhism.

On the higher slopes of Manicuḍa Hill a small lake can be found, which is still popular for making private homas and feasts, but which is otherwise deserted. On the lower slopes of the hill one of the earliest Buddhist monasteries of Nepal, Gun Bahāl, was established. Nowadays Gun Bahāl is especially known for the temple of Vajrayoginī just below it. The monastery is no longer functioning as such, but, strikingly, in the still extant shrine of the building (which houses the procession statues of Vajrayoginī and her attendants), an eternal fire is kept burning. Not Brahmin rājopādhyāyas but a Buddhist vajrācārya family is performing a nitya homa here, consisting of the same ingredients, ghee and nine kinds of grains and beans (but mostly paddy), as are used in the Agnimaṭha, but here conducted at the appropriate time, towards sunrise. For one of the disconcerting features of the agnihotra in Pāṭan is that it is not carried out at dawn and at dusk - as prescribed by Vedic injunctions, but late morning and late evening. The correspondence with sunrise and sunset which is paramount in the Vedic agnihotra, has thereby been lost.

VI

From the specialist point of view, the extent to which the Agnimaṭha does indeed represent the classical ritual, may be questioned on numerous grounds, some of which are yet to be discussed. But is is certainly a claim made by the priests, who place themselves in the White Yajurvedic tradition, and, more particularly, call upon the authority of Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, of which a printed edition is available among them. The influence of these printed texcts on ritual practice can probably be neglected. In the end the impact of the Sanskrit renaissance may very well boil down to certain adjustments made in the ritual terminology used by the officiants. The śrauta fires, for instance, are in the ritual manual and in common parlance not designated by their classical names but by those of the Hindu trinity: the āhavanīya is called Viṣṇukuṇḍa, the gārhapatya Brahmākuṇḍa and the dakṣiṇāgni Rudrakuṇḍa or Maheśvarakuṇḍa. The classical names have possibly been re-attached to the respective fires, albeit with good reason. The identification of *khir* (offered to the pitri) with *odana* (porridge) may even have been boosted by the present observer in search of a clue, but all the same the connection between paying homage to the ancestors (*śrāddha*) and preparing odana appears to be an ancient one (Gonda 1965: 80, 137).

There are, on the whole, several disadvantages inherent to the specialist type of approach. The fact that it often coincides with the aspirations of the officiants may even be considered one of them, for this adds to the already distorted specialist view in which the present-day ritual of the fire is judged by the merit of faithfully representing Vedic precept.

The main objection to following such a method here is that it would treat the Agnimaṭha and its fire sacrifice in isolation, as a vestige of a world that vanished. It is exactly this point of view which easily leads to the conclusion that the role of fire as a cultic element is simply played out in the greater part of South Asia. Instead of treating the Agnimaṭha as an isolated case, some attention will be paid to other instances of fire ritual in Nepal.

A bird's eye's view may initially confirm the impression that fire sacrifice has lost value in the present-day cult. Far from being conspicuous like the blood sacrifices (*bali*), the fire sacrifices in Nepal are mostly performed in the depths of the night on deserted spots. Remarkably, the fire sacrifices which do not claim a Vedic legacy bring to mind the eldest layers of Vedic material - such as unraveled by Heesterman - with the sacrificers setting out for the wilderness to establish their fires. In case of the Agnimaṭha it is told that the few fire priests who managed to escape the blessings of Buddhism, settled at the present place when the city of Pātan was not yet covering the area and a river (the Nekhu, which supposedly flows underground now, just below the Agnimaṭha) was still there. The ancestor of the agnihotrins thought it a quiet place to rest and planted his staff in the ground. Next morning it had grown into a tree, the varuṇavṛkṣa, which at present, with several stems, grows around the small square in front of the Agnimaṭha. In addition to this story Witzel (1986: 7) mentions still another one, which locates the origin of the fire-priests in the West of the Valley. Although not outside the inhabited world, this site (Jhul) is again away from the centre of civilisation.

The story which has the fire-priests originate from Manicuḍa Hill directed our attention to a form of fire ritual which may be called intermediate: not Vedic, but not popular or tantric either. While it was due to Buddhist fervour that the Vedic fire priests were forced to exchange the wilderness for the inhabited world, the Buddhists apparently opted for maintaining an eternal fire and a daily homa themselves. In comparison to the Agnimaṭha it is remarkable that no story exists which accounts for the origin of the single fire at Gun Bahāl or for the reason why it is being maintained. "It is just being done", the eldest of the vajrācārya family clarifies.

The same vajrācārya priests perform a more common homa eight days prior to the yātrā of Vajrayoginī in front of the temple of the Goddess. This time, apart from ghee and nine sorts of grain, 108 pieces of buffalo lungs are offered into the fire, which is then left to extinguish. A similar homa is later performed inside the town of Sāṅkhu before the Goddess returns to her hill shrine. The latter homa might again be called somewhat exceptional, as generally fire sacrifices are only made prior to the procession of divinities through their realm. And, to a great extent at least, they are performed outside the town or village boundaries, since the *pīṭha*, the main seats of the familiar protective divinities, are usually situated outside the traditionally inhabited area.

VII

Although most of the fire rituals are in principle publicly accessible, they are evidently not set up to draw a large public. They may, on the contrary, be enveloped in secrecy, even when performed on the eve of a deity's much-celebrated public appearance. Most significantly, and in contrast with the blood sacrifices, they are not primarily aimed at propitiating the local divinities. The latter, it seems, are rather invited to a ceremony which is directed towards Agni, the Fire itself. The contrasts in question come to light very clearly in the yearly festival of Indrāyaṇī in Kathmandu (Van den Hoek & Shrestha 1992).

All in all about a dozen castes participate in the festival of this local goddess, but the homa is executed by the *yajamāna* and his ritual specialist alone. The yajamāna or lord of the sacrifice, who bears the title Thakū Juju, traces his descent to the kings ruling over Northern Kathmandu a millennium ago. The particular homa is made at the seat (*pīṭha*) of the Goddess Indrāyaṇī. It is performed in a square fire-pit in front of the temple, which is itself adjacent to the cremation ground of the area. Besides grains and ghee the homa has five animal ingredients, four of which are wild species. Foremost among those are the serpents from which the sacrifice derives its name: *sarpabali,* or *sarpāhuti*.

Of the wild animals, sparrows, grasshoppers, fishes and serpents respectively, one pair each is thrown into the fire alive while another pair is released into the air. Those thrown into the fire however are said to obtain true release, *mukti*. The head of a previously sacrificed buffalo, which first made its own yātrā to and from the yajamāna's residence, is offered to the fire unpaired, although indications are that the yajamāna himself represents its living counterpart. Like in the Vedic yajña the idea of self-sacrifice implied here points to the ultimate mystery and essence of sacrifice (see Heesterman 1987). The prominent divinities who are invoked into kalaśas (water jugs) to witness the sarpahoma include the serpents themselves, whose presence as invitees reinforces the idea of self-sacrifice.

Despite the invocation of many divinities at the homa, Agni is considered the sole recipient of it. The next day, when the yātrā starts with pomp and circumstance, only the smouldering ashes of the fire remain as *prasāda* (holy remains) to the people at large.

In some other cases, like that of the yearly Indrāyaṇī yātrā of Kirtipur town, material circumstances force the sacrificers to reduce the preceding homa to a bare minimum. But, with all its shortcomings, the ceremony will still be carried out. In fact fire sacrifice is absolutely essential in the ritual process since without it, the deity cannot start the yātrā. The procession of the deity bears some characteristics of a war-like expedition, due to the fact that most Nepalese towns consist of several divine realms. Frequently they are two antagonistic ones, the boundary between which is crossed in the course of a deity's yātrā.[6] This sequence of events, which cannot be dwelt upon here in more detail, seems to suggest that the fire sacrifice prepares for the assertion of divine power in the realm - a configuration altogether familiar from the classical point of view. To state that the fire sacrifice lost its significance or even vanished from present-day ritual would therefore be quite out of touch with reality, especially where it concerns Nepal.

Yet it is hard to infer the distinctive qualities of the fire sacrifice and its position in the ritual complex from participants' statements. Blood sacrifices are obviously and explicitly meant to propitiate particular divinities. Furthermore, they leave the participants with definite shares in the sacrifices. They are, on the whole, quite comprehensible when viewed within their social context. By contrast the fire sacrifice always contains a mystery, which may be left verbally unexpressed, but all the same becomes clear from the pecularity of its ingredients.

VIII

Often the head of a sacrificial animal is committed to the flames to be burnt completely. The head of the victim forms the very part of it which after a ritual killing (*bali*) is commonly divided among the elders of the *sī* or *sanā gathis*, the cremation societies which are fundamental to Nepalese social structure. The head of the sacrifice thus occupies a central position in both the *bali* and the *homa*, but the quality expressed by it is different in either case. The head which moves from the stage of *bali* to that of *homa* thereby attains another, more elevated quality. Committed to the flames the head is no longer thought of as propitiating a particular divinity and guaranteeing the existence of a community. It is instead entrusted to Agni alone with the purpose of obtaining *mukti* for the animal sacrificed -- and, so it must be inferred, for the yajamāna himself. By this shift of level the homa is no longer aimed at ensuring life as the bali is, but directed at obtaining liberation or immortality -- freedom from both life and death. It is only in rare cases that such a thought can be derived from verbal statements by the participants. Instead the mystery is contained in the act itself.

Fire sacrifices in Nepal are pieces of meticulous labour, in which the yajamāna is assisted by a ritual specialist. The ritual specialists are usually karmācāryas or vajrācāryas, non-brahmin castes of ritual specialists. Generally the office of serving at particular sacrifices for a certain number of patrons passes from father to son. In recent times such offices suffer from discontinuity due to the fact that the reward of the ritual specialists has by no means kept pace with the running inflation. Many of them presently refuse to go to a remote place in the dead of night for just a nominal fee. In that case the yajamāna, no matter how poorly equipped for it, may assume the task himself. Several parties performing a fire sacrifice in the same night at Viṣṇudevī near Kirtipur call upon the services of a brahmin to act for all of them. Formerly each of them brought its own karmācārya who alone possessed the knowledge of the particular secrets involved, as well as the text to be employed during the sacrifice. Hence it was remarkable to see a brahmin performing all kinds of esoteric acts in a totally non-secretive way, accompanying them by heart with mantras drawn from his own professional stock. All fire sacrifices, to be sure, contain a standard part to start with, mostly consisting of the offering of nine or thirty-two kinds of grains, accompanied by oblations of ghee to feed the fire. In the main acts of this standard part the difference between brahmin and karmācārya officiants can hardly be noticed. However, the esoteric part following upon this entry is mostly absent in brahmanical yajñas while it differs from case to case in the non-brahmanical fire sacrifices.

The brahmin hired by the sacrificial parties in Kirtipur quite laconically handled duck liver, goat's head, and to top it all, one hundred and eight pieces of cut-up buffalo lung eligible to be offered into the fire piece by piece.[7] All animal components were derived from *bali* which had taken place earlier, in some cases immediately prior to the homa, in other cases already the day before. Essential parts of the animals sacrificed are thus upgraded by their subsequent commitment to the fire. The origin and nature of those parts are sometimes kept secret, as if they originate by spontaneous generation at the site of sacrifice itself. As argued elsewhere (Van den Hoek & Shrestha 1992), the stage of the fire sacrifice reflects an attempt at creating a closed circuit, a universe in itself. However, the necessity of supplying principal ingredients from outside makes it virtually impossible to achieve that state. Among those ingredients, the fire itself should not be overlooked. Its origin used to be not indifferent.

In Kathmandu a wide-spread story goes that every year people from Kirtipur come to steal the fire of the Indrāyaṇī fire sacrifice which takes place two weeks before the one in Kirtipur. After the homa in Kathmandu has been completed, just before daybreak, the Kirtipur people are supposed to pilfer a log from the still smouldering fire. Efforts to witness that very act failed however. But it could be checked in Kirtipur itself by observing *in situ* the source of the fire. It involved spending a whole midwinter night at a rather desolate site, but towards two o'clock in the morning the sacrificial parties did indeed arrive. At the moment suprême however, when the fire was to be kindled, it turned out that no fire at all was available. "Can I please have your lighter?" the brahmin officiant asked good-naturedly. More than just being an ironic turn of events, the affair in fact touches the heart of the matter. For there was a time when a neutral source of fire could not so easily be found. Before the introduction of matches and lighters almost every fire must have been derived from another fire. Given the ritual connotations of all kinds of fire, the sources from where it might be procured for specific purposes were most likely subject to serious deliberation.

It is of crucial importance to keep this in mind when considering the Agnimaṭha. In fact, several issues playing in the fire sacrifice as it is more generally performed in Nepal have their pendants in the workings of the Agnimaṭha. In addition, of course, the latter institution has its own specialities which will finally be looked upon in somewhat greater detail.

IX

The principal feature distinguishing the Agnimaṭha from other sites of fire sacrifice in Nepal is that it contains five fire places or *homakuṇḍa*, three of which are considered śrautafires or *śrautāgni*. The *sabhyakuṇḍa* in the Northeastern corner and the *gṛhasthakuṇḍa* (*āvasathya*) in the Southeastern corner are not considered śrauta fires and are together called *gṛhāgni*. In fact it is mostly the āhavanīya or Viṣṇukuṇḍa which is in use and which is kept permanently burning until the keeper of the shrine or his wife dies. In the *agnihotra* or *nitya pūjā* the other two śrauta hearths receive only a token fire through a piece of burning wood which is transmitted from the āhavanīya with a fire tong. All officiants agree that the fire should according to rule be transmitted from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya and not reverse. A combination of scarcity of resources and liberty of mind secures that the rule is not kept in practice. The Agnimaṭha is at present a self-supporting institution and its caretakers take pride in the fact that they do not depend on government resources -- all income derives from devotees. There are however strong indications that things have been different under Malla rule. A short historical guide (in Newari) by Aishvaryadhar Sharma (1984), which is available at the Agnimaṭha, mentions the fact that in 1680 king Śrīnivāsa Malla's approval was sought for the entry of a new *agnihotrin* under extraordinary circumstances. Agnihotrin is the official name of the officiant who is consecrated to be the lord of the sacrifice in the Agnimaṭha and who takes care of the daily worship of the fires. He is alternatively called the *yajamāna* or *gṛhapati*, and his entry into the shrine involves an elaborate *dīkṣā* (consecration) designated by the broad term *kalaśārcana*. In 1680 a new agnihotṛin died shortly after completing his consecration, and his successor subsequently requested to enter without performing the kalaśārcana again. The problem whether he could enter without himself undergoing this consecration was apparently brought to the king who delegated it again to the municipal council. The lack of decisiveness on the issue resulted in the fact that the fires in the Agnimaṭha remained extinguished for two years.

The office of yajamāna and those of the five *ṛtvijas*, who are to participate in the fortnightly darśapūrṇamāsa offerings, are only accessible to the Bhāradvāja and Gārgya gotras of Pāṭan (Rājopādhyāya) brahmins. The five ṛtvijas have to fulfill the roles of hotṛ, adhvaryu, udgātṛ, āgnīdhra and brahman in the puroḍāśa iṣṭis on the days following New and Full Moon. If one or more of them fail to be present the others have to replace them in performing the actions which the ritual manual (*pratipada karma*) prescribes for their functions. Once I witnessed the ceremony when the yajamāna, Viṣṇu Jvalānanda, was only assisted by the hotṛ Mādhava Shyām. With the yajamāna reciting the text - the task of the udgātṛ, the hotṛ had to perform the actions of all other ṛtvijas.

The design of the agniśālā, with its three śrauta hearths and its two gṛhya hearths, somewhere holds the middle between the setting of the śrauta ritual and that of the gṛhya ritual, at least in the eyes of the officiants. It may be noticed that Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra's treatment of the agnihotra and the darśapūrṇamāsa (4, 12-15) mentions in passing the sabhya fire among the śrauta fires (Śrautakosa: 133), but this point was not brought up by the officiants. The sabhya fire, in common parlance the Kumārakuṇḍa, happens to be the only of the five fires which is rarely - if ever - supplied with fire. The apparent redundance of the sabhya and āvasathya fires in the Agnimaṭha well fit Heesterman's argument that those two fires have no real function in the śrauta ritual (in Sparreboom and Heesterman 1989: 111-114).

However, the Agnimaṭha in Pāṭan does have has a social function which may be termed 'non-śrauta'. It keeps an open window on the world, a window which is quite literally the only one existing in the agniśālā. Devotees who come to worship Agni offer firewood, paddy and flowers through this window as well as dakṣiṇās to the agnihotrin and his wife. If people want to perform a homa without having the means to carry it out on their own, they may request to have the homa performed on their behalf in the agniśālā. But again it is the āhavanīya and not one of the 'social fires' which fulfills this function. By the way, the same service is being provided by the Buddhist vajrācāryas who maintain their single eternal fire at Gun Bahāl.

Whether the public function of the Agnimaṭha is a later development, brought about by the withdrawal of royal sponsorship after the Gorkha take-over (Witzel 1986: 26, 27) is hard to judge, because ordinary worshippers, unlike kings, do not leave behind a legacy of inscriptions. Rumour has it that once upon a time people could obtain pure fire from the Agnimaṭha to use it in their own domestic ceremonies like initiation, marriage and even cremation. Surprisingly Śrīsanāth Śarmā, a learned ṛtvij inclined to compare the Agnimaṭha's proceedings with the (reprinted) scriptures (see Sharma 1987), conceded that this distribution of fire may have occurred prior to the advent of matches. The appropriate fire for that purpose would have been the sabhya fire, virtually out of use nowadays. Three other ṛtvijas however stated that although such requests were known to be made, fire could never be given out. The external use of the sacred fire would, according to them, certainly pollute the fire of origin.

Although some of the officiants hold that it should be prepared at the gṛhasthakuṇḍa (in common parlance the *Sūryakuṇḍa*) or at the daksiṇāgni, the *khir* or *odana* is in fact cooked on the āhavanīya fire in a small brass pot (*taslā*). The equation of khir with odana may reflect an effort to bring a local practice within the framework provided by the scriptures. The khir, which is in Newari called *tasmai*, is never referred to as odana in ritual practice. The particular substance, which consists of rice boiled in milk with the other pañcāmṛta (ghee, curd, honey and granulated sugar) added to it, is not offered into the fire nor taken as prasāda. After an elaborate śrāddha which the yajamāna performs at the end of the nitya homa, sitting next to the Maṇikuṇḍa kalaśa and facing South, the khir is taken out on two leave plates. One of those is deposited on the *kṣetrapāla* stone just in front of the window entrance to be eaten by dogs, and the other one is left on the courtyard wall to be eaten by crows. If the khir is to be equated with the odana in classical ritual - which, as we saw, cannot be summarily rejected - it is at the same time clear that this particular odana serves the sole purpose of nourishing the pitri, the ancestors. In this respect it is quite different from the puroḍāśa prepared on the days following the new and full moon. Not only is the puroḍāśa offered into the śrauta fires but it is also circulated in four very small portions among the officiants - tellingly, on a small wooden plate called *iḍāpātra*. Although the ṛtvijas are not obliged to touch their portion on the *iḍāpātra*, the yajamāna and his wife, who receive a more than nominal portion of puroḍāśa, are obliged to eat that with their meal.

The puroḍāśa ceremony follows the nitya homa or agnihotra, resulting in a sequence which may take nearly a full day to complete depending on how many of the ṛtvijas appear. As the agnihotra has been elaborately dealt with by Witzel (1986), who also compares it with other agnihotras in the Valley and with the Vedic *vidhi*, it suffices here to make just a few observations that serve our purpose. The agnihotra, to put it most briefly, consists of a series of oblations of ghee and grains into the fire. The three main instruments handled by the yajamāna are also found in use in all other fire sacrifices witnessed in Nepal. They are locally called *dhagaḥ* (the ladle) *catuvā* (a flat copper spoon for scooping ghee from the ladle into the fire) and the *homvā* or *suvā* (< Skt. sruvā) which is a crucial multipurpose instrument. The homvā is a wooden club-like object on top of which a figure is carved- - there are five of them but for daily use one yoni-shaped suvā suffices. Regarding the homvās used in other fire sacrifices in Nepal it is in many cases difficult to discern the figure on its bulge, but it is often said to represent Śiva-Pārvatī on both sides. Although ghee from the ladle can also be scooped into the fire with it, the main function of the *homvā* appears to consist of the mere handling of it. By touching the forehead with it before, during and after the oblation a direct and almost physical contact is brought about between the sacrificer and his fire. It is from the homvā that the officiants in the iṣṭis in the Agnimaṭha inhale with a slurping sound the breath (*vāyu*) of the fire to absorb it as *prāṇa* into their own selves. The only prasāda from the agnihotra consists of a *ṭīka* (mark on the forehead) of soot taken from the homvā and from a mixture of the sacrificials ashes called *agni rakṣā*.

X

There is, however, a pūjā accompanying the agnihotra. Items brought by devotees are placed near the window at the Northwestern corner of the āhavanīya. There a small faded wooden statue of Maitrāvaruṇa is standing with in front of it a wooden block containing two notches for paddy and red ṭīka powder. Although the fire itself can, in addition to ghee and nine grains, be the receptacle of a number of five fruits, its capacity would be quickly exhausted if items brought by devotees were all committed to it. Most of them are placed near Maitrāvaruṇa just below the window and, after having been dedicated, are redistributed again or taken by the priests.

The presence of Maitrāvaruṇa itself is interesting. While in ritual terms the name may refer to a priest officiating in the *paśubandha* animal sacrifice, it does not so here: the offerings in the agniśālā are all strictly vegetarian. Instead Maitrāvaruṇa is worshipped as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa begotten by the nymph (apsaras) Ūrvaśī, and is alternatively called Agastya. During the agnihotra the yajamāna will carry the statue and the pūjā block around the three śrauta fires and around the courtyard. Carrying the statue he represents the ṛṣi Agastya himself. The statue will be replaced at his death, with the entry of a new yajamāna. The wife of the yajamāna, who is during the agnihotra and other ceremonies preparing the substances in front of the dakṣiṇāgni, is called Arundhatī, the wife of Maitrāvaruṇa.[8] Her presence in the agniśālā is essential and her death also marks the end of the yajamāna's term. In the courtyard the yajamāna, with Maitrāvaruṇa on his arm, brings pūjā to the deities residing there: Siddhī Lakṣmī sided by Kumāra and Ganeśa, Viśvakarma, and Karkot Nāga. Varuṇa is not only present in Maitrāvaruṇa and in the Varuṇa-vṛkṣa in the courtyard, but also in the Maṇikuṇḍa kalaśa. The water inside the kalaśa is collected from Śaṅkhamūla tīrtha at the confluence of the Bāgmati and Manoharā rivers during the time of a new agnihotrin's initiation. Varuṇa is called into it by invoking him with the āhvān "Varuṇa Nāga Rāja". At first sight the Maṇikuṇḍa, as a watery element, seems out of place in the agniśālā. At a more profound level it is thought of as holding fire itself, contained by Varuṇa Nāgarāja. In times of crisis or misconduct, fire may break out from the mysterious sixth kuṇḍa.

As for the fire ritual proper, it is completed by burying the āhavanīya with paddy and by inserting a number of *samidh* (small firewoods) right into it. It is not the intention to suffocate the fire but to keep it alive underneath. A similar procedure can be witnessed in other fire sacrifices in the open air, but there the fire will not be revived -- because the place of sacrifice is left after completion of the ceremony.

There are three special iṣṭis in the course of the year in which respectively newly harvested wheat, newly harvested barley and newly harvested rice are made into a special puroḍāśa. Reminding one of the cycle of four-monthly offerings, those iṣṭis are said to be similar in form to the two-weekly puroḍāśa offerings. In all those ceremonies, the agricultural process is enacted with wooden implements. For the occasion the four special homvās belonging to each of the fires are also brought out and handled. The puroḍāśa is cooked in small earthen platters (*saliṁ*) on the āhavanīya. Both the raw rice flour and the cooked puroḍāśa are offered into the three śrauta fires. After the oblations are finished, the hotṛ raises his hands above the fire to absorb the fire into himself. The yajamāna, his wife and the ṛtvijas inhale the breath of the fire from the homvā and apply a soot ṭika from it to their foreheads. Finally they take a reddish ṭika and some prasāda from the items in front of Maitrāvaruṇa. The most important prasāda however is the puroḍāśa itself, which is taken home by the yajamāna and his wife, but which can also be supplied to devotees, in particular to women in want of children. Some of the puroḍāśa ceremonies which I witnessed included in passing the consecration of stone or brass statues for devotees. Services to the public which form an indispensable source of income are thus intermingled with the performance of the śrauta ritual.

XI

So far it has been taken as a starting point in the description that the fire in the āhavanīya is burning. It is now time to turn to the question how the fire is installed there. In the summary survey of fire sacrifice in Nepal it has already become clear that the origin of the sacrificial fire is an issue at stake. At the same time, however, it has been demonstrated how the introduction of neutral sources of fire like matches and lighters tends to solve the problem. Quite a number of fire sacrifices in Nepal were kindled with my lighter. For the sake of accuracy it is necessary to add that the kindling of sacrificial fire generally requires three steps: a source of fire in the first place, a special kind of oil-light (*sukuṇḍa*) which is in turn kindled by that source, and finally a bunch of small firewoods (*sintā*) soaked in ghee which are again lit by the sukuṇḍa. The bunch of sintā, at last, is rashly implanted into the pile of sacrificial woods by the officiant.

Yet it would be unthinkable, even in the indirect way described, that the fire of the Agnimaṭha would ultimately be derived from matches, lighters or any other external sources of fire. The situation in which the fires of the Agnimaṭha are discontinued only occurs at the death of the yajamāna or his wife. As I have not witnessed that situation, my knowledge about it comes from interviews with officiating brahmins, some of whom were present at the last transition of office.

For the cremation of the yajamāna or his wife fire from all the five agnikuṇḍa should be collected in an earthen pot (*bhegaḥ*)[9] from which the eldest son will take the fire to light the pyre. Drawing the attention of the brahmins to the classical prescript of surrounding the funeral pyre with the śrauta fires separately and leaving it to chance which one would eventually light the pyre, they responded with laughter. Such a gamble, in their view, was completely unnecessary, since by putting the fires together first, it was assured in advance that the deceased agnihotrin would reach the highest heaven.

Subsequently all five fire hearths in the agniśālā are broken down in accordance with the classical prescript, and parallel to the procedure followed at the death of a householder. In that case, which, as was related above, can also be witnessed in present-day Nepal, the domestic hearth is broken down.

The new agnihotrin or yajamāna can be chosen among the elders of each of the six Rājopādhayāya lineages in Pāṭan except the one of the brahman officiant. For it is the task of the latter to supervise the investiture of a new yajamāna. After their consecration the yajamāna and his wife will be free from the death pollution which normally touches anyone at the loss of a close relative: "They are like gods". The elaborate initiation ceremony of the new agnihotrin cannot take place at any time of the year. It has to start a few days before the festival of Indra Yātrā in August and must be completed with the first full moon after the turn of the year, that is, fourteen days after the Newari New Year in November. The essential rites take place in the last three days of the given period, from ekādaśī till caturdaśī of the first waxing moon. On ekādaśī the ṛtvijas will sacrifice a goat to Viśvakarma in the courtyard of the Agnimaṭha. Each of the ṛtvijas including the new agnihotṛ or yajamāna and his wife will partake in the shares of the sacrifice. According to the present udgātṛ Śrīsanāth Śarmā, function takes precedence over seniority in the division of the *sī*: the brahman will receive the right eye, the hotṛ the left eye, the adhvaryu the right ear, the udgātṛ the left ear, the āgnīdhra the upper jaw, the yajamāna the tongue, his wife the right lower jaw and finally the householder who hosts the feast afterwards will receive the left lower jaw. The division of the head of the sacrifice faithfully reflects the way a head is normally divided among the elders of a sī guthi. But in this case it is not a cremation society: the sī guthi of Newar brahmins in Pāṭan contains about sixty families the elders of which do not coincide with the assembly of ṛtvijas. The feast which the ṛtvijas enjoy this ekādaśī will be the last occasion for the yajamāna and his wife to taste meat. After this day they are to live strictly vegetarian.

The day after, on dvādaśī, the party will go to the confluence of rivers at Śaṅkhamūla to call upon Varuṇa Nāgarāja to enter the Maṇikuṇḍa kalaśa anew. The kalaśa is reinstalled in the agniśālā that very day. The following day the fire will be installed in the gṛhastha- or Sūryakuṇḍa (āvasathya) by means of a burning-glass. It is only on the last day of the sequence, caturdaśī, that the śrauta fires will be installed again.

According to Vedic vidhi the fire for that purpose is to be churned, but the *agnyādheya* which indeed takes place is a very peculiar one. A small stick of Aśvattha wood is used as one *araṇi*. By means of a rope wound around it the stick can be twirled. The aśvattha stick is then placed vertically on a block of wood coming from the varuṇavṛkṣa. Between them a piece of cotton is inserted in order to make it easier for the wood to catch fire. The peculiar thing is that the whole structure is again placed on the belly of Arundhatī, the wife of the entering yajamāna. It is extremely difficult and time-consuming to procure fire in this way. After having been a few hours in this position, the wife of the present yajamāna had to give up. She was replaced by a piece of her dress, and finally, after nearly a full day, fire was obtained. Kept overnight in a fire-pot (*makaḥ*), the fire is being installed in the śrauta hearths the next day. Contrary to the Vedic injunction, it is first installed in the āhavanīya and transmitted from there to the other two śrautāgni. In the end, it seems, one sacrificial fire would be sufficient to fulfill all ritual purposes -- like in the other fire sacrifices witnessed in Nepal.

XII

Comparing the fire sacrifice of the Agnimaṭha with its more vulgar counterparts, one finds both striking resemblances and sharp contrasts. It is only at a single occasion that fire is actually churned in the Agnimaṭha, but it is likely that the homvā in all fire rituals represents the process of churning in one piece. The common figure of Śiva-Pārvatī on it is highly suggestive in that regard. Except for the domestic homas performed on the occasion of saṃskāras, fire sacrifices in Nepal generally take place once a year in the open air. They thus lack the permanence and the guarded purity of the sacrificial fires in the Agnimaṭha. They are frequently performed next to cremation grounds with the sacrifice forming, as it were, a mirror image of cremation. Of course, in classical terms the relationship is conceived of as just reverse, with the cremation fire being the ultimate reflection of sacrifice. In the end, and perhaps originally, they are reflecting each other and penetrating each other's domains. The Vedic agnihotra as performed in the Agnimaṭha was seen to contain an elaborate śrāddha conducted by the yajamāna, as if, also here, death and transcience enter the secluded space of sacrifice. More than just being a local addition, it shows again the profound ambiguity of sacrifice and death which has lasted through the centuries.

The ambiguity of Agni itself is indicated in the Agnimaṭha by a string of kuśa grass wound around the agnikuṇḍas. Its function is to contain the fire within its confines, in order that Agni may not assume its raging quality and strike outside. Especially the ever-burning āhavaniya bears this dangerous character. The rope of kuśa grass which was once used to churn the fire, is brought out again in the fire ritual and held up to the āhavaniya to once more secure the purity and subdued quality of the sacrificial fire. At the end of the ceremony the wife of the yajamāna touches with it the gārhapatya to signal to the fire the stopping of its services. If not controlled in that way, Agni might turn into the ravaging form it has in the cremation fire. According to the officiating brahmins Agni might, once beyond control, even burn the brahmins themselves alive. The ambivalent nature of Agni as testified by the Vedic texts and treated above, is thus clearly demonstrated in the Agnimaṭha.[10]

Conclusion

From a social point of view it is remarkable how closely the assembly of ṛtvijas resembles the composition of a sī guthi without being one. The ritual priorities are different, but both associations contain the same elements. The sī guthi is in the end directed at conducting the cremation of its members, but its activities extend to other sacrifices. The ṛtvijas on the other hand, concerned as they are with the continuity of the fire rites, are totally disrupted in their activities at the moment death touches their yajamāna. Before a new yajamāna enters the agniśālā and the fires can again be installed, they perform a bali exactly similar to the ones which are performed yearly by most sī guthi's. In case of the latter, it is the guardian of the mostly secret patron deity of the guthi[11] who like the yajamāna receives the tongue as his share in the head of the sacrifice. Things which are regular in the one case are exceptional in the other -- but they occur in both. The Agnimaṭha is not at all that far removed from Nepalese society as its appearance makes one believe. Both the sī guthi and the assembly of ṛtvijas tackle the central theme of sacrifice and death, but, by holding different standpoints, they appear to be each other's antipodes. The contrast which is thus manifested may well reflect the very circumstances which once set apart the śrauta ritual from the common worldly rites. The polarity of sacrifice and death, of the funeral pyre and the sacrificial fire, may in itself form the most lasting expression of cultural continuity throughout the centuries. Henceforth it is in that underlying idea, rather than in the faithful performance of fossilized precepts, that we must seek the authenticity of the Agnimaṭha and its liturgy.

NOTES

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1. On the ambiguities of the antyeṣṭi as performed in present-day Benares see Jonathan Parry's "Sacrificial death and the necrophagous ascetic", esp. pp. 76-81.
2. In case the wife of an āhitāgni dies first, he should remarry as soon as possible and reinstall the śrauta fires.
3. In the older ritual texts (Caland 1896: 54) and in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (Bodewitz 1973: 141, 147, 148) a cow is sacrificed. Ṛgveda X.16 has both the goat and the cow, with the latter serving the explicit purpose of protecting the body of the deceased. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I.49 states in detail how parts of the dissected *anustaranī* cow are to be laid on the dead body, which is finally covered with the cow's skin and addressed with the words: "Prosper with your own body" (Bodewitz 141).
4. The handling of the funeral fire here relates the procedures followed in the small town of Sāṅkhu. Regarding funeral observances considerable local and caste-bound variations exist which cannot be dwelt upon here; see however also note 9.
5. Cooking on the āhavanīya is however not unthinkable within the context of Vedic ritual. It occurs in Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (1.8.34; 2.5.18) as a procedure for a sacrificer without a wife (Hillebrandt 1879: 14). Although the Agnimatha priests consider KātŚS authoritative, they do not refer to the specifics of the

text, neither here nor with regard to such delicate issues as the permanence or transmission of the respective fires (Dumont: 3) or the worship of the pitri in the agnihotra (Dumont: 17).

6. The assertion of *kṣetra* in a divinity's yātrā is not confined to Nepal. Cf. the warrior role of Cellattamman in Madurai, Tamilnadu (Van den Hoek 1979), whose yātrā is also preceded by fire sacrifice, which did not receive due attention in the article referred to.
7. The Tantric aspect of these offerings cannot be elaborated here, but its pecularity should not be exaggerated. An early parallel can be found in the Vedic paśubandha in which the omentum of a he-goat sacrificed to Agni and Indra is offered into the āhavanīya (Oldenberg 202, Caland 1921: 251-255, ĀpŚS VI 19-21).
8. According to the scriptures, of course, Arundhatī is the wife of the ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha rather than Agastya. The Agnimaṭha priests use the names Maitrāvaruṇa and Mitrāvaruṇa interchangeably. For a thorough treatment of the implications see Witzel (1986: 21, and in this volume). See also the article by Schmidt, in this volume.
9. The *bhegaḥ* - a pot-bellied earthen container - also features in Pradhan's (1988: 194) general description of the Newar cremation rites. Interestingly, Pradhan in a note (p. 234: 16) refers to the possibility of the fire dying out during the funeral procession. In that case fire should be recovered from one of three eternal fires in the Valley: Pacalī, Sānkhu (i.e. Gun Bahāl) or the Pāṭan Agnimaṭha! As we saw, the priests of the Agnimaṭha confirm the rumour but deny the actual distribution of fire since that would pollute their sacred fires themselves. The keepers of all other eternal fires in the Valley, at Pharping Bajrayogini, at Dakṣinakālī, at Sānkhu Gun Bahāl and at Pacalī Bhairav deny the distribution of fire for the same reason.
10. On the dangerous side of Agni see also Heesterman, f.c. *The Broken World of Sacrifice*, ch. III. In popular Nepalese fire-sacrifices, it should be noted, the homakuṇḍa and the firewood are surrounded with cotton strings that are mostly said to fulfill the same function as the ropes of kuśa grass in the Āgnimaṭha: to control Agni. Sometimes, however, the argument runs both ways: Containing Agni will not only prevent him from assuming a destructive nature, but will also protect the fire itself from impurities which might intrude upon it from outside.
11. This secret divinity is always, it seems, a representation of Death itself. For details on the (Manandhar) sī guthi sacrifice see Van den Hoek & Shrestha 1990, pp. 10-13.

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CHANGES IN THE VEDIC PRIESTHOOD

Ronald Inden

Most scholars have seen how priesthoods in ancient India were composed neither as a question of contested claims concerned with knowledges about the world nor as one of how people, especially kings and priests, constituted themselves as polities. Anxious to see Indian religion as a private, household phenomenon, even on the part of kings, scholars have generally avoided the problem of public religious commitment. I wish to raise these questions here about the Vedic priesthood. I do so, however, not because I agree with Professor Heesterman's idea of an "inner conflict" in ancient Indian tradition, but because I do believe that people did not always agree with one another within a tradition or even about what constitutes their tradition. Briefly, I will argue that significant changes took place in the Vedic priesthood from the early centuries BC down to the eighth and ninth centuries and that these changes are attributable to the ontological claims made by specialists and to the mediation and acceptance of these claims as commitments by royal courts. These claims were of two sorts, closely related. One was cosmological and had to do with knowledge of terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial phenomena. The second was theological and had to do with knowledge of the divine's nature and how it should be worshiped.

As every student of the Vedas knows, the priesthood for the performance of Vedic sacrificial rites, the Śrauta sacrifices that employed multiple fires, the most famous of which was the elixir, Soma, consisted of a basic cadre of four priests called Ṛtvij ("seasonal sacrificer"). These are the Hotṛ, the reciter of hymns, the Adhvaryu, performer of sacrifical manipulations, the manual worker, the Udgātṛ, the singer, and the Brahman, the overseer of the sacrifice. Indologists have had little difficulty in stating that the three Vedas considered to form a set, the Ṛg, Yajur, and Sāma and often called the triple Veda or learning (*vidyā*) were linked with three of the priests, the Ṛg with the Hotṛ, the Yajus with the Adhvaryu, and the Sāman with the Udgātṛ.

If we ask what knowledge that is, what Veda, the Brahman was supposed to bring to bear on his task, however, life begins to become a little complicated. One might think that the later and fourth Veda, the Atharvan, would be linked to the Brahman, but the tradition as Indologists have construed it is not as forthcoming as it might be. As long ago as 1859, Max Müller, the first scholar in Europe to make an extensive study of the Vedas, argued that the Brahman had to know all three Vedas and the Atharvāṅgiras, that is, the remedial and injurious rites that make up the Atharvaveda, and should not, therefore, be seen as coordinate with the priests of other Vedas.[1] Some fifty years later, Caland and Henry state in the Preface to their monograph that the Brahman holds a place apart:

> In principle he is silent and inactive and yet he passes for the most important personage of the drama which is played out under his eyes. He is 'physician of the sacrifice': if something is forgotten he knows the efficacious rite and formula for annulling the consequences; he completes the rite, offers the formula and returns to his position of rest. Otherwise he has nothing to do.[2]

The only hint they give of trouble is when they refer to the *AV* as his "usual" Veda. Other scholars have emphasized the "higher" aspects of the Brahman's role. Renou and Silburn, for example, argued that his knowledge is "undifferentiated", that he "is possessor of those 'connective' revelations which are the solution to the Brahman as enigma. He is the living *bandhu*", and conclude that "he will be the true initiator and holder of the knowledge contained in the Upaniṣads".[3]

Some of the major reference works finesse the issue of this priest's Vedic connection and intellectual standing by avoiding any mention of linkage between Veda and priestly function.[4] Renou connects the three Vedas with priestly functions but avoids linking the Brahman with the *AV*.[5] We are thus left with a somewhat confused picture so far as the Brahman priest is concerned. Especially troublesome to Aryanist scholars, those Indologists who wished to see the Vedic Aryans as cousins of their racial and cultural ancestors, is the notion that the Brahman, who supervises the sacrifice should be linked with the latest and lowest of the Vedas, the one concerned with the mundane life of the householder, with spells and magic and other superstitions.

The other priest that attracted the attention of Indologists in their attempts to recover knowledge about the Vedic sacrifice was the Purohita, the one "placed in front" of the king, or royal priest. Bloomfield, who made an extensive inquiry into the *AV*, concluded that "The king's chaplain (purohita) was in all probability as a rule an Atharvan priest".[6] But what was the relationship of the royal priest to the four Ṛtvij priests? Macdonell and Keith rehearse the differing views of the earlier Sanskritists and they conclude that "It is thus clear that the Brahman was often the Purohita; and it was natural that this should be the case when once the Brahman's place became, as it did in the later ritual, the most important position at the sacrifice".[7]

To his credit, Max Müller, saw the complexity of this situation:

> According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests, the supervision of the whole sacrifice, and the remedying of any mistake that might have happened belonged to the Brahman. He had to know the three Vedas, to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice, and to advise the

> other priests on all doubtful points. If it was the office of the Brahman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice, and if, for that purpose, the formulas of the Atharvāṅgiras' were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Brahman who had to acquire a knowledge of these formulas. Now the office of the Brahman was contested by the other classes of priests. The Bahvṛcas maintain the office of Brahman should be held by a Bahvṛca (Hotṛ), the Adhvaryus maintain that it belongs to one of their own body, and the Chandogas also preferred similar claims. It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances, though not always, it was held by the Purohita, the hereditary family priest".[8]

The difficulty with Max Müller's resolution, usually adopted in a simplified form by later scholars, is that it ignores the fact that the Purohita was supposed to be expert in the *AV*. We can reconcile this with the notion of the Purohita acting as Brahman only if we assume the precedence of the *AV* over the other Vedas! This is, of course, a conclusion that most of the Aryanists would find unacceptable.

I believe it is possible to shed some new light on this question but only if we give up a major assumption shared by most of the earlier Indologists, that a fixed, unitary system of Vedic sacrifice evolved out of an earlier relatively indeterminate situation. If we are prepared to see that people took different positions about the Vedic priesthood and its relationship to the king because they had differing visions of how their world should be ordered, I believe we can make better sense of the evidence. What I propose to look at is the discursive evidence. First I look at Vedic discourses and then at the post-Vedic discourses of Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas.

Sacrificial Priesthood and Royal Priest in Vedic Discourses

The Vedic evidence comes not from the Saṃhitās ("compilations") of the Vedic hymns themselves - I shall forego the Indologists' pleasure of delving into the Vedic hymns themselves for evidence - but from the Brāhmaṇas ("explanations" of the rites and gods) and the Kalpasūtras ("aphorisms on ritual"). Attached to the Saṃhitās, they "told" their users how to deploy their knowledge of the Veda and why.

It is relatively easy to identify the rites that a twice-born celebrant (*yajamāna*) who had sufficient wealth would have most commonly performed because their undertaking is graded in the ritual texts. Higher, more elaborate rites presuppose the earlier performance of lower, simpler ones. Several texts refer to the basic rites as seven in number under the rubric "sacrifices of general oblations" (*haviryajña*).[9] The relevant texts generally agreed that the cycle of rites a twice-born, including a king, was supposed to perform continuously after executing the Agnyādhāna (or Agnyādheya; Kane II, 986-7), the first of the seven, the one whose purpose was the establishing of the sacrificial fires themselves, consisted minimally of the Agnihotra (a daily offering into fire to the Sun, morning and evening), the second of the rites, and the Darśapūrṇamāsau (fortnightly on Full Moon and New Moon Days). This was the model (*prakṛti*) for all other rites of the *iṣṭi* type, that is, those in which four priests were employed. Higher up the scale was one of the several transformations (*vikṛti*) of that rite, the Āgrayaṇeṣṭi, offering of first grains on New or Full Moon Day in Vasanta with barley, and in Śarad, with rice (Kane II, 1106-7).

Additionally, he might perform the still more complex Cāturmāsyāni (four-monthly sacrifices), performed on Full Moon Days (and for which a fifth priest was required): the Vaiśvadeva, at the end of Phālguna (February), marking the transition from the Cold to the Hot Season; Varuṇa-praghāsa, at the end of Āṣāḍha (June), marking the transition from the Hot (*śita*) to the Rainy Season (*varṣā*); Sākamedha, at the end of Kārttika (October), marking the transition from the Rainy to the Cold Season.

The offerings in the sacrifices so far were vegetal. Higher than these was the Paśu-bandha ("tying of the animal", because it involved tying the sacrificial animal to a special post called the *yūpa*), to be carried out (with the help of a sixth priest) on both of the solstices. Higher still were seven sacrifices of the Soma type (requiring a complement of sixteen priests). The simplest of these, the Agniṣṭoma, was the model (*prakṛti*) for them all. It was to be performed annually in Spring. Texts also refer to another set of seven sacrifices, all elaborations of the Soma, as "royal sacrifices".[10] Of these two were of special importance. Kings who wished to proclaim their intention to conquer the quarters performed the Rājasūya, which Heesterman analyzed in his doctoral dissertation.[11] A king who succeeded in his conquests performed the Horse Sacrifice (*aśvamedha*).

Priests in the Sūtras of the Triple Veda

So far as the priesthood was concerned, these ritual texts are clear. According to a chapter of Āpastamba laying down general rules (*paribhāṣā*), "The Hotṛ should do his duties with the Ṛgveda, the Adhvaryu with the Yajurveda, the Udgātṛ with the Sāmaveda, and the Brahman with all the (three) Vedas".[12] That is, the Brahman, as overseer of the whole of the sacrifice, should be master of the entire triple Veda. It is only the commentary, from many centuries later, that draws in the *AV*.[13]

None of the contemporary evidence requires that the Brahman know the *AV*.[14] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (V.32/XXV.7), for example, states that while each of the other priests uses one Veda, the Brahman performs the sacrifice with the triple knowledge; V.34 (XXV.9) states that the

Brahman, who appears to do nothing at the sacrifice, receives his fees because he is the physician of the sacrifice and provides the measures for correcting errors in the sacrifice without resort to the *AV*. On the other hand, it certainly does, as Max Müller pointed out, allow for schools of the triple Veda to claim the position of Brahman for themselves. The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (VI.11), for example argues that the Brahman should be learned in the triple Veda and should be a man of the Ṛgveda:

> They say, 'Since it is by the ṛc that the Hotṛ becomes Hotṛ, by the Yajus that the Adhvaryu becomes Adhvaryu, by the Sāman that the Udgātṛ becomes Udgātṛ, by what does the Brahman become Brahman?' That sap of brilliance which he developed from the threefold lore, by that the Brahman becomes Brahman. They say 'What should he know and what his metre whom he should choose as Brahman?' 'An Adhvaryu', some say, 'he knows the place for moving about'. 'A Chandoga', some say, 'so are his *haviryajñas* performed with the three Vedas.' 'A Bahvṛca' is however the rule. 'The other two Vedas are attendants of that [the Ṛgveda], and on it very many Hotṛ's functions depend'. With Ṛcs the cups are drawn, to Ṛcs the Sāmans are sung; therefore should he be a Bahvṛca. They say, 'How much of the sacrifice does the Brahman perform? How much the other priests?' "A half" should he reply. There are two tracks of the sacrifice; one is performed with speech, the other with the mind; that which is performed with speech the other priests do; that which [is performed] with the mind, the Brahman does; therefore so long as they perform with the Ṛc, the Yajus, the Sāman, so long should the Brahman sit, for he performs a half of the sacrifice.[15]

To sum up, so far. The early discursive texts of the triple Veda on ritual leave little or no space for a priest of the *AV* to act as Brahman, which priest they clearly see as the supervisor of the Śrauta sacrifice, both in the sense that he is a theologian or philosopher and in the sense that he is a technical specialist capable of remedying errors in the sacrifice. While the texts of the triple Veda agreed in more or less ignoring the *AV*, they did not agree on which of them should act as the Brahman. Was this a question of distinctions without a difference? Was the contention merely one over social status and personal or group gain? Certainly I would not rule these out altogether, but I think we should at least allow for the possibility that more was at stake here in these claims. As we know, each of the Vedic schools had its own Upaniṣads. If we are willing to give up the notion that these texts in essence all taught the same thing, a monistic idealism, then we might allow ourselves to think that, in their respective Upaniṣads, the different Vedic schools were committed to different ontological positions.

As already indicated, the early evidence (taken out of discursive context) suggests that the royal priest, like the Brahman, could have an affiliation with any of the Vedas. The picture that emerges from the discursive and prescriptive ritual texts, the Kalpasūtra, knowledge of which, as we know, was necessary for the use of the poetic material from the Saṃhitās in rites, is more complex. To begin with, the discursive texts which discuss the Purohita do so not in the context of a pre-existing Śrauta liturgy, enjoined in the Veda, but in the context of a revised Vedic religion, the Smārta, "that derived from memory" or tradition. Perhaps as early as the sixth or fifth century BC (contemporaneous with and just after the time of the Buddha), priests of the Vedic schools affiliated with the triple Veda constructed a "householder" religion which established a liturgy compulsory for the men of the upper three estates, and especially the Brahmans. They produced the rules for this regimen in ritual texts called the Gṛhya or Smārta Sūtras and in more general texts on moral practices, Dharmasūtras that supplement the earlier Śrauta-sūtras of each school. The rites these texts prescribe, many of which doubtlessly rework pre-existing but uncodified life-cycle rites, were built around a "shortened sacrifice" (*pākayajña*) into a single fire as the basic fire sacrifice. The householder could, according to one text that is explicit about the matter, appoint one Ṛtvij to perform these sacrifices, a Brahman, to sit silently south of the fire, facing north, and oversee, while the householder carried out the functions of the Hotṛ; or, the householder could himself act as both.[16] Needless to say, the priest who performed these rites would be drawn from the school of the triple Veda to which the household itself (in the case of a Brahman) was affiliated.

Most of the Dharmasūtras enjoin a king to appoint a Purohita, but without saying specifically anything about the Veda to which that priest should belong. The *Dharmasūtra* of Gautama, probably the product of a Gautama school of the Sāmaveda,[17] would have the king appoint a royal priest endowed with "Vedic learning" (*vidyā*), but does not specify which Veda (Gautama II.12). It is clear, however, from what follows that he should be knowledgeable in the *AV*. Gautama says that the king should attend the advice of experts on portents caused by the gods (Gautama II.15-16) and then enjoins the king, through the royal priest, to perform rites of increase (*abhyudayika*), namely, pacificatory rites (*śānti*), auspicious day, success (*svastyayana*), long life, and prosperity as well as those causing enmity (*vidveṣa*) and favorable disposition (*saṃvanana*), bewitchment (*abhicāra*), and failure of the enemy (*dviṣadvyṛddhi*).[18] These are none other than the complementary classes of remedial and injurious rites in which the *AV* specialized. The text immediately states that Ṛtvij priests as appropriate should perform the other rites (Gautama II.18). The commentary of Haradatta asserts that Ṛtvij priests perform both the Smārta and Śrauta rites and that only one priest, the Adhvaryu, performs the household rites. It is clear from other Sūtras, however, that the Purohita himself was to perform the household rites.[19] Āpastamba (II.5.10.14) says that the Purohita should be learned in Dharmaśāstra and Daṇḍanīti. Baudhāyana (I.18.7) instructs his king to appoint a Purohita distinguished in everything, implying that the royal priest should have a general knowledge of the Vedas and not be a specialist in one or the other.

Now, one can hardly believe that these ritual texts would require kings to appoint Purohitas and would elevate the position of that priest if it were usually the case that the *primary* affiliation of the Purohita were to the *AV*, for that would imply that the affiliation of the king was also to that Veda and not to the triple Veda and its Śrauta liturgy. On the contrary, the assumption of these Sūtras is that the kings would not only support Brahmans learned in the triple Veda but would also be committed to the performance of the reformed Smārta religion and the older Śrauta liturgy that was, in this discursive formation, a major part of that religion.

Priests in the Sūtras of the Atharvaveda

It was in relation to the emergence of this householder religion that the *AV* priests first made their claims to the post of royal priest. The oldest ritual manual of the *AV*, the *Kauśika-sūtra*, not only contains knowledge of the Atharvan rites that are remedial and productive of prosperity on earth (*śānti-pauṣṭika*) and of the complementary Aṅgirasan rites that are injurious to others (*abhicārika*); it also contains the ritual procedures by which the life-cycle and other daily and other seasonal rites of a householder, and especially a king are to be performed. It probably contains the earliest ceremonial bath of installation for a king that is not performed as part of a Śrauta sacrifice. The composers of this text or those nearly contemporaneous may have been responsible for an earlier redaction of the *AV* which included Books I-XVIII (but not XIX-XX).

The *Kauśika-sūtra* would have its king appoint an Atharvan to the post of royal priest (which, incidentally, it refers to as Brahman and not Purohita), that is, it would place an Atharvan priest in charge of the Gṛhya or Smārta liturgy celebrated by the king (as well as of other householders of the higher estates, save the Brahmans affiliated with the triple Veda), as Bloomfield points out: "The king who rules the country shall seek a wise Brahman (brahmāṇam). He verily is wise that is skilled in the bhṛgu [synonym of *atharvan*] and *aṅgiras*; for the *bhṛgu* and *aṅgiras* act as a charm against all ominous occurrences, and protect everything".[20] But it does not seem to place him in charge of the performance of the Śrauta liturgy, a point that Bloomfield and other have missed. That is, it in no way precludes the possibility of a king appointing a Purohita primarily affiliated to the *AV* while still committing himself to the Śrauta liturgy as carried out by priests of the triple Veda under the supervision of a Brahman of one of those Vedas. The effect of this division of labor, of course, would have been to place the royal priest on a lower footing than the Brahman priest of the triple Veda who supervised the ongoing performance of the Śrauta sacrifices performed for the king.

The Atharvans make the claim to the office of Brahman in later texts. The establishment of the Atharvans' claim to be the Brahman, in the sense of the supervisory priest of the Śrauta liturgy performed for the king, appears in the discourses of the *Vaitāna-sūtra* and especially the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, which presupposes the Vaitāna (in reverse of the usual order). The priests who composed these texts also seem to have added two books (XIX & XX) to the Saṃhitā of the *AV* itself.[21]

Here the Atharvans advance two claims with respect to their knowledge. First, they claim that their traditionally recognized knowledge not only is efficacious in daily life but also in the extraordinary circumstances of the Śrauta sacrificial arena. Their remedial knowledge is able to mend mistakes made in the entire cycle of Śrauta sacrifices at every turn and more effectively than the priests of the other Vedas. Second, they claim to be in possession of a higher knowledge than that displayed by the priests of the other three Vedas, the *brahmaveda*. The Atharvans used this term to mean the knowledge of *brahman*, the cosmic absolute, and the connections (*bandhu*) which constitute that knowledge and as a synonym of the term *AV*. The *Vaitāna-sūtra* begins its discussion of the Śrauta sacrifices by stating that the Brahman, knower of *brahman*, on the occasion of a rite sits silently, according to the rule, to the south [of the main fire] (I.1.). Later, in beginning his rules for the more elaborate Soma sacrifices, which require sixteen priests, the *Vaitāna-sūtra* states that the celebrant should select a man learned in the *atharvāṅgiras* as brahman priest (XI.1-2).

Priests in the Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra

Of course it is quite possible that the Atharvans gained the position of Brahman for the performance of royal sacrifices at some courts without gaining that office with respect to the performance of Śrauta sacrifices for the Brāhmaṇas. Even here, though, I would not be too quick to draw even this conclusion. The *Arthaśāstra* (*AS*) of Kauṭilya,[22] which we can probably assign to the same period as the Gṛhya, Dharma, and Kauśika Sūtras, to the Maurya-Śunga "imperial formation",[23] provides interesting discursive evidence precisely because its author is not especially interested either in supporting the claims of the Atharvans or in refuting them on behalf of the masters of the triple Veda. Concerned with the elaboration of political and economic practices, it has its own claim to further, namely its own inclusion in the Veda.[24]

The *AS* has a chapter (I.9) in which it first treats of the appointment of ministers (out of the cadres of which the king drew his counsellors, *mantrī*). Then it turns to the appointment of the Purohita. The king should appoint a Purohita well-versed in the Vedas and their "limbs", portents/causes, and the science of punishment, and a counter-actor of divine and human calamities/dangers with the means of the *AV* (*purohitam ... sāṅge vede nimitte daṇḍanītyāṃ cābhivinītam āpadāṃ daivamānuṣīṇām atharvabhir upāyaiśca pratikartāraṃ kurvīta*). This passage would seem to suggest the Purohita have *general* knowledge of the three Vedas and their limbs but have a specific knowledge of the *AV*. By listing *daṇḍanīti* as knowledge that a Purohita should possess, the *AS* implies that in this respect the royal priest would be under the direction of the royal preceptor. Elsewhere, in a chapter on remunerations, the *AS* lists the Ṛtvij first, as higher than the preceptor (*ācārya*), who is presumably expert in *AS*, and then the Purohita, implying he is lower than both. All of these, however (along with other high personages), are said to merit a remuneration of 48,000 coins. It is worth noting that diviners (*naimittika*) and astrologers (*mauhūrtika*) are themselves ranked much lower, with assistants to the royal priest (*purohita-puruṣa*), as earning 1,000, because we shall return to the question of these knowledges.

So the evidence in the *AS* would seem to suggest that the royal priest was not acting as supervisory priest of the king's Śrauta liturgy. On the contrary, the Ṛtvij seems to have been a separate person and, since the Adhvaryu who acts as king in the Rājasūya and other sacrifices is to be paid three times the man of equal learning, and the Adhvaryu was a man of the *YV*, we might conclude that the Brahman here stood a good chance of being a man of that Veda rather than the *AV*.

What was the reason for this? I suggest that the masters of Arthaśāstra in their effort to establish its superiority over the miscellaneous knowledge already possessed by Atharvan priests as a Vedic science and its corollary, the superiority of the master of Arthaśāstra, the preceptor (*ācārya*) (and hence himself a counsellor) of the king, have implicitly conceded a hegemonic position to the Śrauta religion and to the Brahman priest as that of major spokesman of that religion. As part of this concession, but also as an attempt to focus royal attention on its own knowledge, the Arthaśāstra displaces the ontological effect of the Vedic sacrifice onto kingly activity, asserting, in verse, that the vow of a king is his readiness to act, the sacrifice itself, command (*anuśāsana*), the sacrificial fee, evenness of conduct, and his initiation for the sacrifice, his ceremonial bath of installation into kingship (*abhiṣeka*).[25] If we carry out this sacrificial metaphor, then the priest for the king's sacrifice would be none other than his preceptor in Arthaśāstra.

The ambiguous configuration we see in the *Arthaśāstra* is confirmed in Manu's *Dharmaśāstra*, a text most would see as fixed in its present form in the Kuśāṇa-Śātavāhana imperial formation, that is, by the end of the second century A.D. Judging by the purport, the text probably emerged from one of the schools of the Black *YV*. It states that the king should appoint a Purohita and Ṛtviks. Although it says nothing about their Vedic affiliations, it most certainly does not make the royal priest the supervisory Brahman.[26] The still later Yājñavalkya-smṛti, which seems to have emerged out of a school of the White *YV*, is a bit more elaborate. Apparently taking up the lines of the *AS*, it enjoins the king to appoint a Purohita who is learned in portents (*daivajña*), and skilled in statecraft (*daṇḍanīti*) and in the Aṅgirasa, which latter assumes that he is expert in the *AV*. The king, continues this passage, should also appoint Ṛtvijas for Śrauta and Smārta sacrifices; and he should perform sacrifices with plenteous fees.[27] Like the *AS*, it places the Ṛtvij priest on a par with the royal priest (I.332).

It is, thus, generally taken for granted by the third or fourth century A.D. that a royal priest is or ought to be a Brahman skilled in the knowledges of the *AV*. But we should not conclude from this that that was the *only* knowledge of the Veda the royal priest might possess. He might also possess knowledge of one of the other Vedas (most likely the *YV*, the Saṃhitā for which we have the most prolific and elaborate Sūtra texts). That any highly educated Brahman might be expected to know portions of the *AV* is confirmed in Manu's text where, in speaking of that text's Brāhmaṇa *par excellence*, the learned Brāhmaṇa carrying out the daily regimen of the Smārtas in a village donated by a king, it states that he may destroy his enemies without the help of a king by using the weapon of Atharvāṅgiras.[28] Finally, we might expect that the supervisory priest of the Śrauta priesthood who performed the sacrifices for a king was usually a Brāhmaṇa of the triple Veda and not, despite the claims of the Atharvans, a royal priest owing primary loyalty to the *AV*.

We have, to sum up so far, found any of four configurations urged or made possible in the ritual texts of the Vedic tradition down to about the third century AD:

DIFFERENT CONFIGURATIONS OF THE VEDIC PRIESTHOOD

(Note: RV = Ṛgveda, YV = Yajurveda, SV = Sāmaveda, AV = Atharvaveda)

View of the Kalpasūtras of the Triple Veda:
Ṛtvij Priests:
Brahman
(YV, RV, or SV)
|
Hotṛ Adhvarya Udgātṛ
(RV) (YV) (SV)
|
Purohita
(YV, RV, SV, or AV)

View of Kauśika Sūtra:
Ṛtvij Priests:
Brahman
(YV, RV, or SV
&)
|
Hotṛ Adhvaryu Udgātṛ
(RV) (YV) (SV)
|
Purohita
(AV)

View of Vaitāna-sūtra:
Ṛtvij Priests:
Brahman = Purohita
(AV
&
RV, YV, SV)
|
Hotṛ Adhvaryu Udgātṛ
(RV) (YV) ((SV)

View of Arthaśāstra/Manu/Yājñavalkya:
Ṛtvij Priests:
Brahman
(YV, RV, & SV)
|
Hotṛ Adhvaryu Udgātṛ
(RV) (YV) (SV)
|
Purohita
(YV, RV, or SV + AV)

Theist appropriations (5th to 9th centuries)

The situation I have outlined did not stay that way for long. The importance of new astronomies and of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva theologies soon entered the picture in the post-Kuṣāṇa-Śātavāhana period. Indologists have often noted that Vaiṣṇavas of the Vaikhānasa order seem during the Gupta-Vākāṭaka imperial formation to have taken over a school of the Yajurveda after which they named themselves.[29] Given the general reluctance of many Indologists to give up the notion that the Vedas and sacrifice have ever remained the core of Indian religion, they have not been inclined to notice the extent to which the theistic orders have carried the appropriation of Vedic schools. This is a complicated subject and one on which scholars have done little detailed research. My own insight into this appropriation as a historical process came to me in the course of my work on a Puranic text of the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavas of Kashmir, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (*VDhP*).[30]

Viṣṇu-smṛti and Baudhāyana Śeṣa

Elsewhere I argue that the text to which the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is the "addition" (*uttara*) is the *Viṣṇudharma-śāstra* or *Viṣṇu-smṛti* (*VS*).[31] This itself is a reworking of what was probably once a Kāṭhaka Dharmasūtra, that is, a Sūtra attached to the Kaṭha school of the Black Yajurveda, into a Vaiṣṇava text. Thus reworked, the text requires that the householder perform a daily worship of the image of Viṣṇu (under the name Vāsudeva) (*VS* LXV) and gives the procedures for carrying out a number of vows in honor of that god (*VS* XC.3, 17-18, 19, 20-3). As for priests, the text declares that a king should cause injuries of divine origin to be stilled by means of remedial (*śānti*) and well-being (*svastyayana*) [rites] and the injuries of the circle of enemies by the diligent use of weaponry; and he should select a Purohita ... who is skilled (*kuśala*) in the Veda, "history" (*itihāsa*), instructions on dharma (*dharmaśāstra*), and on political economy (*artha*) (*VS* III.70). This passage, similar to those I have already cited, clearly assumes that the royal priest have a knowledge of the *AV*. Nowhere does the text state that the royal priest or any other Vedic priest also be learned in Vaiṣṇava modes of worship and theology but that is the clear implication of the text.

A similar appropriation also took place with respect to a school of the Black *YV* that was probably more important than the Kaṭha, that of Baudhāyana (itself a division of a larger school, the Taittirīya). The device its authors used was not the reworking of their Dharmasūtra but the adding of an "appendix" (*śeṣa*) to their Gṛhyasūtra. This gives one of the earliest procedures for the installation and worship of images (*pūjā*) using Vedic mantras in conjunction with a Smārta fire rite (II.13-22). The portion of the text dealing with that topic begins with

Viṣṇu (II.13-15) and then goes on to Śiva (II.16-18), giving him almost equal treatment. Rules for lesser deities are also given (III.3-15). Once again I believe we are entitled to assume that the primary allegiance of the priests who wielded this appendicized knowledge was to Viṣṇu (or Śiva). When we consider this in connection with statements in the Mahābhārata that Vaiṣṇavas considered Viṣṇu the true recipient of Śrauta sacrifices, we can begin to see the extent of Vaiṣṇava attempts both to appropriate the ongoing Śrauta liturgy and to begin reframing it with rites of image worship during the early centuries A.D. More research on the history of the other schools of the triple Veda is necessary before a more definite conclusion can be reached about Vaiṣṇava appropriations.

The Atharva Pariśiṣṭa

Śaivas may have taken a back seat with respect to the appropriations of the Śrauta liturgy through the triple Veda, but they were quite active in doing this through the *AV*. The textual vehicle for this was, as in the case of Baudhāyana, an "appendix", here the appendix to the *AV*, the *Atharvaṇapariśiṣṭa* (*AVP*). The first chapter, "Nakṣatra-kalpaḥ" (itself one of the five *kalpas* supposed to be attached to the *AV*) begins with this: "Obeisance to Śrī Gaṇeśa; Om! Obeisance to Śiva Vāmadeva whose soul is the Atharva (*atharvātman*); obeisance to Śrī Sarasvatī" (p. 3). *AVP* II, "Rāṣṭrasaṃvargaḥ", begins with this invocation: "Om! After doing obeisance to the Absolute (*brahmaṇe*), to knowledge of brahman [i.e., the Atharva-veda], to Rudra the supreme (*parameṣṭhine*), I shall proclaim the Appendix (*śeṣa*) [to the] ritual procedure of the Atharva-veda". From these invocations we can see that the text is claiming that the Veda, the best version of which it obviously assumes to be the *AV*, is inherently a Śaiva text and that Śiva is the supreme god, overlord of the cosmos. *AVP* II equates Guru and Purohita, but distinguishes the *sāṃvatsara* from the latter. It also equates the Brahman and the Purohita, as it does also in *AVP* III. Another chapter (V.1.3-4) lists the royal officers, beginning with the Purohita (after whom comes the *mantrin*) and ending with the physician (*vaidya*) and astrologer (*daivajña*), who come after the keeper of stores (*bhāṇḍāgāra-pati*). No Brahman or Guru are listed, once again indicating that those capacities are exercised by the Purohita.[32] The king is told to entrust (*nyas*) the kingship to the Purohita and to give other/lower places, in proper order, to the other officers (*AVP* V.1.5).

Now, what the *AVP* seems to have in mind is that the Purohita of the king will also himself take charge of the Śrauta liturgy of the king, because the Brahman is the head priest of that liturgy. Since the Purohita, Guru, or Brahman also takes Śiva as paramount overlord of the cosmos, his elevation over the Śrauta liturgy, some of whose priests took Viṣṇu as its chief deity, also made Śiva higher than Viṣṇu.

Where and when did Śaivas make this discursive move that we see in the *AVP*? I think there is little doubt that the *AVP*, as we have it now, was completed in the Deccan. The reason for this is that the *AVP* contains the oldest rules for the performance of ceremonial "great gifts" (*mahādāna*). The most important of these were the Tulāpuruṣa (*AVP* XI), the weighing of a Man in a Balance against gold, and the even more important Hiraṇyagarbha (*AVP* XIII), the birth of a man from a Golden Embryo. From its very beginning, kings appear to have used this rite, like the Vedic Horse Sacrifice, to mark the transformation of their kingdoms into imperial kingdoms. Now the earliest evidence I have found of the performance of this latter rite by a king is a record of Attivarman of the Ānanda dynasty from Guntur District.[33] In it he is described as a worshipper of Śiva "whose birth was from the immeasurable Golden Embryo" (*aprameya-hiraṇyagarbha-prasava*).[34] He probably ruled in the second half of the fourth century or early fifth and may have been the rival of Nandivarman I of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty of Veṅgī, whose family deity was Citrarathasvāmin, form of the Sun (and of Viṣṇu). One of them, Devavarman, claims to have performed a Horse Sacrifice.[35]

The successors of these dynasties in Andhra, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, also performed a rite of this name in the late fifth or early sixth century as did their contemporaries in the Karṇāṭaka, the Cālukyas. Both of these performances were, so to speak, appended to the performance of Vedic sacrifices, especially the Horse Sacrifice. Neither the Pallavas nor any other dynasty of Tamil Nad until the imperial Colas performed such a rite. So it is possible to see these ceremonial Mahādānas as an innovation of Andhra kings, later taken up by the Cālukyas in the Karnataka. Since the earliest rule for a Hiraṇyagarbha appears in the *AVP*, I would tend to date that text to this period and to Andhra. Unfortunately it is not possible from the extant records of these dynasties to ascertain whether they adhered to the configuration of the Vedic priesthood urged in the *AVP*.

The Bṛhat-saṃhitā (6th century)

The last chapter in the story I am telling of the Vedic priesthood begins with the problem of astronomical knowledge. During the third and fourth centuries a new form of astronomy gained hegemony in India. Before that time there were certainly astronomers or astrologers and *jyotiḥśāstra* was an important "limb" (*aṅga*) of the Veda. This older astronomy, however, was basically lunar in its orientation. The Kalpasūtras and the *Arthaśāstra* used a calendar (*pañcāṅga*) that adhered to a lunar year of 354 days, with lunar months that ended on the full moon day.[36] The new astronomy of the *Siddhāntas*[37], appropriated from the Near East, was primarily solar. It also focused, however, on the movements of the planets. The calendar that the solar astronomers made hegemonic was luni-solar, adopting the tropical year of 365 days, the zodiac, and lunar months that end on the new moon day. It also introduced the seven-day week.

The uptake of this new knowledge brought with it other changes. The new astrologer (*sāṃvatsara*) not only introduced rites of planetary worship and pacification, he also involved himself with new rites for the permanent installation of images of the gods.[38] Rites such as these were, in the next few centuries, to displace the older Śrauta religion and liturgy from the center of the Indian stage.

Atharvans composed the AVP during this period of change. It pays considerable attention to the planets and in its list of the annual rites to be performed by the king it specifies days in such a way that it could be taken to adhere to either the old or new calendar.[39] It continues, however, to subordinate this new knowledge to its own. The association of the Atharvans with Śiva, who had a special relationship to the moon, overlord of medicinal herbs (*oṣadhi*) and the lunar asterisms (*nakṣatra*), both major concerns in the *AV*, and the night could hardly have inspired much enthusiasm for the solar astronomy. Texts that astrologers themselves composed did not have these commitments and were able to take a more radical stance.

The most important texts in this regard were those of Varāhamihira, an astronomer/astrologer of the 6th century in Avanti (Malwa).[40] Not surprisingly, he was a devotee of the Sun, to whom he does obeisance in all of his extant works but one.[41] He was probably also a royal *sāṃvatsara*. In the work of most interest to us, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, he accords Viṣṇu first place (chapter 59 on Pratiṣṭhā, the installation of images) where he names those who may follow his rule. Second to be named are the Magas and Savitṛ, while third is Śambhu and the Pāśupatas.[42] It was, of course, perfectly plausible to be a devotee of the Sun and view Viṣṇu as the overlord of the cosmos, because discourses on Viṣṇu from this period took the Sun as a manifestation of him, as a special instantiation of Viṣṇu's pervasive "luminous will" (*tejas*).[43] Thus, just as Siva, during this period, came to be the god of the moon and the *AV*, so Viṣṇu came to be the god of the sun and planets and, indirectly, of the triple Veda.

The effect of these shifts also showed up in certain changes in the position of the royal priest. Varāhamihira calls for a king to appoint both an astrologer and a royal priest for the performance of Bath of Prosperity (Ch. 48, Puṣyasnāna), which could be performed on the occasion of a ceremonial bath into kingship, thereby reframing the older Vedic rite. It is clear that the astrologer should be more important than the priest in that rite, where the relationship of the *sāṃvatsara* to the Purohita closely resembles that of the Brahman to the other Ṛtvij priests. The former performs none of the manipulations, leaving those to the priest. The astrologer interprets the fire for omens; otherwise he is simply present, presumably as the silent, all-knowing supervisor of the rite. In another text, Varāhamihira places the *daivajña* at the head of those - *daivajña*, *mantrī*, *suhṛd*, and *āpta* - whose words the king should heed (Yogayātrā 2.9) and claims that the king who carries out the orders (*vāc*) of the astrologer (*bhagaṇavid*) attains the overlordship of every domain (*sakalamaṇḍalādhipatya*) (Yogayātrā 17.10),[44] yet Varāhamihira does not seem actually to place the astrologer *over* the priest; and he assumes that some other officiant that is an adept in one of the religious orders would also be appointed by the king to act as the priest (*sthāpaka*, "establisher") in the rite of image installation.

The move that these astronomical discourses have made with respect to the knowledges of the astrologer is consistent with the attempt to position planetary astronomy as superior to and inclusive of the old astronomy and as every bit as important as the knowledge held by the royal priest. Not only should the *sāṃvatsara* be expert in the newer aspects of astronomy, he should also be in "learned in *śāntika* and *pauṣṭika* [rites], enchantment (*abhicāra*), and bathing lore (*snāna-vidyā*)".[45] We can see here that the astrologer was clearly poaching on the Atharvan's territory. Not only was he claiming to know what the latter knew, but through his new knowledge of remedial baths, he claimed to have "cures" that were superior to those the Atharvan offered (*Bṛhat-saṃhitā* II). The claims of the astrologer also extended to another domain, for the text asserts that he should also be "occupied with the image worship of the gods, vows, and fasts" (*vibudhārcanavratopavāsa-nirata*).[46] Here we have strong indication of the growing commitment to image worship vis-à-vis the older Vedic sacrifice.

The Viṣṇudharmottara (8th & 9th centuries)

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which relied heavily on Varāhamihira, gave the astrologer roughly the same specialized knowledges that he did;[47] but it also went farther. The *VDhP* makes no mention of a Rājaguru, a preceptor expert in the knowledge of the Pāñcarātras or Pāśupatas. As we have seen, the religious preceptor of the king in the immediately previous discourses was the royal priest doubling as Brahman, supervisor of the king's Śrauta sacrifices. As the *AVP* envisioned it, he was a man learned in the AV who was also committed to the Pāśupata theology. According to such texts as the Appendix to Baudhāyana or the Vaikhānasa Sūtras, he was a Bhāgavata, Pāñcarātrin, or Vaikhānasa, also learned in the triple Veda, and especially the *YV*. The *VDhP* makes the astrologer himself an expert in Pāñcarātra and the preceptor of the king. It does not, however, say so directly, perhaps because of a reluctance to proclaim loudly a major rupture with earlier traditions. Yet if we look at the positioning of the astrologer in the *VDhP* it is quite clear that he is the chief priest of the kingdom. After enumerating his qualifications, the *VDhP* has the king state these words to the astrologer in the course of completing his appointment: "'Just as the gods have fire (*agni*) as their source (*mukha*, "mouth"), so subjects have a king as their source; moreover, just as mantras are the source of fire, so are astrologers of kings. You are my mother and father, guide (*deśika*) and preceptor; what is caused by the gods and what is caused by men is ever to be known by you. O knower of everything, well-being to you, my kingdom belongs equally (*sādhāraṇa*) to us [both]'" (*VDhP* II.12-14).

The *VDhP* is more explicit than many of the earlier texts about the intellectual qualifications of the king's Purohita. He is not only to be learned in the *AV* but also in the *YV*.[48] The *VDhP* emerged out of the Kaṭha school of the Black *YV*, drawing on the contents of the Kāṭhaka *Gṛhya-sūtra* and Kaṭha Upaniṣad, as well as the *Visṇu-smṛti* (itself a reworking of a Kāṭhaka Dharma-sūtra) and it is clear that the Purohita could have been a Brāhmaṇa of that school. What was the relationship of the astrologer to the royal priest? The *VDhP* states regarding the royal priest that, "Ever devoted to the commands (*vacana*) of the astrologer, he should perform the periodic, occasional, and optional rites of the king" (*VDhP* II.5.6). Although the king is not to abandon either his astrologer or priest, the *VDhP* gives one exception: "But a priest who is opposed to the astrologer (*sāṃvatsara-viruddha*) is to be abandoned by the king; otherwise the priest is like the mother and father of the king" (*VDhP* II.5.9-10).

The superiority of the astrologer is also to be seen in the division of the labor between the two. By and large the royal priest performed the rites or those portions of rites that used Vedic mantras and dealt with remedies and injuries and the honoring of lesser gods while the astrologer performed those rites or portions of rites that used newer Puranic mantras and were concerned with the relationship of the celebrant to Viṣṇu.

That the older Śrauta sacrifices were still presupposed in the discourse of Varāhamihira is evidenced by his *Aśvamedhīyayātrā* which updated and elaborated on the signs, good and bad, of the king, his dreams, the sacrificial horse, elephant, etc. for carrying out the Horse Sacrifice, and questions of its timing, including rules for a bath for victory and for sacrifice to the planets. This was not the case in the *VDhP*. That text by no means prohibits the performance of the Śrauta sacrifices, but it does make a bold move: it provides for their virtually complete replacement with an annual cycle of rites in favor of Viṣṇu. In the process, it takes mantras from the older Śrauta sacrifice and inserts them into the new liturgy it constructs. The head priest for these newer rites is the astrologer.

It was in the eighth and ninth centuries, the period of the VDhP, that the performance of the Śrauta sacrifice became detached from the kingships of South Asia. Kings themselves ceased to be the chief celebrants of these rites. This did not mean that others immediately ceased performing Śrauta rites. Men of the Brāhmaṇa estate, settled on tax-free lands, continued to perform them and I would suggest that it was probably in this new milieu that the idea of a priest of the *AV* acting as Brahman may have become the convention, for in this new setting the importance of the Brahman would have been lessened. Vedic priesthoods still dependend on state support but they were themselves no longer in charge of the rites that were of central importance in constituting and reiterating the state. That role now fell to the newly elaborated rites of image worship in honor of Viṣṇu or Śiva. The establishment of these images in temples displaced the older Horse Sacrifices. The Vedic priests did not disappear altogether from these rites, however. They appear as lesser functionaries in them. The *VDhP* calls for a complement of sixteen Ṛtvij priests (as in the older Soma sacrifices) to be appointed by the king for the installation of a god in a temple. The head priest, the equivalent of the Brahman, was of course the astrologer. The others making up the set of four main priests were the architect, chief ritualist (*kalpaka*), presumably an expert in Pāñcarātra, and the reciter (*vācaka*), presumably of Puranic rather than Vedic mantras. Lower down in the hierarchy, four priests, all of the *YV*, play major parts; still lower down, a complement of four priests, one from each of the four Vedas, acts as jar-holders for the bath of the image.[49]

Conclusion

We can see at least three different configurations of the Vedic priesthood before the eighth century A.D. These were not the result of some gradual evolution of a pregiven Vedic religion but the result of contestation among different religious orders or schools for the "enunciative function" with respect to the religious or ontological commitments of ancient Indian polities. The oldest configuration had a Brahman of the triple Veda head the priesthood for the Śrauta sacrifices performed for the king; a separate Purohita, possibly of the triple Veda, but with at least knowledge of the Atharvaveda, acted as priest for the king's household. The second configuration placed a Brahman of the triple Veda who was also committed to the image worship of Viṣṇu in charge of a revalorized Śrauta liturgy, one devoted to that god, and perhaps implicitly placed him in charge of the king's Purohita. Alternately, a Purohita of the Atharvaveda devoted to Śiva took command of the royal Śrauta liturgy, acting as Brahman. Finally, a third configuration put an astrologer at the head of a new priesthood concerned with the performance of a temple liturgy and detached the older Śrauta sacrifices from the kingship altogether.

The approach I have used here, looking at the evidence in texts as different claims contesting for hegemony rather than as expressions of a unitary tradition, itself raises many new questions. Why did the changes that I have outlined take place? What ramifications do these changes have elsewhere in the cultural history of the Indian subcontinent? I believe it is possible to offer provisional answers to such questions as these without reverting to the reductionist materialist or idealist explanations that have so long predominated in Indology. This, however, is not the occasion for these further inquiries.

NOTES

1. F. Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates The Primitive Religion of the Brahmans* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1859), p. 449.
2. W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma, description complète de la forme normale du Sacrifice de Soma dans le culte vedique* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1906), Preface, pp. xi-xii.
3. Louis Renou and L. Silburn, "Sur le notion de *bra'hman*", *Journal Asiatique* (1949), 7-46.
4. A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, "Ṛtvij", *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (London: John Murray, 1912), I, 112-114 and Kane *History of Dharmaśāstra* II, 1010-11, 1020-1.
5. See L. Renou and Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde classique: Manuel des Études indiennes* (Paris: Payot, 1947-9), I, 348-9.
6. Maurice Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897; SBOE, 42), xlviii.
7. A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, "Purohita", *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (London: John Murray, 1912), II, 5-8. V.M. Apte, "Vedic Rituals", *The Cultural Heritage of India* (Calcutta: The Ramakrishna Institute of Culture, 1958), I, 234-63, reluctant to identify the *AV* as the Veda of the Brahman, agrees that the Purohita assumes that office in the ritual of the *Brāhmaṇas*.
8. F. Max Müller, pp. 447-8.
9. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-62) II, 194.
10. Baudhāyana in *Śrautakośa*, I (Sanskrit Section), p. 762; I (English Section) 2, p. 952.
11. J.C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague: Mouton, 1957).
12. Āpastamba, *Śrauta-sūtra*, ed. Richard Garbe (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1902), III.24.16-19: *ṛgvedena hotā karoti/sāmavedena udgātā/yajurvedenādvaryuḥ/sarvair brahmā*.
13. See the translation of Yajña-paribhāṣā-śrautasūtra by F. Max Müller into English, a revision of his earlier 1855 German translation, in *The Grihya-Sutras, Rules of Domestic Ceremonies*, tr. H. Oldenberg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892; SBOE XXX), Pt.

2, p. 321; according to the commentary of Dhūrtasvāmin: "'With all' means with three Vedas because the Brahma-priest, or superintendent of the whole sacrifice, must be acquainted with the three Vedas. Others would include the Atharvaveda".

14. Bloomfield makes this point, *Hymns*, p. lxv.
15. *Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*, tr. A.B. Keith (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1971; 1st pub 1920, Harvard Oriental Series, 25).
16. Khādira, *Gṛhya-sūtra*, tr. Hermann Oldenberg (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1964; Sacred Books of the East, XXIX, 1st pub. 1886) I.2.16-23. "If he does himself the work both of the Brahman and of the Hotṛ, let him sit down on the Brahman's seat, and [leave that seat] placing a parasol on it, or an outer garment, or a water-pot, and then let him perform his other duties" (I.2.23). See also Gobhila, *Gṛhyasūtra*, tr. Hermann Oldenberg (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1964; Sacred Books of the East, XXX, 1st pub. 1892) I.9.8.9 and Kane II, 210. The notion that householders aside from the king and perhaps other important personages had a priest called a Purohita seems to occur much later.
17. According to G. Bühler, *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas as taught in the schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, and Baudhāyana* I, xlix, Gautama is earlier than Baudhāyana which is earlier than Vasiṣṭha; Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin Satyāṣāḍha are both later than Baudhāyana.
18. Gautama, *Dharmasūtra*, with *Mitākṣarāvṛtti* of Haradatta, ed. G.V. Kale (Pune: Anandasram Press, 1966).
19. See the Dharmasūtra of Vasiṣṭha, a famous sage of the Ṛgveda, XIX.3.
20. Bloomfield, *Hymns*, lxi, his translation of *Kauśika-sūtra* 94.2-4. See also 126.2.
21. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1899), pp. 91-2.
22. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. R.P. Kangle (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1960).
23. I use this term to refer not just to "empires" but to a still more complex polity consisting of the hegemonic empires and their others, both allies and foes.
24. At 1.3.1, the *AS* states that the three Vedas, the *AV*, and the Itihāsa-veda are the Vedas. At 1.5.12, where it speaks of the training of a prince, it says that he should learn, among other things, the triple Veda between the time of his tonsure and the age of sixteen. After he is a married adult he should be trained in the science of weaponry (*dhanur*[*-veda*]) in the first half of the day; in the second part, he should learn "history" (*itihāsa*). The *AS* enumerates the branches of *itihāsa*, as follows: Purāṇas, Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmaśāstra, and Arthaśāstra.
25. AS I.19.31-3.

26. Manu VII.78-9.
27. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, with *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara (Bombay: Nirnay Sagar Press, 1918) I.313-14.
28. *Manu-smṛti*, with the *Bhāṣya* of Medhātithi, ed. Ganganath Jha (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1929) XI.33.
29. Jan Gonda, *The Ritual Sutras* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1977), pp. 595-7.
30. (Bombay: Srivenkatesvara Steam Press, 1912).
31. R. Inden, "Imperial Puranas" (forthcoming).
32. Bloomfield, *Hymns*, p. lxi argues that in *AVP* 3.1, Brahman, Purohita and Guru are equivalent.
33. The chronology of these dynasties remains unsettled. See D.C. Sircar in *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954) III, 202-4.
34. James Fleet, Gorantla copper-plate grant of Attivarman, *Indian Antiquary* IX (1880), 102-3.
35. D.C. Sircar, *History and Culture of the Indian People* III, 204-6.
36. *AS* II.7.6-7.
37. David Pingree, *Jyotiḥsāstra: Astral and Mathematical Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), pp. 17-31.
38. For a review of these and other changes brought about by the introduction of this new knowledge, see Y. Krishan, "The Astronomical Revolution in India About AD 400 and Its Implications", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* XV (1977), 265-84.
39. For example it says that a rite should be celebrated on the first lunar day of the hot season (*grīṣma-pratipad*) of the older lunar year, which could fall on the first day of the lunar fortnight either of Caitra or Phālguna.
40. Texts that are probably earlier than Varāhamihira begin to take up this new knowledge. The appendix to the Baudhāyana gives rules for the pacificatory worship of the planets (I.17) and of a ceremonial bath of the king for prosperity (I.23) and states that "the king should rely on [his] astrologer in every undertaking" (III.75). Yājñavālkya gives the procedure for sacrifice to the planets (I.295-308) and likewise urges the king to listen to the advice of his physician (*vaidya*), and astrologer (*jyotirvid*) (I.333). Probably the most crucial text prior to Varāhamihira is the one he relies on, the Saṃhitā of Garga the Elder.
41. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India As Seen in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira* (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1969), pp. 20-1.
42. Bhaṭṭotpala, his commentator, refers to those who establish Viṣṇu as Pāñcarātrins. A man of Kashmir, he completed his "Vivṛti" on the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* in 967.

43. For example, *Vishnu Purāna* (Bombay: Srivenkatesvara Press, 1910) II.10. For the solar associations of the god, see Jan Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism* (Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1969), 25-8. One of his emblems, the discus, is an icon of the sun (96-9); and his vehicle, the eagle Garuḍa, also an icon of the sun (102-3); according to some, Viṣṇu is chief of the twelve "suns" Ādityas (117).
44. Cited in *Dharmakośa. Rājanītikāṇḍa* ed. Laxmanshastri Joshi (Wai: Prajna Pathasala Mandala, 1974) IV.3.
45. Bṛhat-saṃhitā *II.*
46. Bṛhat-saṃhitā *II.*
47. *VDhP* II.4.4-7.
48. *VDhP* II.2-5.
49. *VDhP* III.97.

HUIZINGA AND THE VEDIC-BRAHMANIC RELIGION
His first series of lectures at the University of Amsterdam in 1903-1904

Dirk H.A. Kolff

Among the many qualities one can ascribe to Johan Huizinga are flexibility and manysidedness. As a historian as well as in his early appearance as a sanskritist, he always resisted specialisation in a restricted field of study. He would move from subject to subject, more often than not yielding to a special request for a guest lecture or reacting to topics that gained relevance in the world around him. *Man and the Crowd in America*, his response to the United States' participation in the World War, was published almost simultaneously with his *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. When the Ottoman empire collapsed and the new Arab states presented themselves, he lectured - in the academic year 1923-24 - about the world of Islam. Much earlier, as a young tutor in Amsterdam, he had conveyed to the audience attending his lectures a stern warning against the confusion then spread by the advance of theosophy. In the thirties also, he would try to give an account of the political shadows and the violations of culture immediately around him in Europe. It was his own choice to be free like that. Surely he recognized one ethical and aesthetic directive principle, but that lay beyond history and current interest. Within the realm of reality, it didn't matter all that much what the subject chosen was, 'as long as a little spirit goes into it', as he wrote to Dirk Coster in 1918. In this way, in the first decade of the century, he quite naturally abandoned India to turn to Burgundy. Nevertheless, there may be much less of a gap between these fields of study than one might at first sight suppose; W.E. Krul recently pointed out how, in the first edition of *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, Huizinga's image of Burgundy seems still surrounded by Indian scaffolding that would only gradually be taken away in later editions.[1]

The realization that every age and all historical material could assume special relevance had slowly grown upon him. He had begun to feel distrust towards what was monocausal, towards dogmas imposing themselves, and a belief in the one arch principle that once would have set a civilisation in motion. It is true, as a young man, growing up close to circles that represented Dutch impressionism, he had sought that most fundamental ground, those most ancient tunings and concepts, hoping they would create in himself that clarity and order he longed for. But already before writing his dissertation on ancient Indian drama, he had turned in another direction, away from his preoccupation with the immediately lyrical impressions of the Dutch literary fashion of his day, and towards a more variegated, pluriform, and less hallucinatory world, an historical world coloured more richly and more robustly and stably formed.[2]

In doing so he had tried to avoid the extremes of, on the one hand, the pathologically feverish individualism he had once been a victim of himself and, on the other hand, the mechanistic - chemical, as he often put it - approach from which all life was drained away, i.e. the extremes of impressionism and positivism. His method was that of historical and comparative linguistics and ethnology. Under the influence of Max Müller and E.B. Tylor, he had, however, in a way continued to be drawn towards the basic, irreducible, foundations of what humans thought on the problems of life and death, cosmos and chaos. In the opinion of Müller, the oldest roots of words expressed the elementary concepts a civilisation chooses to understand the world. Already in his student days, Huizinga was fascinated by this idea: that 'these roots, or these elements, which resist further analysis, expressed original concepts, and that these concepts can, in most cases, be traced back to single states of consciousness of certain primitive acts of our own, which, if repeated and conceived as one, contain within themselves the first germs of general and abstract concepts.' For Müller the linguistic analysis of such roots was the key to the mythologies and the religion of all peoples. 'Wherever we analyse language', he wrote, 'in a truly scholarlike spirit, whether in Iceland or in Tierra de Fuego, we shall find in it the key to some of the deeper secrets of the human mind, and the solution of problems in philosophy and religion which nothing else can supply. Each language, whether Sanskrit or Zulu, is like a palimpsest, which, if carefully handled, will disclose the original text beneath the superficial writing.'[3]

For Huizinga, in his search for irreducible origins, Tylor's great comparative ethnological study *Primitive Culture* was even more to the point as a source of inspiration. In theory this author, British like the former, took a strictly positivistic position. He was convinced 'that our thoughts, wills, and actions accord with laws as definite as those which govern the motion of waves, the combination of acids and bases, and the growth of plants and animals.' But in the application of this principle it was softened by very real practical difficulties that resulted from the 'enormous complexity of evidence, and imperfection of methods of observation.' Tylor's method was comparative and started with a developmental model that claimed universal validity, independent of race or heredity. Humanity, though 'placed in different grades of civilization', was 'homogeneous in nature.' Because everywhere the same laws were applicable, no restrictions were called for with regard to the comparability of cultures. Or, to put it the other way, the scientist could draw no conclusions from the unique: 'he even mistrusts isolated statements to which he knows of no parallel elsewhere, and waits for their genuineness to be shown by corresponding accounts from the other side of the earth, or the other end of history.'[4]

The larger part of Tylor's work consisted of the analysis of the world of animism, that is to say the doctrines concerning souls and spiritual being in general. Questions of a more theological character were entirely superfluous here; the reconstruction, simply and factually, of mere natural developments would guide the researcher to the formulation of the underlying laws of human nature. The reason was that everywhere, very early, people had put to themselves and to each other two complex and basically scientific questions: 'in the first place, what is it that makes the difference between a living body and a dead one; what causes waking, sleep, trance, disease, death? In the second place, what are those human shapes, which appear in dreams and visions?' In answering the first question, the earliest cultures had invariably put forward opinions concerning the nature of breath and the meaning of the phenomenon of breathing in all that lives. Huizinga felt convinced and satisfied with lists of examples like the following - and he would himself often present similar ones, from his first lecture course in Amsterdam to his late book *Homo Ludens*: 'Hebrew shows *nephesh*, "breath", passing into all the meanings of "life, soul, mind, animal", while *ruach* and *neshamah* make the like transition from "breath" to "spirit"; and to these the Arabic *nefs* and *ruh* correspond. The same is the history of Sanskrit *âtman* and *prâna*, of Greek *psyche* and *pneuma*, of Latin *animus, anima, spiritus*.' And the phenomenon of dreams and *hantises*, in which perhaps the key was to be found that would unlock also his own, personal mysteries, would for decades almost absorb Huizinga.[5] In his Amsterdam lectures he would return to the theme, and give it a prominent place in his treatment of ancient Indian civilization.

Huizinga would be fascinated by yet another feature of cultures, as stressed again and again by Tylor; this was the survival, even into his own days, of many 'primaeval monuments of barbaric thought and life.' The explanation of this longevity was that the ancient animistic cultures had, in the dawn of history, already answered the questions they had put in a way that completely fitted the daily observations of all people in every age concerning life and death, dream and hallucination. Many of these formulas lived on in old phrases and roots of words: 'heirlooms of primitive ages may be claimed in the existing psychology of the civilized world.' Sometimes even an animistic renaissance seemed to announce itself, 'as has lately happened in so remarkable a way in the history of modern spiritualism,' though it was also capable of assuming uncanny shapes, as in the theosophical enthusiasm engulfing the *fin de siècle* against which Huizinga would fulminate in his Amsterdam lectures.[6]

In the first course he taught there as a lecturing tutor - during 1903-04, on the vedic-brahmanic religion -, he gave much attention to the Indian understanding of the phenomena of breath and dream and to the question whether they had, on the basis of this understanding and in accordance with the evolutionist regularities discovered by Tylor, developed a mature ethics and philosophy. One is struck here by the hesitation in Huizinga's judgment. It seemed to him as if the spirit of India, as reflected in Indian thinking about the soul, or Ātman, could not fully emancipate itself from a more primitive animism. The dream in India seemed more often than not to lapse again into feverish hallucinations, instead of rising up and setting out on the road to a truly philosophical point of view. The mechanistic systems of the brahmans, grand but lifeless, in the end led to a morbid abstruseness. The result was a rampant Sanskrit overflowing with nonsense. In the Indian mind, 'where all boundaries lack resistance', Huizinga said, even the gods mix up, and he quoted the Rig Veda: 'You, Agni, are Varuna at your birth: you are Mitra when you are lit ...'[7]

Should this be rejected, this tendency to declare identical what according to our - Jewish-Greek, or Cartesian-Newtonian? - taste should be kept separate? No, but this 'absence of conceptual boundaries capable of resistance' is all the same a very primitive element surviving in a system of thought that is otherwise already much further developed.[8] The qualifications primitive and childlike, often used in this connection by Huizinga, in themselves are not meant to convey anything pejorative. The characteristic of fluidity has an attractive side as well. But it indicated, for him, that ancient Indian civilization had hardly begun giving up representations and beliefs that were characteristic of peoples in a state of nature, or, to put it otherwise, that India continued to be steeped in primitive survivals.

Everything in India seemed unstable. In the Indian spirit lived 'a kind of poetical tension that is prepared to see identity in every coïncidence.' And because his concepts never assumed a stable form, the Indian took refuge in rich metaphors that never stopped to discover new layers in words and texts, and in etymologies of a strongly associative nature, 'half-primitive, half-pathological.' To fully understand this *status mentis*, this state of mind, one needed 'an ethnologist, a psychiatrist and a philosopher' all joined together.[9]

Of these three, Huizinga was prepared to take up only the role of ethnologist, that is to say of a historical ethnologist. And, following Tylor, he defined the discipline as a comparative one, borrowing cases in point from Greek, Nordic, Germanic, and Celtic mythologies, from Jewish and American Indian histories of religion, and supplying examples taken from the many languages he had studied. Yet, the ancient Indian ethnographical and mythological material formed a category of its own: 'whereas the Semites and the Greeks have handed to us their cosmogonies in a finished version, characterised by a certain harmony, in India we enter the workshop of cosmogonies itself.' For the comparativist, and as such Huizinga regarded himself, this was a challenge and an opportunity not to be missed.[10]

A large proportion of the Indian phenomena had a parallel elsewhere: 'all of it entirely in agreement with what is found elsewhere; the foundation of religion the same everywhere.' There are clear echoes in this of Tylor's wide-ranging study, read more than ten years before. Seeking to interpret all these data, he rejected the tendency he noticed in others to see in each and every feature of religion the symbolisation of the forces of nature: in every arrow a beam of sunlight, in every snare darkness, as he explained to his students. Even more emphatically he distanced himself from Deussen who, everywhere in Indian metaphysics, perceived Kant and Schopenhauer announcing themselves. His conception agreed with the 'psychogenetic' school of Tylor and others, as he called it. Turning to what was perhaps his main subject, the development of the Indian idea of the soul, he elaborated this view. His was an historical explanation that didn't take as its point of departure some arch-revelation or an ideal order of creation belonging to the beginning of time, but that traced the evolution of the concept of the soul to 'a series of simple, logical conclusions and combinations made during the childhood of the peoples of the earth. The observation of shadows, mirrored images (quality of untouchability), combined with that of breath (terminal union with the body) ceasing with death, and of dreams (displacement outside of the body) in which one acts and observes without the body moving from its place, evokes the idea of a double, an invisible being.'[11]

He added to this at once that it had nothing to do with psychology, that it was just comparative ethnology. Indeed, he admitted, 'about the essence of ego-hood' he didn't claim having anything to say in the way of elucidation. At stake was only an historical hypothesis about the issue of the route along which man had arrived at the concept of 'consciousness, soul' and how he has given form to that abstraction. That route leads, and this was true not only of India, from metaphor to metaphor, because every abstraction is a *metaphora*, a translation, borrowed from the world of concrete phenomena. 'Our word *denkbeeld* [literally: thought-image]', he said, 'that in no other language occurs in such an exact and pure form, reflects this wonderfully.' But only India held on to the metaphors of all ages and kept them all in use simultaneously. One by one he drew the attention of his audience to them: *asu, manas, ātman, puruṣa*, and *prāṇa*. And he examined them, asking how each of them expressed the relationship of the human soul to an all encompassing soul. The analysis required a sort of field work he enjoyed. Especially Vedic literature, he felt, was the more rewarding a source for this kind of research, 'as it is so indigested; there the speculations concerning the soul are not proposed in an elaborate and finished fashion, but as a chaotic and loose assemblage of expressions consisting of as many spontaneous attempts to put the thought into words.'[12]

This positive estimation was especially called for where, in the texts, the search for a higher principle was guided 'by a solid support of myth.' In those passages, however, where the Indian mind speculated on a much thinner basis, 'we notice a restless wandering of the mind', a kaleidoscope of 'different solutions to the eternal problem ... some maybe of the most sublime produced by metaphysics', but most 'coarse ... oddly fantastic', and wallowing in 'silly stories as additives.' Did all this lead anywhere, this inexhaustible 'talent for dispute' of the brahmins? '*Meistersinger* they are', he had said already during the very first lecture of the course.[13]

It was true that the brahminical speculative tradition was never entirely bogged down in the mechanistic analysis of concepts as was the case in Indian dramaturgical theory, as analysed by Huizinga in his dissertation of 1897. By a free association of ideas and by narrrative metaphorics, it could liberate itself from such shackles. Huizinga admired this 'caste of priests' for its willingness to be influenced again and again by popular religion. Only like this had Vedic religion been continuously rejuvenated and did it survive into his own time. But what was absent in it was a clearly directed evolution and it even appeared as if India didn't want to evolve in any particular direction. As early as in the Vedic age, they didn't pin down the 'hovering image of a supreme being that they cherished' on Indra, on Varuna, or on Agni, but looked for it in a vaguer realm. No personal God, not even odoriferous sacrifices that ascend to gods, but they come and take their seat on the sacrificial grass'. Here Huizinga openly adopts Western patterns as his yardstick, from which Indian developments deviate 'following a strange parabola', as he phrases it. He misses the construction of a monotheistic God, in his opinion the end result of a fully evolved civilising process. India didn't seem to be capable of it; with her, in the workshop of cosmogonies, most interesting in itself, all the building blocks were left lying about in disorder: 'half-finished here, just started on there; from all this material a choice was never made; fantasy and exegesis always occupied centre-stage; criticism never did.' All the old elements of thought survived uninterruptedly, no orthodoxy emerged setting aside some of them. Here evolution seemed to have got stuck in an eternal discourse in which every opinion was recognised as valid.[14]

Directly linked to this - and for Huizinga it is the crucial factor in the stagnation of Indian culture - is India's neglect of ethics. Indeed, one didn't expect an unequivocal moral yardstick to emerge from the Brāhmaṇas, 'almost pathological', 'confused and febrile' as they were! The absence of conceptual boundaries that characterised Indian thought seemed to be akin to 'the pathologically deranged mind: rancour in the soup, haughtiness in the tea [sic!].' A magic world! But elsewhere he refrained from passing judgement and he remarked: 'in spite of the perfectly indigestible character of this brāhmaṇa literature, now childish then mysteriously sacerdotal or half delirious, and at once cynically immoral and selfish in its abstract search for perception, in spite of all this one should not condemn that period in its totality. As Deussen remarks, and rightly so: '... who can correctly judge an opera of which he knows only the script?' What do we know of the esthetic and edifying elements of these sacrifices? (if only we had a tiny lump of history).'[15]

There is generosity in this judgement. Indian civilisation both exasperated and fascinated him, because of the multitude of primitive 'survivals' that in the end appeared stronger than the natural, steady progress of evolution. He did, however, reject the untidy manner of the theosophists who used this anarchy for their own purpose, and he would end his course severely censuring them. But Huizinga's relationship to theosophy doesn't concern us here. Let me turn to one more aspect of his critique on the main features of Vedic-brahmanic culture.

The unstoppable, morbid growth of metaphors in the Indian mind prevented, in his opinion, the emergence of guiding ethical directives. It also blocked, and to him this seemed an unavoidable consequence of this, the formation of a fully-grown state. The crucial difference between the Indian sacrificial service and that of the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans - here, as elsewhere, adopted as universal standard - is the absence in the former of *sacra gentilicia* or *publica*, the religious customs of clan and state, the total lack of *sacerdotes publici*, priests of the commonwealth; in the Vedic religion one did not even find sacerdotal colleges for particular rites, no separate, lasting and common holy places, no public ritual, no temples, no images. 'The service is general and at the same moment strictly private; the sacrificer commits it to the care of priests, who are indiscriminately usable for each and everything.' Public and private are not distinguished; the second concept encompasses everything; what is left is 'private rivalry, no national religious service - those precocious individualists, never to become a nation!'[16]

There is no purpose in trying to refute Huizinga's criticism. On the contrary, one can largely accept it and admit he often observed well, as with the wildly growing forests of metaphors that are typical of so many texts. India apparently did not feel the need to reduce to one dimension such uncontrolled and overflowing ideas. But in refusing to do so she highlights an important feature of language: that it is always in the process of constructing itself. Recently Lakoff and Johnson emphasized the metaphorical structure of all conceptual systems that we, often unconsciously, employ to reduce to order the world around us.[17]

The same can be said with respect to the absence of 'resistible conceptual boundaries', a feature that Huizinga considered 'primitive', but also typical of India. Michael Billig drew attention, in his *Arguing and Thinking* of 1987, a book in which he explored the ground between rhetoric and psychology, to the malleable and fluid character of our practical reactions to the world, in spite of the fixed values that we expound in our theories. In the difference of opinion between Plato, who laid down that behind all contradiction an eternal, unchanging truth is hidden, and Protagoras, who was aware of the inconstancy of truths, he takes sides with the latter and sees all parties in a dispute performing circles around each other as in a dance (again a metaphor!). Exactly the feature of culture which, in Huizinga's opinion, India could not overcome and leave behind her, i.e. the primacy of argument, is held, ninety years after his Amsterdam lectures, to be legitimate and even valuable.

In Chicago the anthropologist Marriot has questioned the tendency among academics to see in India one principle or root-cause at work, whether this is defined as the pure-impure distinction, the ideal of renouncing the world, or whatever orientalist dogma. He distinguishes in India the activities of a multitude of forces, dimensions and discourses none of which should be singled out as the exclusive key to an understanding of her civilisation. And it is this pluriformity, and the flexible transitions between all her open language games, cognitions and metaphors, that defines India and defeats all our search for a fixed and lasting typology.[18]

Of course Tylor's point of view, faithfully followed by Huizinga, of ethnology's and therefore history's predestination to develop into a nomothetic (i.e. formulating laws of nature) science, could not be sustained in the long run. Huizinga himself would realise that. Even Tylor, as we saw, had pointed out the enormous complexity of the mythological, linguistic, artistic and ethnographical material at hand. Now this pluriformity and variety of human behaviour has proved to be infinite and, therefore, cannot be squeezed into any finite system of rules. And so ethnology and history have turned to narrative, even to metaphor. Metaphors, after all, may not prove, but they do compare, which is what Tylor wanted social science to do.

More than any other culture, India seems to proclaim this tenet of the unlimited pluriformity of all that is human. Huizinga was not prepared to listen as yet, but he acutely confronted his Amsterdam audience with those features of ancient India that expressed most clearly the cognitive differences between her culture and the tradition always groping for irreducible truths that he considered as his heritage. The despair that more than once almost overcame him while delivering his lectures, bears witness to the intensity and the sharp focus of his effort.

NOTES

1. J. Huizinga, *Briefwisseling I: 1894-1924*, Utrecht/Antwerpen 1989, 222. W.E. Krul, *Historicus Tegen de Tijd: Opstellen over Leven en Werk van J. Huizinga*, Groningen 1990, 149.
2. D.H.A. Kolff, 'Huizinga's dissertation and the 'stemmingen' of the literary movement of the eighties', in Willem Otterspeer (ed.), *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*, Leiden etc. 1989, 141-52.
3. F. Max Müller, *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas* (London 1888) xii, xxvi, xxvii.
4. The first edition was published in 1871; I used the third: Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art and custom*, 3rd ed., 2 vols, London 1891, 2, 3, 7, 10.
5. Tylor, *Primitive culture*, 23, 428, 433. About the theme of dreams, see e.g. my 'Huizinga's dissertation', 150.
6. Tylor, *Primitive culture*, 21, 429, 17.
7. Leiden University Library, Huizinga Papers 15, Lecture notes 'De Vedisch Brahmaanse Religie', 57, 58.
8. Idem, 59.
9. Idem, 60.
10. Idem, 66.
11. Idem, 24, 77, 91, 92.
12. Idem, 92, 93.
13. Idem, 71, 120, 2.
14. Idem, 24, 64, 67.
15. Idem, 74, 37, 111.
16. Idem, 28, 29, 2.
17. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors we live by*, Chicago 1980.
18. Michael Billig, *Arguing and thinking: a rhetorical approach to social psychology*, Cambridge-Paris 1987, 43, 80; McKim Marriot, 'Constructing an Indian ethnosociology', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (n.s.) 23 (1989), 1-39.

STATE FORMATION IN TRAVANCORE
Problems of revenue, trade and armament

D. Kooiman

Introduction

Before the 18th century, the Malabar (Kerala) coast of south-west India was, to use Susan Bayly's picturesque phrase, "a patchwork quilt of shifting chiefdoms and principalities" (Bayly 1984: 181). For several centuries, greater and smaller kings and chiefs in a seemingly endless rivalry had waged intermittent wars to extend their dominion, but political fragmentation had continued as before. This bewildering variety of numerous petty coastal kingdoms does not seem to offer the historian a solid base for the construction of more enduring frameworks. That may explain the relative neglect of these kingdoms from historiographical consideration (Subrahmanyam 1986: 358)[1], even though the important pepper trade has received its well-deserved scholarly attention (Das Gupta 1967, s' Jacob 1976).

Some historians appear inclined to think that for real changes Malabar had to wait for the 19th century, when under British influence political frontiers became stabilized and socio-economic reforms were imposed, gradually incorporating the coastal region into a larger world economy (Jeffrey 1976). But in fact, the 18th century saw already a tremendous change in the emergence of a completely new political system. The same happened in northern India, where for a long time historians have been at pains to explain the decline and break-up of the once imposing Mughal empire. Already in the 1970's, Heesterman doubted whether these historians were actually asking the right question, since much of what was perceived to be Mughal decline might very well have been part of a more enduring, underlying structure (Heesterman 1978: 35 ff.). More recent research has shown that the Mughal empire, rather than falling in ruins, was in fact superseded from below by regional states more 'modern' in many of their functions (Washbrook 1988: 68). Therefore, modern scholarship has come to regard the eighteenth century as a crucial period of transition and state formation in India, emphasizing the importance of changing systems of revenue collection, trade and warfare.

On the following pages, we will discuss the history of king and state in south Asia, which is also a prominent theme in the work of Heesterman. In the course of that discussion, we will look at the process of state formation in Malabar more closely, taking 18th century Travancore as a special case in point. To steer our research questioning, we will first take a glance at some of the main theories that have been put forward. Having thus brought the main issues of the debate into sharper focus, special attention will be given to the part played by revenue, trade and armament in the formation of Travancore state, before we will give some final comments in the concluding paragraph.

Theoretical perspectives

The Malabar coast does not seem to have much of a political tradition to boast off. The Chera empire, which had its base in south-west Tamilnadu and parts of modern-day Kerala, brought at least a semblance of unity in the region. However, a long war with the Chola dynasty, which centered in the fertile basin of the Kaveri river more to the east, led to its desintegration. After the dissolution of the Chera empire in the 11th century, Kerala was left to its own and socio-political developments remained largely undisturbed by events in the rest of India (Jeffrey 1976: 1).

The Chola state has been the subject of extensive study by Stein. According to him, the Chola state in south India belonged to the segmentary state model, which Southall had developed for Africa. Stein has grafted this model onto the Chola empire and suggests that its application may be even much wider than Africa and south India alone (Stein 1977 50).

In this model the political system is conceived as a multiplicity of political units, differing only in the scope, not in the quality of their political control. The overarching ideological element which made these units segments of a larger whole was the ritual sovereignty exercised by the Chola kings. The idiom of that ideology was religious and found expression in state grants to brahmanical institutions and a royal Śiva cult, which placed the Chola kings at the apex of the ritual order. By acknowledging and adapting to the ritual order as embodied in the Chola kings the numerous little kings and local chiefs came to share a common quality of legitimacy as reduced images of a more radiant centre. "This linking, through sacred actions, of great and small chiefs to Chola kings made of the polity a state, and this alone" (Stein 1985: 394, quotation from 395).

Some centralized form of revenue collection and a monopoly of the use of legitimate force, usually considered to be the main attributes of a more unitary state model, are not of much relevance to the segmentary state. The Chola empire had numerous centres and, in fact, only a tiny core area was centrally administered. Large parts of the empire had no fiscal linkages with this core area at all and owed no more than ritual allegiance to central authority. And there is much evidence of powerful military forces operating independently of Chola royal control. Stein views the later Vijayanagara empire (14th - 16th century) as in essence a continuation of the earlier segmentary state (Stein 1984: 104-106, and 1985: 394).

Dirks argues largely along the same lines. Speaking about Vijayanagara, he maintains that the honouring of the deity and the king were ritually homologous. The king as the principal devotee of the deity gave his offerings at the same time and in the same way as he himself was receiving offerings from his chiefs and noblemen. Plunder and warfare seemed far better suited to provide for the necessary ceremonial gifts than revenue systems or bureaucratic rule and thus, expansion and incorporation all made the state inherently dynamic. According to Dirks, little kingdoms like Pudukottai, which grew up under the waning shadow of Vijayanagara, replicated within themselves the same political structure, although they no longer had any pan-regional realization (Dirks 1987: 37-51).

An approach similar to that of Stein has been adopted by Geertz in a study of what he calls the theatre state in 19th century Bali. But, as Wisseman Christie has pointed out, Geertz seems to move one step beyond the segmentary state model in stating that even in the state's core area the ruler's hegemony was merely of a ritual nature. As "a royal acrobat" the king was balancing at the summit of a pyramid of kingdoms, and immobilized by ritual he had to relegate practical policies to lower levels of administration (Geertz 1980: 16, 47; Wisseman Christie 1985: 10).

This concentration on ritual relationships and exchanges between court and rural society has come in for heavy criticism. Wisseman Christie, Hoeber Rudolph and Perlin, among others, have raised the objection that Stein's analysis underestimates the ruler's temporal power outside the core region, whereas it reduces the state to an ephemeral phenomenon existing only in name and ritual (Wisseman Christie 1985: 17-18; Hoeber Rudolph 1987: 739; Perlin 1985: 424). We will come back to Perlin's views later on.

Another critical observation has been made by Subrahmanyam, who has questioned the co-existence of two completely different interpretations of state formation in South Asia, co-existing to the extent that both views are incorporated in the same prestigious Cambridge Economic History of India. Whereas segmentary diffusion is seen to prevail in the south of India, other scholars present a more bureaucratic vision of the state in the north at about the same time (Subrahmanyam 1986: 359, and 1988: 93). Speaking of the north, the main specimen of state formation, of course, is the Mughal empire. According to the leading Aligarh school, this Mughal empire had developed several instruments of fiscal administration, and relations between this centre and its periphery were characterized by a fiscal flow rather than a ritual exchange.

Following in the footsteps of Weber, scholars like Moulder and Skocpol have defined the concept of an imperial state as a centrally coordinated, administrative and military hierarchy under the aegis of an absolute monarch. In contradistinction to a feudal state, where military and fiscal power is fragmented and derived from private property in land with the monarch merely as a *primus inter pares*, the imperial state is centrally administered and partly bureaucratized. Military, financial and judicial powers are no longer the prerogatives of private property, but have been removed to the state government. For the execution of these powers the state employs a large staff of regionally posted officials who are subjected to formal and restrictive rules and regulations but allowed to appropriate a share of the revenues in return for their services (Moulder 1977: 45-50; Skocpol 1979: 47-51).

In his discussion of Mughal India, Van der Wee prefers to see the Mughals as semi-imperial, placing their state somewhere between the feudal and the imperial model. There was a considerable concentration of economic surplus and military means, but no effective monopoly of either by a central government. There were tendencies towards greater centralization and bureaucratization, and Van der Wee seems to suggest a gradual development of the Mughal empire from feudalism towards an imperial state. These tendencies, however, were counteracted by a lack of hierarchy and specialization in the services, a weak development of economic interdependencies, and the existence of strong regional power-holders (*mansabdars*), who claimed the larger part of the state's revenues (Van der Wee 1985: 68 ff.).

In an attempt to reconcile this remarkable difference in the interpretation of state formation in North and South India, Stein has presented 18th century Mysore as an enormously penetrative, bureaucratic state, a vision which, as Subrahmanyam has observed, comes much closer to the more current views of Mughal India in the north (Stein 1985; Subrahmanyam 1986: 360, and 1988: 93). That segmentary states might develop towards a more centralized model was already recognized by Southall. But in his attempt to trace that development, Stein took recourse to a concept derived from European history, i.e. military fiscalism.

Reaffirming that "thrusting centralization was the signature of the regimes of eighteenth century India", Stein goes on to state that everywhere this centralization was dictated by military requirements. In the course of this process military organization changed from a variety of prebend-like forms to systems that were increasingly based on central fiscal institutions. The extraction of revenues to support a centralized military organization is not sufficient for a state to deserve the term of military fiscalism, though it surely forms an important step in that direction. The crucial change, however, occurs where state income for the maintenance of a centrally directed and hegemonic military system shifts from tribute to direct collection by a centrally controlled body of officials who collect the revenue from a broad base of payers (Stein 1985: 391-393).

According to Stein, the gradual transition from segmentary state forms to military fiscalism was brought to its highest point by Tipu

Sultan of Mysore in the 18th century. He built a system of resource massing for enlarging and modernizing his armed forces by eliminating tribute paying petty lords and *rajas* and introducing revenue collection by officials (*amildars*), appointed by his provincial governors (*asafs*). In order to extend its resource base the Mysore state also made a determined effort to expand the cultivation of commercial crops and the tax proceeds realizable from petty commodity production. To link his state with the local agrarian population Tipu employed non-local, politically safe and non-martial intermediary officials.

Apart from that, Mysore embarked upon a policy of state trading in valuable commodities like sandalwood, silk and spices, and the establishing of trade centres staffed by trained and experienced subordinates. Private merchants were not eliminated but were allowed to participate in trading activities deemed beneficial for the state. The necessary trade capital was to be provided from the revenue collection. Not all these measures as designed by Tipu's administration could be implemented in practice, but Stein concludes by saying that taken as intention only, these measures were really impressive (Stein 1985: 401-403).

One of the main problems raised by this analysis is that a growing "resource massing" by central authorities is not easily reconciled with the virtual absence of fiscality postulated to be characteristic of the earlier segmentary state in this part of south Asia. An important new element, however, given much emphasis by Stein, is the arrival of European powers on the Asian scene. In his view, the development of fiscal means is closely related to the need felt by pre-colonial states in Asia to equip themselves with different sorts of military instruments, like firearms, canons, and if possible the personnel proficient in their use. But none of these could be obtained without ready cash and trade relations with the European powers. So, from about 1500, the technical requirements of warfare brought these states into relations with a larger world of exchange as a condition of their survival (Stein 1985: 409). In short, the European challenge forced the pre-colonial states to change both their fiscal administration and their military technique in a way so closely interrelated that it seems virtually impossible from Stein's writings to explain the one by the other.

The same theme has earlier been explored by Reid, though in a slightly different manner. Reid discusses the maritime commercial activity in south-east Asia as a vital stimulus to the growth of cities and states from 1350 onwards. In these states, independent merchant groups, freed from subsistence agriculture and traditional social obligations and often dominated by foreign elements (the *orang kaya*), came to play a prominent trole. It was the revenue from trade which made these coastal kingdoms strong. At the same time, the access to military technology from outside, like the use of Turkish, Chinese or Portuguese mercenaries, ensured the domination of these city states over their hinterlands. The relationship between this rising commercial class and the rulers was, however, not a stable one, and from the 16th century onwards, the monopolistic challenge of the Portuguese and especially the Dutch brought about a dramatic reversal.

Faced with the need to compete with the European traders, the rulers chose to take relations with these foreigners into their own hands and to deal with them in a more direct way, whether in friendship or enmity. As part of that policy, they established their own royal monopolies, leading to the curtailment, if not elimination, of the native commercial class and a trend towards absolutism and more institutionalized forms of government. In substantiation of this argument, Reid refers to Aceh and Banten. The sultans of these states effectively curbed the influence of the ancient trading nobility, and by exerting a strict monopoly over the sources of pepper and tin they built a state able to withstand the European challenge. Reid acknowledges that the new forces which were to transform south-east Asia during its maritime period were already in full swing around 1400 (Reid 1977: 395). But his paper cannot be read other-wise than as a strong argument in favour of a European challenge as the decisive factor in the movement towards absolutism among trading city-states.

Reid and Stein arrive at conclusions that are remarkably similar. Both emphasize the importance of European expansion, the import of bullion, the spread of firearms and the use of European mercenaries, making state formation in Asia crucially dependent on an external factor. Subrahmanayam has taken strong exception to this use made of the European arrival as a kind of *deus ex machina*. He acknowledges that most theories on state formation contain insufficient dynamic to explain change and that, therefore, many historians have seized upon the European arrival to establish linear, orderly progress (Subrahmanayam 1986: 365, and 1988: 95).[2] But like Perlin before him, he suggests other avenues of research that take a broader view of the relationship between state formation and changes in Asian society.

Perlin rejects the functionalist approach that has come to dominate much of the early-modern historiography of state and economy. He wants the emphasis to shift from system to process and from royal court to peasant society by giving state formation its rightful place in the larger stream of socio-economic history. For that purpose, the idiom of highly centralized and personalized administrative invention should be modified by redirecting research into the emergence of new families all over India into positions of local power and influence and by bringing into sharper focus the concomitant development of accounting, the use of paper, the increasing monetization of the tax demand, the introduction of measurement systems, etc. (Perlin 1985: 418). These fundamental changes at the base of society, Perlin argues, provide the necessary ground upon which the conceptual and institutional superstructure of successive regimes could root itself (Perlin 1985: 447). Subrahmanayam agrees that the discussion should not be stifled by the narrow terms of kings and courts. But instead of focusing on the base, he wants to direct attention to the contact zone, i.e. the development of revenue farming, commercial and agrarian (Subrahmanayam 1986: 363).

The Case of Travancore

At the beginning of the 18th century, two major powers dominated the political map of Kerala, i.e. the port-based kingdoms of Calicut in the north and Cochin in the centre. In the south the region was politically fragmented into a number of fairly small and weak political chiefdoms.

One of these small powers was the ruling family of Travancore (Tiruvidamkod) in the extreme south. In 1729 a young prince by the name of Martanda Varma succeeded to the throne of Travancore. In a series of brillliant but ruthless military campaigns, so Jeffrey and Fuller tell us, he conquered all neighbouring principalities and, in contravention of the established rules of Kerala warfare, he disbanded their armies and annexed their lands. His no less ambitious successor, Rama Varma (1758-98) pushed Travancore's frontiers still further, until he controlled the whole of south Kerala from Cape Comorin or Kanyakumari in the south to the weakened but still significant state of Cochin in the centre (Jeffrey 1976: 3-4; Fuller 1976: 17 ff.).

Travancore emerged as the major single force in this southern region. But how was it able to achieve this swift and spectacular development from tiny chiefdom to coastal power? From our bird's eye view of theoretical perspectives we know that a main theme, recurring in all discussions on state and state formation, is the nature of the relationship between a political centre and its periphery. In case of imperial bureaucracies, like the Mughal empire, centre and periphery were linked by a fiscal apparatus, however weak its development may be, which extracted substantial sums of revenue from a largely agrarian society.[3] In case of segmentary state forms, on the other hand, the relationship between centre and periphery is seen to be characterized by ritual rather than fiscal exchanges, the main point of discussion remaining the extent to which the so-called core area was actually subjected to tributary demands.

Local historiography has it that Travancore was a feudatory state, for some time tributary to Vijayanagara (Shungoonny Menon I 1984: vi), and that Martanda Varma's main achievement was to sweep away all feudal remnants and to make way for the emergence of a strong nation-state (Kunju 1976: 26). Recent studies, however, rightly remind us of the extreme unlikelihood of all pre-capitalist state formations having conformed to one and the same feudal category, just as there is absolutely no reason to assume on the strength of European experience that wherever feudalism is declining national states as a natural consequence must come to the fore (Habib 1985: 44; Stein 1985: 388; Moulder 1977: 48).

In the following paragraphs, we will take a closer look at this peculiar case of state formation, probing the existing literature for historical data, not only on the problem of revenue but also on important matters like overseas trade connections and the import of arms. Research into these fields may help to clarify the many questions that still surround the early history of Travancore state.

Revenue

Shungoonny Menon is one of the few historians who maintain that fiscal linkages existed between the old Travancore state and the territories under its control. According to him, a rough calculation was made of the revenue potential of every district and local chiefs were held responsible for the collection of the same, deducting the amount assigned for the performance of religious ceremonies and the maintenance of local militias. At the end of the 17th century the ruling king tried to improve this system by transferring the powers of collection from local chiefs to special agents appointed by the centre to the various parts of the country. But implementation failed and only Martanda Varma was able, backed by a strong army, to recover most of the longstanding arrears from his refractory chiefs and nobles (Shungoonny Menon I, 1984: 111-2, 118).

Early European observers, however, reported that there was no public land revenue in Kerala before the invasion of the Mysoreans in the second part of the 18th century. Logan maintained that the collection of the king's share had long fallen into abeyance and that Malayali chieftains could derive income only from their own private domains (Logan I, 1951: 598-9). The same view can be found with the Dutch Commander van Reede who wrote in 1677 that

> "Schattingh is bij de Malabaeren niet bekent ende en weeten de nayros noch van huys-, hooft-, land- off veegelt".
>
> Revenues are unknown among the people of Malabar and the *Nayars* are unacquainted with taxes on house, head, land or cattle.[4]

Modern studies agree that kings on the Malabar coast had to live off their own lands. As *janmkar* (landlord entitled to a share of the produce) they held property rights in crown lands just like lesser chiefs enjoyed the *janm* in numerous petty localities. These chiefs were not subject to expropriation, as the sovereign was not the supreme proprietor of the soil but merely the largest *janmkar* (Das Gupta 1976: 21-2).[5] Fifteenth century records, quoted by Ganesh, show that there was a collection of dues on land. But these records seem to refer to the collections made by chiefs and royal lineages within their own domains and Ganesh also admits that there was no central organization for the collection of dues or revenues (Ganesh 1990: 23 ff.).

This freedom of the local chiefs to administer their own territories without any fiscal obligation to the king seems to exclude any notion of a more centralized form of state. A claim to kingship, to use S. Bayly's words, meant little more than a vague suzerainty over lesser lords, and authority as well as agression were ritualized by the building of temples and religious grants to existing shrines within neighbouring domains (Bayly 1984: 181, also Ganesh 1990: 20). An interpretation along these lines bears more than a passing resemblance to the segmentary state model outlined above, just as the old designation of Kerala as Cheramandala refers to a *mandala* or circle composed of greater and smaller kings like Cholamandala in the east. As Heesterman has also pointed out, this confinement of the king in a circular network of numerous contestants makes short shrift of the notion of states with a modicum of centralization (Heesterman 1985: 113-114). However, in times of war the lesser lords and local chiefs assisted the king with their militias and in some interpretations this military service is construed to be a form of tributary allegiance characterizing the state as essentially feudal (Subrahmanyam 1986: 361).

However that may be, the main achievement of the Travcancore kings in the 18th century was not only the military defeat of many neighbouring kings and chiefs, but also, "in contravention of the established rules of Kerala warfare", to annex their territories and convert these to state-owned or *sircar* lands. The elimination of many of these royal adversaries more or less solves our theoretical problem about the nature of the relationship between king and chiefs: the rulers of Travancore made a determined bid for a more unitary kingship by channeling the agrarian resources of the conquered territories into the state treasury, maintaining existing relationships with the actual cultivators.

However, a major part of the agrarian resources were concentrated not in the hands of chiefs and nobles but in *devasvams* or temples. The patronage and endowment of these temples, we saw, was the primary means to establish the legitimacy of rulers, great and small. In course of time this practice had brought *devasvams* into the possession of immense wealth and extensive landed property, so that they controlled numerous tenants and militia men. Consequently, the managers and trustees of the temples became virtually independent chiefs, threatening and overshadowing the powers of the king, their former grantor. The resulting rivalry between king and temple, therefore, was a recurring theme in the region's history and seems to have been going through a crisis on the eve of Travancore's rise to political prominence.

In the 17th century, by far the most important *devasvam* was the Sri Padmanabhasvami temple at Trivandrum. The management of this *devasvam* was vested in a council (*Ettarayogam*) of eight *Yogakkars* or councillors who were all Brahmins. The king was only a half member and had little or no influence on *devasvam* affairs. The whole management was conducted by the eight *Yogakkars* who worked the institution through their allies, the *Ettu Vittil Pillamars*, who were the representatives of eight noble *Nayar* families. The lands and villages of the temple were divided in eight *Adhikarems* or districts and each of the *Ettu Vittil Pillamars* was entrusted with the collection of the revenue in the district assigned to him (Shungoonny Menon I, 1984: 79-80, 96-7; Kunju 19767: 10; Das Gupta 1967: 22). Since the larger part of the land was in this way formally held by temples or Brahmin grantees, it may also be argued that land revenue in Travancore in fact did exist, but was shielded away from the state, as most cultivators made their rent payments not to the king or his chiefs but to the temples.

One of the main achievements of Martanda Varma was that he regained ascendancy over the management of the *devasvams*. These religious establishments had become the main financial institutions of the time and it was but natural that an ambitious ruler, looking for an extension of his resource basis, should try to gain dominance over the virtually independent temple organization, in the same way as temple managers were determined to resist all attempts of outside interference. This was the background of the bitter internal struggle that shook Travancore in the 1720's and 1730's. In 1736 the *Ettu Vittil Pillamars*[6] rose in a last desperate revolt, but many of these proud nobles were summarily tried and executed and all their goods and lands confiscated. The temple organization was smashed and, in Das Gupta's words, "internal centralization was achieved almost at one stroke" (Das Gupta 1967: 20; Kunju 1976: 25-6; memoir Stein van Gollenesse 1743 in Galetti e.a. 1911: 53).

These new territorial acquisitions made the state introduce what Kunju has called the first land revenue in Travancore history (Kunju 1976: 101-2). A fresh survey of all the conquered lands was subsequently made in 1750/1 and Varghese has styled this one to be the real first settlement (Varghese 1970: 30). At the same time, a more centralized fiscal bureaucracy developed consisting of officials who received their salary directly out of the collected dues. Unfortunately, little is known of the implementation of these settlements. The thousands of old Malayalam records on Travancore land relations which might contain important clues for the problems raised in our discussion are still waiting for historical exploration (Jeffrey 1975: 48).

At the end of his reign Martanda Varma dedicated his whole kingdom to the Sri Padmanabha temple in Trivandrum (*Tirppadidanam*). This religious grant of the whole state made of Travancore, at least in theory, a unified and divinely sanctioned polity with the king as the vassal of his tutelary deity Sri Padmanabha (S. Bayly 1984: 189 ff.). There is wide-spread agreement that this ceremony was first and foremost a political manoeuvre. Religion was marshalled behind the throne and the state's integrity was protected by making any future rebellion against the government sacrilege against Sri Padmanabha (Das Gupta 1976: 51; Kunju 1976: 74 ff.; Sungoonny Menon I, 1984: 170; Nagam Aiya I, 1906: 362). It should however be emphasized that Martanda Varma also followed a well-established tradition and made a claim to an all-embracing legitimacy of his power by making the largest grant possible, the dedication of his whole kingdom. After that, he was king of Travancore and its sole temple manager at the same time. That may also explain the state's obligation to feed the Brahmins and support their institutions, which made later colonial officials comment on the state as "notoriously Brahman-ridden".[7]

A somewhat different interpretation has recently been offered by Ganesh. He suggests that the more important purpose of the *Tirppadidanam* ritual may have been to complete the separation of the newly formed unitary kingship from the mundane squabbles of civil society. Till then, state power had been largely synonymous with the person of the ruler, but after its dedication to Sri Padmanabha the kingdom with its new bureaucracy, revenue administration and standing army changed into a public and impersonal one (Ganesh 1990: 30-31).

The old temple organization was smashed. But that does not seem to have led to a sweeping change in revenue administration. After *Tirppadidanam* the stream of agrarian resources was not shifted from state to temple. What changed was not the destination of the land revenue, but the designation of its receiver. On the other hand, Varghese in his study of land relations in Kerala maintains that the properties held by Brahmins and their temple organizations, just like those of the king's allies, were left untouched by the newly emerging state. So the outcome was that actually only about one-half of the total cultivated area had come under state ownership by the end of the 18th century. And even of these *sircar* lands about one half were treated as favoured tenures or were held tax-free by Brahmins and a few *inamdars*. According to Varghese, it was left to the British paramount power to acquire the properties of 378 important and wealthy temples for the state (1812), which brought two-thirds of the total cultivated area under the direct ownership of the state (Varghese 1970: 30-1).[8] This would also point to the conclusion that the establishment of royal control over temple affairs was a political rather than an economic achievement.

Trade

Trade and commercial relations represent another vital issue in discussions about state and state formation. Whereas some interpretations tend to relegate trade to the fringes of the Asian state, more recent studies, especially of late pre-colonial state formations, attribute more weight to the commercial element. Commercialization, monetization and accountancy, all of them closely connected with the emergence of a wealthy class of merchants and taxfarmers, able to solve the cash nexus (Heesterman 1978: 39 ff.), are seen to provide the necessary preconditions for the development of fiscal means enabling a state to build strength. This seems especially to be the case in Travancore, where the arrival of the European mercantile power represents an important new element, even though the exact nature of its impact still remains a matter of dispute.

Apart from their own domains, the kings of Travancore, like other rulers along the coast, enjoyed other sources of revenue. They derived an income from customs, taxing the trade in pepper and other forest products and imposing transit duties on passing merchants, creating the same kind of royal-commercial alliance as described by Reid for South-east Asia. The right to collect these duties could be farmed out; at least in 1723 it was temporarily sold to the British East India Company for 6.000 *fanams* a year. This farming-out of custom duties freed the king from the vicissitudes of trade and ensured him of a more steady income. Moreover, the king was entitled to market tolls, succession fees, fines and contributions when there was considerable expenditure on unusual items (Kunju 1976: 104).

As the pepper from Kerala was in great demand, local rulers stood much to gain from the growing commercial activities in the Vasco da Gama epoch of Asian history. Local traders made advances to inland cultivators and delivered the pepper to independent merchants in the coastal towns who had contracted with the European companies. The rulers did not participate in this trade, but shared in its profits by their income from customs and transit duties. For a long time, the European companies were under the impression that a king had power over the trade as such and that he could force the merchants to observe the commercial treaties that the European companies had made him to accept. The breach or non-observance of these treaties frequently led to accusations of deceit among the Malabar people. But a king had no power to force his merchants and was personally interested not in the direction of trade but in its flourishing condition.

For the king of Travancore the extension of his territories in the 18th century meant a substantial increase of income from tolls and duties. Not content with this form of "resource massing", the Martanda Varma government decided to take the trade in pepper into its own hands. After the Dutch had felt the strength of the Travancorean arms at Colachel (1741), neither the Dutch nor the British proved powerful enough to resist this change in commercial arrangements within a more absolutist Travancore. In 1743 the trade in pepper was declared a state monopoly and a new commercial system emerged which reduced the European companies to a secondary position.

The transition to this new system has carefully been documented by the British factors at Anjengo, a settlement on the Travancore coast. These factors used to contract for pepper with what merchants they pleased, but in the 1740's this freedom was gradually restricted. First, the Travancore government imposed merchants of their own choice on the East India Company, which the British greatly resented as many of these merchants still owed them considerable balances. After bitter complaints by the British the king of Travancore temporarily restored their freedom to contract, but on the condition that all the pepper was weighed in the depots of Anjengo, Eddova or Brinjohn in the presence of the king's officers.[9]

Another restriction implied that the EIC was permitted to purchase pepper only within certain territorial limits. These limits seemed large enough, but much of the pepper from this area was carried off to the north or over the hills. The EIC suspected the king and his main trustees Crisna Annavy and the *Dollava* (*Dewan* or prime minister) to connive in what they considered to be an illicit trade (Diary 23-6-1745 in AC I 72). It not only severely reduced the amount of pepper available to the British, but also created serious difficulties for the local merchants. These merchants had contracted with the EIC and received their advances, but were unable to deliver as much of the pepper was carried off to elsewhere. Some merchants were only hindered by the *Dollava* from purchasing pepper for the British; others were afraid to supply for fear of government sanctions and had to be convinced that they were free to deliver to the British.

The Company officials had to face hard times. In 1744 they complained in an *ola* to the king that since His Majesty had taken the trade in his own hands, they had received less than half of the usual amount of pepper. Also, the inland duties on pepper had been raised and had to be paid by the EIC. They vehemently protested against the restrictions imposed on their trade and the many difficulties their merchants had to cope with. Both the king of Travancore and his main adviser Crisna Annavy repeatedly assured the British that they would thoroughly investigate all complaints about abuses and that they were firmly determined to "religiously observe their agreements" (Crisna Annavy and the king, April 1745, in AC I 58). But the Anjengo factors did not expect much from these solemn statements, since they were perfectly aware that the Travancore government could make much more money by selling this precious commodity to inland buyers who were prepared to pay a much higher price.

Under the new arrangements that emerged from the 1740's the merchants became in fact state agents.[10] They had to buy the pepper from the cultivators at fixed, generally rather low rates, and to supply the produce to government depots run by a commercial department, also at fixed prices. From these depots the merchants could contract with the Europeans or other interested parties, but only within the terms dictated by the government. All pepper had to pass through the official channels and those who sold pepper to unauthorized persons were severely punished. In fact, the king had become the over-all contracting party. His government made large profits by the sale of pepper over the hills to the eastern coast, whereas for the Europeans who had proved unwilling to follow the market pepper increasingly became a scarce commodity (Kunju 1976: 104-5; Das Gupta 1987: 142). In the second half of the century, Travancore had gained such a firm grip on its export trade that it even built its own commercial outlet for it overseas, the port of Alleppey, which meant a direct challenge to the European trading companies (Schenk 1986: 31-2).[11]

Armament

We should, however, beware of the impression that the European powers were mere spectators, watching helplessly from the sidelines. They were indeed largely ousted from the coastal market by Travancore's rise to power, and instead of dictating the terms of trade they had to wait obediently for the crumbs of pepper that the Travancore king was kind enough to drop from his table. Yet, they were not altogether helpless. The pepper was exchanged for import articles like bullion, Indonesian spices and opium (s' Jacob 1976: LVI). But the most important article of trade which the European companies controlled better than anyone else and which the Travancore king was most eager to acquire was weaponry. In that way, intercontinental trade, military organization and state formation became interconnected, as trade with the European companies enabled the king not only to increase his income from customs and port duties, but also to gain access to modern weapons and military technology, strengthening the extractive capabilities of his state.

"One musquet for every candy of peper", was one of the straight conditions that Crisna Annavy offered to the EIC in 1744. A more elaborate proposal was made somewhat later by the king who offered one candy of pepper in exchange for a good musquet at a reasonable price, and the annual supply of 15.000 flints, 30 candies of lead, 50 candies of salpetre, 50 candies of brimstone, 200 shells for mortars, 200 handgranadoes and 500 canon balls (Diary 22-8-1744 and letter from the king in AC I 7-9). In many forms and variations these proposals were repeated and in 1745 the king declared that he would comply with everything provided the Company would supply him with a quantity of small arms. He even offered his crown jewels in security. These urgent requests may remind us, that the reign of Martanda Varma was a period of continuous warfare against both internal and external foes. In these wars, horses and artillery came to play a prominent part, apart from the traditional *Nayar* infantry. Cavalry forces could be obtained from over the hills in the Carnatic, where also much of the pepper was transported. But artillery, like guns, mortars and small arms with their ammunition, had to be imported mainly by the European traders.

As far as the pepper dealings are concerned, the files of correspondence of the European companies abound with complaints of the treacherous and unreliable nature of the native authorities. The Anjengo factors qualified Crisna Annavy's replies to their long list of grievances as nothing less than "quibbles & evasions" (Diary 2-6-1745 in AC I 68). But the Travancorean side also seems to have had strong reasons for complaint, since the EIC proved extremely reluctant to comply with requests for the supply of arms. Local EIC officials expressed their readiness to supply the king with small arms, if only they had a sufficient amount themselves, which unfortunately was never the case. On other occasions they alleged that stocks of gunpowder were spoilt, as Travancore officials were too late to take delivery, or that shells for mortars were not sent for fear that the king's men might destroy themselves with them. Requests for guns and mortars, they pleaded, had to be referred to their superiors in Bombay, who clearly told the factors in Anjengo "to evade the king's demand of warlike stores" (Consultation 20-12-1744 in AC I 36). Sometimes, the EIC did try to make use of Travancore's predicament by making the provision of ammunition conditional upon the supply of pepper. But in most cases EIC officials had to give in and decided to deliver some quantities of small arms lest they should receive no pepper at all. It illustrates both the hard bargain that Travancore could drive as well as its desperate need for arms in the consolidation and extension of its state.

The Dutch made similar complaints about the lack of honour and good faith among the people of Malabar who, as Stein van Gollenesse wrote in 1743, easily broke promises and oaths if their interests required it (quoted in Galetti e.a. 1911: 51). But again, similar charges of not observing promises and treaties could just as easily be brought against the Dutch themselves who were also primarily led by their own interests. These interests required them to steer a delicate middle course between pleasing the coastal rulers in order to obtain as much pepper as possible and preventing them from growing too powerful. The supply of war material was a most profitable branch of trade and at the same time a good policy both to outrival other Europeans and to secure the king's favour. But after the Dutch defeat by Travancorean arms (1741)[12], the VOC became more cautious in the supply of war material to this emerging power. This wariness greatly annoyed the king of Travancore and made him accuse the Dutch of breach of contract.

After the 1741 war, one of the conditions on which the king of Travancore offered peace was the delivery of 1000 candies of pepper annually, 200 of which would be paid for in ammunition (Poonen 1978: 100). The Dutch Commander Stein van Gollenesse reported that the king demanded also cannon, mortars, gunners and musketeers (memoir 1743 in Galetti e.a. 1911: 94). In the final treaty (1743) this was changed to the delivery of 1200 candies of pepper annually at 54 Rs per candy "according to the custom of merchants" suggesting a freedom of pre-monopoly days, whereas the Dutch, in exchange for the permission to reinforce their fort at Colachel, undertook to "furnish to the king annually the value of 100 candies of pepper in gunpowder and lead, round sharp muskets and flint stone" (text of treaty in Poonen 1978: 105 ff. and Kunju 1976: 152 ff.). The extant literature is heavily focused on Travancore's preference to sell the pepper to the highest bidder irrespective of existing treaty obligations. But the king and his ministers complained of non-performance by the Dutch, who were said to have broken the most material articles of the last peace treaty, i.e. those concerning military assistance and the annual supply of small arms and gunpowder. The Dutch had pleaded that their superiors at Batavia were unwilling to consent to such transactions.[13]

Another peace treaty between Travancore and the Dutch VOC was concluded in 1753. After the conquest of the major pepper producing principalities of Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur (the Tekkencoer and Berkencoer of Dutch sources) in 1750-1, the balance of power had further shifted in favour of Travancore. This time, Travancore promised to supply the VOC 3000 candies of pepper at 65 Rs from his own lands and 2000 candies at 55 Rs from the lands His Majesty might conquer in future, provided the VOC remained neutral. In exchange, the Dutch promised to "provide His Highness 12.000 Rs worth of all sorts of ammunition at cost price", matchlocks, flints, gunpowder and lead bullets; iron and brass cannon would be sold at rates prevalent in the country (text of treaty in Kunju 1976: 156 ff.). But again, both parties proved lax in fulfilling the terms of the treaty. The diminishing quantity of pepper that reached the Company's coffers in spite of all treaties was a theme extensively dwelt upon by all Dutch Commanders on this coast. And on the eve of his death Martanda Varma again pressed the VOC, at least, to provide him with the ammunition they had promised to deliver but had never supplied; the same point was immediately reiterated by Rama Varma after his succession to the throne (Das Gupta 1967: 56).

After the middle of the 18th century, the European Companies found themselves in a much weaker position. They had been used to pursue a policy of divide and rule towards the coastal rulers to ensure their grip on the pepper market. Nevertheless, their profits from pepper had remained far behind expectations and when Travancore gained ascendancy on the coast it was the other way round: the European powers were played off against each other. If requests for arms were refused by the Dutch, the Travancore kings could always obtain the same from other Europeans who were willing to pay a higher price for pepper, the Dutch Commander Cunes sighed in 1756.

A similar comment was received from the Chief Factor in Anjengo who wrote one year later that with the Dutch, the Danes and other Europeans supplying Travancore with arms their Company had no choice but "to submit to the same evil other Europeans had indulged him [the Travancore king] in", otherwise they would receive no pepper at all (quotes from Galetti e.a. 1911: 24/25, also note on 67). Now and then the Europeans reluctantly imported arms in an attempt to strengthen their bargaining position. But Travancore sat at the better end of the rope and used its pepper monopoly as a lever, restricting or liberalizing its export according to the quantity of arms and ammunition received from the European Companies (Kunju 1976: 97).[14]

Concluding remarks

Returning to our main problem, the part played by revenue, trade and armament in the development of the Travancore state, we are perfectly aware that this discussion has left many questions unanswered. Or to put it in a more positive way, it may have suggested several topics for fresh research.

The exact nature of the relations between the kings and their lesser chiefs and nobles cannot easily be ascertained from the literature and awaits a thorough investigation of the old Malayalam records on land and land relations. As far as the character of the states on the Malabar coast is concerned, there is much evidence to argue for an interpretation along the lines of the segmentary state model. Fiscality does not seem to have been a prominent aspect of internal relations, whereas religious grants were a major source of power. However, the problem remains that the numerous states in this region had no single dominating centre. So we should ask ourselves whether the sacred memory of a former kingship in the old Chera days served the same purpose in Kerala as ritual deference to a living ruler in the Chola empire did in Tamil Nadu.

The importance of trade in the formation of the Travancore state is obvious. Because of what we may call a low level of development of fiscal institutions, customs and tolls were the main source of income for local rulers. As in South-east Asia, the monopoly that Travancore imposed on the pepper trade was meant to enable the state to meet the western challenge on more favourable terms, and maybe it turned out to be more successful here than anywhere else. The Travancore state made large profits from this trade and maintained its independence, at least in the 18th century. Also noteworthy is the fact that the king came forward not only as the state's military leader and temple manager but also as its overall pepper merchant.

The importation of modern weaponry may also be said to have played a prominent part in 18th century Kerala history, even though it remains difficult to determine how important it really was and what its effects exactly were on existing ways of warfare. We may conclude, however, that a monopolization of income and a concentration of military means in the organs of state went hand in hand and were closely interconnected: a growth of military power increased the state's income and extractive capabilities, while financial accumulation enabled it to equip itself with more and better military means.[15] Research into changes in accounting, the use of paper and the position of the merchant classes is necessary to trace the emergence of the Travancore state. It may be argued, as Ganesh has done, that from the 16th century the medieval political framework was breaking down and waiting for new departures. But it is difficult to see how Travancore's rise from a vague, segmentary state-like background to a strong, military and fiscally more developed power can satisfactorily be explained without taking recourse to the arrival of the Europeans and their trade in pepper and arms.

Finally, the many records of the Dutch and English East India Companies may contain more information about the trade in arms conducted by the Europeans with South Asian rulers. Undoubtedly, these records tend to lay more emphasis on shortages in the deliveries of pepper by the Travancore king than on the reluctant supply of arms by Company officials, who were not eager to arm their best enemy. Nevertheless, further research will be necessary to ascertain with more accuracy the validity of the hypothesis that Travancore was built on the exchange of "cannon for pepper".

NOTES

1. Stein's book on peasant state and society in south India contains no reference at all to Kerala (Stein 1980, Champakalakshmi 1981: 412), and a recent collection of articles on feudalism in India emphatically avoids any discussion of the nature of the states along the Malabar coast (Byres & Mukhia 1985).
2. In the same way Wisseman Christie (1985: 39) states that Geertz's theatre state lacks a dynamic and historical character. Habib (1985: 49) suggests increasing fiscal pressure and the resultant agrarian revolts as the principal moving force in Mughal society but at the same time he emphasizes (p. 51) that it would be a grave error to assume that all social change must come as a result of the internal contradictions of a social formation.
3. A related issue is the question, whether the state should be considered the sole proprietor of the land, as has been stated by the school of Oriental Despotism, or could legally claim only part of its produce (the Aligarh School on the Mughals).
4. H. Adriaan van Rheede in a memoir written for his successor (1677), transquote from s' Jacob 1976: 120.

5. Travancore fits neatly into the "low state demand and high stratification" form of state in the typology as devised by C. and S. Bayly 1988: 82 ff.
6. Shungoonny Menon (I, 1984: 97) states they were allied with other disloyal nobles and chiefs called *Madempimars*, but according to Kunju (1976: 10) and Das Gupta (1967: 20) the *Madempimars* were just another name for the *Ettu Vittil Pillamars*.
7. Madras Presidency, Political Department, G.O. No. 390-391, dated 1-7-1901. For particulars regarding *oottupuras* (free feeding houses for Brahmins) in Travancore, see Crown Representative's Records, R/2 (898/364).
8. In the 1850's the state owned 80% of the cultivated lands apart from all waste land. The remaining 20% of the cultivated area was held by Brahmins, Brahmin temples and descendants of the *Madempimars*, Varghese 1970: 44.
9. These paragraphs have been pieced together from the diaries and consultations, published in the *Anjengo Consultations*, henceforth quoted as AC.
10. It is not altogether clear, if this change in the economic position of the merchant class also involved a change of its social composition. Das Gupta (1976: 41) mentions a group of Syrian Christians in Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur who were put out of action by the extension of the Travancore state momnopoly in 1747-8, but S. Bayly (1984: 188), speaking about Travancore generally, informs us that, although the independent Syrian merchants lost much of their traditional influence, they also took up many of the most lucrative posts under the new monopoly.
11. Only half a century later the tables were turned again and Travancore virtually lost all control over its export trade. In 1825 the *Dewan* (prime minister) informed the British Resident that receipts from the pepper monopoly were somewhat disappointing, but he added that the sale of this commodity "is entirely out of the reach of my exertions, and solely depends on the state of the foreign markets", letter 29-9-1825 in Crown Representative's Records R/2 (898/364).
12. The Dutch suspected the British factors in Anjengo of rendering military assistance to the king of Travancore during this war. Captain Hackert, who led a campaign against Travancore in 1739/40, noted in his Diary (p. 19) that this suspicion might well be true, as such firing as he had met with was most unusual from the Malabars or natives ("het welk wel voor waarheijt konde aangemerkt worden, door dien men sulke vieren nooijt van mallabaren, of inlanders gewoont is geweest").
13. Diary 16-10-1744 and 14-11-1744 in AC I 21-2, 28. According to the king and his ministers as quoted in these Diaries, the 1743 peace treaty bound the Dutch to pay in small arms and gunpowder

for 200 candies of pepper, whereas the articles of the same treaty as printed in Kunju (1976: 153) and Poonen (1978: 107) speak of 100 candies for that purpose.

14. Speaking about Mysore, Subrahmanyam has recently argued (1989: 228 ff.), that before the 1740s changes in cavalry and animal power were far more significant than the introduction of fire arms. Mysore, however, was a land-locked state and less involved in international trade.
15. It also served to strengthen the position of the ruler vis-a-vis his nobles, as Van Goor (1984: 126) has rightly observed in his study of trade-state relations in Thailand, Lombok and Pontianak.

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THE CONCEPTION OF RĀMA-RĀJYA IN SOUTH AND NORTH INDIAN LITERATURE

A.G. Menon and G.H. Schokker

I.

Since ancient times the term *Rāma-rājya* "The kingship of Rāma" represents the Indian concept of an ideal state.[1] It originates in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, the well-known Sanskrit epic of king Rāma of Ayodhyā. In the course of time the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* was translated and reworked in a number of other - both South and North Indian - languages. These translations and adaptations of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* especially took place in connection with the movement of *Bhakti* which focussed on a personal love of God. Within this context the character of Rāma, the hero of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, underwent a significant change. He was no longer regarded as a human king[2] but came to be viewed as an *avatāra* "incarnation" of god Viṣṇu. As a result, Rāma assumed the character of a king/god. The connection of Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness, however, implies a problem. It is the purpose of the present article to discuss this problem.

For this purpose we have turned our attention to two *Bhakti* poets who translated and reworked the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*. One of them is the South Indian poet Kampan, and the other is the North Indian poet Tulasīdāsa. These poets belong to different times and diverse cultural environments. Hence, it is interesting to compare the ways in which they developed Vālmīki's description of *Rāma-rājya*.

II.

Kampan translated and reworked the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil. His work is called *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam* or *Irāmāvatāram* "Rama's incarnation"[3] and is usually considered to belong to the 12th century A.D.[4] It bears an epic character, is composed in the metre called *viruttam* and contains about 12.500 stanzas. It represents the *Bāla-kāṇḍa* up to and including the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* of the Rāma-story. Its main source is the work of Vālmīki. But it shows many deviations from its source, which are due to the literary, religious and political conditions of the time of its composition.[5] Kampan does not only see in Rāma an *avatāra* of god Viṣṇu but even considers him superior to the *trimūrti*, the triad of the main deities of the Hindu pantheon, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[6] In this respect he concurs with the Ālvārs - the Tamil saint-poets devoted to Viṣṇu. But he differs from them in the way he treats Rāma. In their lyric poems the Ālvārs emphasize their emotional relationship to Rāma and connect him directly with his devotees. On the other hand, in his narration of the Rāma-story Kampan displays a greater emotional reserve. Giving prominence to the epic nature of the story, he keeps the devotees on the side-line and centres on the relationship existing between king Rāma and his subjects. In his vision of Rāma as the divine lord of the universe he tries to accommodate Vālmīki's concept of Rāma's earthly kingship, but he does not elaborate a direct connection between the two.

Tulasīdāsa (circa 1532-1623 A.D.) translated and reworked the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* in Avadhi, an Eastern variant of Hindi. His work is called *Rāmacaritamānasa* "The holy lake of the acts of Rāma"[7], and was written in 1574 A.D. It represents a narrative-didactic genre which is characterized by a metrical style, called the *Caupāī-Dohā* style. It includes all seven *kāṇḍas* of the Rāma-story and is based on a number of sources of which the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* is but one.[8] Like Kampaṉ, Tulasīdāsa regards the *avatāra* Rāma as the Supreme Being.[9] But Tulasīdāsa differs from Kampaṉ in his treatment of the king/god. While Kampaṉ emphasizes the royal nature of the king/god, Tulasīdāsa stresses his divine aspect. What is of primary importance to Kampaṉ is the relationship of the ruler Rāma and the ruled. On the other hand, Tulasīdāsa utilizes this very relationship to elaborate on the interplay between god Rāma and his devotees.

III.

In the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam* and the *Rāmacaritamānasa* the description of *Rāma-rājya* follows that of Rāma's consecration. With regard to Kampaṉ's description of Rāma's consecration it is worthy to note that in it he involves his own patron Caṭaiyaṉ, a chieftain of Tiruveṇṇeynallūr. He does so by relating that Caṭaiyaṉ's ancestors brought the crown to Rāma.[10] According to the commentary[11] this has to be seen in the light of the fact that in the days of the *Sūryavaṁśī* Cōḷā dynasty people belonging to the agricultural clan used to bring their crown to the king at the time of his coronation. That the Cōḷās styled themselves as *Sūryavaṁśī* "Belonging to the solar race"[12], indicates that they claimed to belong to the same line of kings as to which Rāma had belonged. This renders it possible for Kampaṉ to suggest that the relationship of his patron Caṭaiyaṉ and the Cōḷās is on a par with that of Caṭaiyaṉ's ancestors and Rāma. Such an attempt on the part of the author to link up a contemporary ruler with Rāma's kingship is not found in Tulasīdāsa's *Rāmacaritamānasa*. But a comparable instance is known from the works of the 16th century Braj poet Keśavadāsa who represents his royal patrons, the Bundela kings of Oṛchā, as descending from Rāma in order to legitimate their kingship.[13]

The relevant material for the present comparative study of the conception of *Rāma-rājya* is to be found in the following passages:

1. *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* VI, 116, 83-90.

2. *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam, Yutta-kāṇṭam*, chapter 39 *viṭaikoṭutta-paṭalam* "chapter on Rāma taking leave of (those who attended his coronation)", verses 36-37.
3. *Rāmacaritamānasa* VII, 20, 4-22, 3.[14]

In addition, two other passages from the *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam* which reflect Kampaṉ's view on Rāma's kingship have been taken into consideration. These passages are:

1. *Pāla-kāṇṭam*, chapter 4 *araciyaṟpaṭalam* "chapter on Daśaratha's reign".
2. *Ayōttiyā-kāṇṭam*, chapter 2 *mantaraicūḻccippaṭalam* "chapter on Mantarai's counsel".

The passage of *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* VI, 116, 83-90[15] runs in translation as follows:

83. And Rāma, whose arms reached down to his knees, the large-shouldered, powerful elder brother of Lakṣmaṇa, ruled over the earth.
84. Under Rāma's reign no widows wept nor was there any danger from snakes (*vyālakṛta bhaya*) or disease (*vyādhija bhaya*).
85. The world was free from robbers (*nirdasyu*), no harm (*anartha*) affected anybody and no aged persons performed the obsequial rites of children (*bālānāṁ pretakāryāṇi*).
86. Happiness was universal, everybody was intent on his duty (*dharmapara*) and, looking on Rāma, one did no violence (*abhihiṁs*) to each other.
87. Under Rāma's reign men lived for a thousand years, each had a thousand sons and was free from illness (*nirāmaya*) and sorrow (*viśoka*).
88. Trees with broad trunks bore fruit and flowers perpetually. Parjanya sent down rain at the proper time and Māruta was pleasant to the feelings.[16]
89. Under Rāma's reign his subjects, satisfied with their own actions, were engaged in their works and, intent on their respective duties (*dharmapara*), they abstained from fraud (*nānṛta*).
90. All were endowed with auspicious marks (*lakṣaṇasaṁpanna*) and intent on their respective duties (*dharmaparāyaṇa*). And Rāma ruled for ten thousand years.

The corresponding passage of *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam, Yutta-kāṇṭam*, chapter 39 *viṭaikoṭuttapaṭalam* "chapter on Rāma taking leave of (those who attended his coronation)", verses 36-37[17], runs in translation as follows:

36. After taking leave of all those (who had come to attend his coronation) Rāma, together with his brothers, ruled over the whole world justly according to the way of Manu, and protected it by removing its burden in such a manner that Lakṣmī and Bhūmidevī did not suffer even a little.

37. The benevolent Rāma who had come to Ayodhyā after leaving his sleep on the ocean, together with his brothers, protected the earth according to the *dharma*, while everyone from heaven to earth and from the fourteen worlds served, worshipped and praised him with the words, "My Lord".

Like Vālmīki, Kampan̲ closes the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* with the description of *Rāma-rājya*. But in contrast to Vālmīki, Kampan̲ concludes his whole work with this very description. From a comparison of the two descriptions the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Kampan̲ gives a much briefer description of *Rāma-rājya* than Vālmīki does. In point of fact, he here confines himself to linking up Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness. As will be seen, in the *Pāla-* and *Ayōttiyā-kāṇṭams* of his work he goes into Rāma's earthly kingship itself. This arrangement seems to result from his very conception *of Rāma-rājya.*

2. Common to Vālmīki's and Kampan̲'s descriptions of *Rāma-rājya* is the idea of Rāma's beneficial kingship. Both descriptions are also characterised by the fact that the *dharma* "moral order"/"duty" plays a prominent role in them. But they difffer from each other in that Vālmīki connects the *dharma* with Rāma's subjects who are said to be intent on their respective duties (*dharmapara*, 86, 89; *dharmaparāyaṇa*, 90), whereas Kampan̲ connects it with Rāma himself who is said to rule over the whole world justly according to the law of Manu (36)[18] and to protect the earth according to the *dharma* (37). In this respect it is, however, well to remember that Vālmīki's and Kampan̲'s statements about *dharma* are complementary to each other. For, as is well-known, it is the *dharma* of the king (*rājadharma*) to guarantee that each of his subjects observes his own *dharma* (*svadharma*) according to his caste (*varṇa*) and stage of life (*āśrama*).[19] Characteristic of Kampan̲ is that throughout his work he emphasizes the inseparable connection between Rāma and *dharma*. A striking case in point is the verse[20] in which Kampan̲ describes how at the time of Rāma's departure from Ayodhyā *dharma*, in a personified form, in tears left the city along with Rāma.

3. Vālmīki describes Rāma as the ideal of a king but not as an *avatāra* of the god Viṣṇu. On the other hand, Kampan̲ expresses his view that Rāma is an *avatāra* of the god Viṣṇu, by stating that he protected the whole world by removing its burden (36), and that he had come to Ayodhyā after leaving his sleep on the ocean (37). The former statement refers to the classical motive of the *avatāra*-doctrine, i.e. *bharāvataraṇa* "removal of the burden (from the earth)".[21] According to Kampan̲, Rāma removed the burden from the whole world in such a manner that Lakṣmī and Bhūmidevī did not suffer even a little. By this he means that both Lakṣmī, the personification of good fortune, and Bhūmidevī, the personification of the earth, were content with Rāma's rule. Kampan̲'s statement that Rāma had come to Ayodhyā after leaving

his sleep on the ocean, refers to the well-known conception of the god Viṣṇu as sleeping on the ocean during the intervals of creation.

4. Vālmīki expresses the blissfulness of *Rāma-rājya* in a number of negative terms, like "Under Rāma's reign no widows wept nor was there any danger from snakes (*vyālakṛta bhaya*) or disease (*vyādhija bhaya*)" (84). This is lacking in Kampaṉ's description, but is compensated by his above all-embracing, symbolic statement that under Rāma's rule Lakṣmī and Bhūmidevī did not suffer even a little. As will be seen, the use of negative terms to express the blissfulness of *Rāma-rājya* is also a striking feature of Tulasīdāsa's *Rāmacaritamānasa*.

IV.

In *Pāla-kāṇṭam*, chapter 4 *araciyaṟpaṭalam*, Kampaṉ describes the reign of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma. This chapter of Kampaṉ's *Pāla-kāṇṭam* corresponds to *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* I, 7 but differs in its contents from the latter passage. Vālmīki mainly describes Daśaratha's court and the virtues of his ministers, priests and counsellors. Only at the end of this description he makes a statement about Daśaratha himself (*Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* I, 7, 15-17)[22], which in translation runs as follows:

15. Provided with such virtuous ministers, the flawless king Daśaratha ruled over the earth.
16. Watching his subjects by means of spies and pleasing them with (his observance of) the *dharma*, he found no enemy superior or equal to himself.
17. Surrounded with those well-advised, deserving, devoted, clever and competent ministers, that king shone brilliantly like the risen sun with its glorious rays.

The corresponding passage of *Rāmacaritamānasa* I, 188, 4[23] gives no description of Daśaratha's court and the virtues of his ministers, priests and counsellors. It merely states that king Daśaratha was a jewel of the race of Raghu (*raghu-kula-mani*) in the city of Avadha, conversant with the *Veda* (*beda bidita*), an upholder of the *dharma* (*dharama dhuraṁdhara*), a treasury of virtues (*guna-nidhi*), wise (*gyānī*) and in his heart and mind devoted to Sāraṁgapāni (*hṛdayaṁ bhagati mati sāraṁgapānī*). In particular the last expression deserves consideration. For Sāraṁgapāni "He who holds the bow" is an epithet of the god Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Rāma. By describing king Daśaratha as being devoted in his heart and mind to Sāraṁgapāni, Tulasīdāsa, therefore, portrays him as a *bhakta* of his own son Rāma.

In contrast to Vālmīki, Kampaṉ gives an elaborate description of Daśaratha's reign. This may be connected with the fact that he here takes into account the conditions of Cōḷā kingship. The starting-point of his description of Daśaratha's reign seems to have been the idea that Rāma has to succeed his father. In describing Daśaratha's reign he, therefore, seems to have taken Rāma's reign as his model. In this respect Kampaṉ has some resemblance to Tulasīdāsa. While Tulasīdāsa represents Daśaratha as a *bhakta* of his own son Rāma, Kampaṉ seems to describe Daśaratha's reign on the model of Rāma's. Kampaṉ first states that Daśaratha, who embodied the good *dharma*, brought forth Rāma, the main character of the story.[24] After that he mentions a number of royal virtues, a long tradition (*āti*), wisdom (*mati*), mercy (*aruḷ*), *dharma* (*aṟam*) self-composedness (*amaivu*), heroism (*vīram*), generosity (*īkai*) and justice (*nīti*).[25] According to him, these virtues were only partially to be found in other kings, but all of them were at the disposal of Daśaratha.[26] He follows up this statement with a further elaboration of such virtues.[27]

In *Ayōttiyā-kāṇṭam*, chapter 2 *mantaraicuḻccippaṭalam* "chapter on Mantarai's counsel", Kampaṉ describes the instruction given by the priest Vasiṣṭha to the future king Rāma in carrying out his royal duties. The passage in question corresponds to *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* II, 5, 8-10[28], which in translation runs as follows:

8. "Your father, o Rāma, is pleased with you. You will acquire the rank of a crown-prince. Together with Sītā you will have to observe a vow of fasting today.
9. For tomorrow king Daśaratha, your father, will consecrate you with joy as crown prince, like Nahuṣa consecrated Yayāti".[29]
10. After speaking thus, the sage (Vasiṣṭha) instructed the resolute Rāma together with Sīta in their fast.

According to Vālmīki, Vasiṣṭha instructed Rāma and Sīta only with regard to the vow of fasting they had to observe in preparation for Rāma's consecration. In *Rāmacaritamānasa* II, 10,1-2b[30] Tulasīdāsa gives a similar account, which in translation runs as follows:

1. After praising Rāma's virtues, good conduct and character, the eminent sage (Vasiṣṭha) said moved by love, "The king has made all arrangements for your consecration. He wants to confer the rank of a crown prince on you.

2a-b. O Rāma, today you will have to devote yourself entirely to self-restraint, so that the Creator may bring the affair to a happy end".

Kampaṉ's description of Vasiṣṭha's instruction to the future king Rāma in carrying out his royal duties bears some resemblance to his above-mentioned description of Daśaratha's reign. In particular the two descriptions have five royal virtues in common, mercy (*aruḷ*), *dharma* (*aṟam*), love (*aṉpu*), generosity (*īkai*/*dānam*) and justice (*nīti*).[31] In his description of Vasiṣṭha's instruction to the future king Rāma, Kampaṉ further mentions a number of royal virtues which are specific to Rāma.[32] A distinct difference between Kampaṉ's descriptions of Daśaratha's reign and Vasiṣṭha's instruction to the future king Rāma is that, in contrast to the description of Daśaratha's reign, the Vasiṣṭha passage details Rāma's relations with others (I) and the position of *dharma* (II):

I. Rāma's relations with others

1. His relations with the brahmins

   The brahmins are greater than Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, the Pañcabuddhas and the truth (*mey*).[33] The number of the *devas* who suffered on account of the anger of the brahmins, and of those who were redeemed by their grace, is unlimited.[34] What can be done without the brahmins? Fate (*Viti*), too, complies with the order of the brahmins. In order to construct or destruct, Fate waits for the order of the brahmins.[35] Rāma, therefore, has to support the brahmins with his good mind[36], to honour and to praise them, and to carry out their orders.[37]

2. His relations with the ministers

   Although the *nātan* "lord" of Umā (Śiva), he whose vehicle is the bird (Viṣṇu) and the one with his eight immobile eyes (Brahmā) possess the power of their shoulders (i.e. physical power), their real power lies in following the words of their ministers (*amaiccar*).[38]

3. His association with good people

   A king of the world (*ñālamannan*) who is as impartial as the pointer of a balance used to weigh gold, has no other eyes than those of good people.[39] Good people have a boundless love for the king. The inseparable Fate follows the words of people with the power of good deeds (*nalvinai ūrrattinār*). Since these people have a boundless love for the king, their love becomes the weapon of the king.[40]

II. The position of *dharma*

What (good) can happen if the three *mūrtis* (the one with the *nēmi* "discus": Viṣṇu; the one with the *ekkam* "trident": Śiva; the one with *vāṇī* "speech": Brahmā) abandon the *dharma* (*aram*)?[41] The king is like a body which carries the world as its soul. Is there for such a king a need to perform a sacrifice (*vēḷvi*) if he without doubting and transgressing the path of *dharma* stands by the truth (*mey*)?[42]

Kampan's description of Rāma's association with good people deals with a well-known topic. A striking feature of his descriptions of Rāma's relations with the brahmins and the ministers as well as of the position of *dharma* is that all three of them contain a reference to the *trimūrti*. As pointed out in section 2, Kampan considers the *avatāra* Rāma superior to the *trimūrti* of the Hindu pantheon. But when he comes to speak of Rāma's earthly kingship, he declares that the brahmins are greater than Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, the Pañcabuddhas and the truth (*mey*), and that Rāma, therefore, has to support the brahmins with his good mind, to honour and to praise them, and to carry out their orders. This betrays the tension that is inherent in Kampan's conception of the earthly kingship of the *avatāra* Rāma. According to Kampan, in his divine aspect Rāma is superior to the *trimūrti* and the brahmins, but as an earthly king he is subordinate to the brahmins who, then, are superior to the *trimūrti*. As the divine lord of the universe Rāma transcends any hierarchy, but as an earthly king he is subject to the hierarchical structure of society wherein the brahmins as the mediators between man and god hold a dominant position. Kampaṉ's conception may be illustrated by the following diagram:

1. Rāma as the divine lord of the universe
   Rāma
   |
   the *trimūrti*
   |
   the brahmins
   |
   human society
2. Rāma as an earthly king
   the brahmins
   |
   the *trimūrti*
   |
   Rāma
   |
   human society

From this diagram it appears that the *trimūrti* form the connecting link between the two opposite relationships of Rāma and the brahmins. It would, therefore, seem that Kampaṉ in developing his conception of the earthly kingship of the *avatāra* Rāma seeks to diminish its inherent tension by simultaneously using the *trimūrti* as a means to refer indirectly to Rāma's virtual status of being the divine lord of the universe.

The same applies to Kampaṉ's descriptions of Rāma's relations with the ministers and the position of *dharma*. In the former description he states that the *trimūrti* possess the power of their shoulders (i.e. physical power), but that their real power lies in following the words of their ministers. By this statement he suggests that the earthly king Rāma should follow the words of his ministers, like the *trimūrti* - who from the viewpoint of Rāma's virtual divine lordship of the universe are subordinate to him! - follow the words of their ministers.

Likewise in his description of the position of *dharma* Kampaṉ implicitly states that Rāma should observe the *dharma*, like the *trimūrti* are bound to do. To this he adds the image: "The king is like a body which carries the world as its soul". This image expresses the idea of the king's collective responsibility to his subjects. Within the present context it especially seems to refer to the concept that it is the *dharma* of the king to guarantee that each of his subjects observes his own *dharma* according to his caste and stage of life.[43] After that he states that if Rāma without doubting and transgressing the path of *dharma* stands by the truth (*mey*), there is no need for him to perform a sacrifice (*vēḷvi*). That means that standing by the truth within the limits of the *dharma* makes the performance of a sacrifice, in particular that of an expiatory sacrifice, superfluous.

V.

Tulasīdāsa's description of *Rāma-rājya* (*Rāmacaritamānasa* VII, 20,4-22,3)[44] runs in translation as follows:

20,4. When Rāma sat on his throne, the three worlds rejoiced and all sorrows (*soka*) disappeared. Nobody entertained enmity (*bayaru*) against another. Through Rāma's power discord (*biṣamatā*) was given up.

20, *dohā* All people devoted themselves to the *dharma*, each according to his own caste (*barana*) and stage of life (*āśrama*). They walked in the path of the *Veda* and ever found happiness in it. There was neither fear (*bhaya*) nor sorrow (*soka*) nor disease (*roga*).

21,1. Under Rāma's reign no physical pain nor pain resulting from divine or material causes (*daihika daivika bhautika tāpa*) reached anybody. All men loved each other and, devoted to the rules laid down in the *Veda* (*śruti nīti*), each observed his own *dharma*.

21,2. In the whole world all the four feet (*carana*) of the *dharma* remained complete. People did not even dream of a sin (*agha*). Men and women delighted in devoting themselves to Rāma (*rāma bhagati rata*). All of them were entitled to final beatitude (*parama gati ke adhikārī*).

21,3. There was no death at a young age (*alpa-mṛtyu*) nor any vexation (*pīrā*). Everybody had a handsome body free from disease (*biruja*). Nobody was poor (*daridra*), sad (*dukhī*) or miserable (*dīna*). Nobody was ignorant (*abudha*) or lacked the marks of good fortune (*lacchana-hīna*).

21,4. All were guileless (*nirdaṁbha*), delighted in the *dharma* and possessed religious merit (*punī*). All men and women were clever (*catura*) and endowed with virtues (*gunī*). All were appreciating the virtues of others (*guna-gya*), learned (*paṁḍita*) and wise (*gyānī*). All were grateful (*kṛta-gya*) and none were versed in deceit (*kapaṭa-sayānī*).

21, *dohā* Listen, o king of birds (Garuḍa), under Rāma's reign none of the movables and immovables (*sacarācara*) in the world suffered grief (*dukha*) caused by time (*kāla*), actions done in a former life (*karma*), one's own condition (*svabhāva*) or the elements of nature (*guna*).

22,1. Girded by the seven oceans, the earth had one protector (*bhūpa*): Raghupati of Kosala. This (earthly) lordship (*prabhutā*) is not at all much for him in each of whose hairs many universes (*bhuana*) dwell.

22,2. When one understands that (divine) majesty (*mahimā*) of the lord (*prabhu*), it is absolutely insufficient to describe this (earthly lordship). Yet, o king of birds, even those who know that (divine) majesty (*mahimā*), take delight in these (earthly) acts (*carita*).

22,3. For this divine sport (*līlā*) is the reward (*phala*) of knowing that very (divine) majesty (*mahimā*). Thus say the great, self-controlled, eminent sages. Neither the serpent-king nor Sāradā can describe the happiness (*sukha*) and prosperity (*sampadā*) of Rāma's reign.

When comparing Tulasīdāsa's description of *Rāma-rājya* with Vālmīki's and Kampaṉ's, the following points may be noted:

1. Like Vālmīki and Kampaṉ, Tulasīdāsa emphasizes the blissfulness of Rāma's kingship and assigns a prominent position to *dharma*. As stated, Vālmīki and Kampaṉ differ from each other in that the former connects *dharma* with Rāma's subjects, whereas the latter connects it with Rāma himself. In this respect Tulasīdāsa goes along with Vālmīki (cf. 20, *doha*; 21,1; 2; 4). But it is worthy to note that Tulasīdāsa deals more in detail with *dharma* than Vālmīki does. Here three of his statements about *dharma* may be considered:

20, *dohā* All people devoted themselves to the *dharma*, each according to his own caste (*barana*) and stage of life (*āśrama*). They walked in the path of the *Veda* and ever found happiness in it ...

21,1 c-d All men loved each other and, devoted to the rules laid down in the *Veda* (*śruti nīti*), each observed his own *dharma*.

21,2 a-b In the whole world all four feet (*carana*) of the *dharma* remained complete. People did not even dream of a sin (*agha*).

The first and third statements represent classical formulations of the *dharma* and point to a characteristic feature of Tulasīdāsa, i.e. his concern to be true to the canonical tradition. Common to the first and second statements is that they contain a reference to the *Veda*. According to the second statement, the observance of the *dharma* in *Rāma-rājya* was in conformity with the rules laid down in the *Veda* (*śruti nīti*). This reflects the well-known concept that the *Veda* is the source and origin of *dharma*.[45] But, as will be discussed under point 3, from the standpoint of *Bhakti* Tulasīdāsa gives a new turn to this concept. His third statement is based on the traditional representation of *dharma* as a bull which in the *kṛta-yuga* "golden age", i.e. the age of original perfection, still possessed all its four feet but in each of the next three *yugas* lost one foot.[46] By this statement Tulasīdāsa, therefore, suggests the idea that the perfect observance of the *dharma* in *Rāma-rājya* equals that in the *kṛta-yuga*. Under point 3 the question as to Tulasīdāsa's view on the relationship existing between this idea and that of *Bhakti* as the means of salvation will be discussed.

2. Whereas Vālmīki describes Rāma only as the ideal of a king, both Kampan̲ and Tulasīdāsa connect Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness. Kampan̲ seeks to solve the implicit problem of this connection by centring his narration on Rāma's earthly kingship. But, as seen, the way he treats Rāma's relations with the brahmins and the ministers as well as the position of *dharma*, betrays the inherent tension of his conception of the earthly kingship of the *avatāra* Rāma. Tulasīdāsa deals with the problem in his very description of *Rāma-rājya*. He does so by contrasting Rāma's earthly kingship with his divine majesty. Thus he puts Rāma's earthly kingship in proper proportion: as in each of Rāma's hairs many universes dwell, his earthly kingship is not at all much for him (cf. 22,1); and when one understands his divine majesty, it is absolutely insufficient to describe his earthly kingship (cf. 22,2). At the same time Tulasīdāsa shows the other side of the picture: even those who know Rāma's divine majesty, take delight in his earthly acts, for these acts are - as his divine sport (*līlā*)[47] - the reward of knowing his divine majesty (cf. 22,2-3). Tulasīdāsa, therefore, provides a twofold solution for the problem of the connection of Rāma's earthly kingship with his divine majesty. By putting Rāma's earthly kingship in proper proportion he makes it clear that Rāma himself transcends the limitations of his earthly kingship. On the other hand, he appreciates Rāma's earthly kingship in a positive sense by representing it as the reward of knowing his divine majesty.[48]

3. At the end of his description of *Rāma-rājya* Kampan̲ paraphrases the idea of *Bhakti* in the words "while everyone from heaven to earth and from the fourteen worlds served, worshipped and praised him with the words 'My Lord'".[49] Tulasīdāsa explicitly states, "Men and women delighted in devoting themselves to Rāma (*rāma bhagati rata*). All of them were entitled to final beatitude (*parama gati ke adhikārī*)" (21,2 c-d). Here he does not only express the idea of *Bhakti* but - by way of association - also represents *Bhakti* as the means of salvation. Further on in his description of *Rāma-rājya* he declares that none of the movables and immovables (*sacarācara*) in the world suffered grief (*dukha*) caused by time (*kāla*), actions done in a former life (*karma*), one's own condition (*svabhāva*) or the elements of nature (*guna*), cf. 21, *dohā*. This passage in particular shows that, according to Tulasīdāsa, in *Rāma-rājya* the law of *karman* has no more effect. That means that, in Tulasīdāsa's view, *Bhakti* liberates man from the law of *karman*. As is well-known, the law of *karman* is founded on the *dharma*. As the sum of the actions which are done by man during his life, *karman* is measured by his observance of the *dharma* and determines his place in the next stage of his succeeding lives (*saṁsāra*). Tulasīdāsa's conception of *Bhakti* as liberating man from the *dharma*-founded law of *karman* is, therefore, in marked contrast to his statements about the *dharma* which have been discussed under point 1. In this connection it is well to remember that he, when speaking of *dharma*, refers to the *Veda* as its

source and origin (cf. especially 21,1 c-d). In order to form a correct idea of this reference, it should be pointed out that in an earlier place he portrays the four *Vedas* as appearing in the shape of bards before Rāma after his accession to the throne, praising him, professing their faith in him and showing themselves adherents to *Bhakti* as the sole means of salvation.[50] From this point of view it is reasonable to suppose that Tulasīdāsa in his above statement about the *dharma* refers to the *Veda* as being not only the source and origin of *dharma*, but as having also *Bhakti* as the sole means of salvation for its essence. If this supposition is correct, he eliminates the contrast between *dharma* and *Bhakti* by availing himself of the unquestionable authority of the *Veda* and implicitly equating *dharma* to *Bhakti* in the sense that the true *dharma* is *Bhakti*. As seen under point 1, he suggests that the perfect observance of the *dharma* in *Rāma-rājya* equals that in the *kṛta-yuga* (cf. 21,2). In the light of the above this may be taken to mean that in *Rāma-rājya Bhakti* as the true *dharma* and the sole means of salvation takes the place of the perfect observance of the *dharma* in the *kṛta-yuga*.

4. Like Vālmīki, Tulasīdāsa uses a number of negative terms to express the blissfulness of *Rāma-rājya*. As a matter of fact, in both their descriptions of *Rāma-rājya* such negative terms[51] largely outnumber the positive ones.[52] This predominant use of negative terms seems to be a literary device to emphasize - by way of contrast - the blissfulness of *Rāma-rājya*.

VI.

From what has been said it follows that each of the three poets treats *Rāma-rājya* differently. While Vālmīki describes *Rāma-rājya* in terms of an earthly kingship, Kampaṉ and Tulasīdāsa connect Rāma's earthly kingship to his divineness. But both Kampaṉ and Tulasīdāsa also appear to be embarrased by the implicit problem of this connection. As a result, each of the two poets seeks to provide his own solution for this problem.

Kampan's solution to the problem is that he only links up Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness in his description of *Rāma-rājya* at the end of his work. But in the course of his narration, especially in the passages describing Daśaratha's reign and Vasiṣṭha's instruction to the future king Rāma in carrying out his royal duties, he centres on Rāma's earthly kingship. The theme of these passages is not only absent from the corresponding passages of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmacaritamānasa* but also differs from that of Vālmīki's and Tulasīdāsa's descriptions of *Rāma-rājya*. Whereas Vālmīki and Tulasīdāsa in their descriptions of *Rāma-rājya* portray the blissful effects of Rāma's kingship on his subjects, Kampaṉ in his description of Daśaratha's reign and Vasiṣṭha's instruction to the future king Rāma deals with the formal aspects of Rāma's kingship, i.e. the virtues which a king should have and the duties which he should perform, as well as his relationship with others and the position of *dharma*. In particular the way Kampaṉ treats Rāma's relations with the brahmins betrays the inherent tension of his conception of Rāma's earthly kingship. According to Kampaṉ, in his divine aspect Rāma is superior to the *trimūrti* and the brahmins. But when Kampaṉ deals with Rāma's earthly kingship, he represents the brahmins as superior to the *trimūrti* and Rāma. Here the *trimūrti* form the connecting link between the two opposite relationships of Rāma and the brahmins. This enables Kampaṉ to use the *trimūrti* simultaneously as a means to refer indirectly to Rāma's virtual status of being the divine lord of the universe, and thus to diminish the inherent tension of his conception of Rāma's earthly kingship. In keeping with the fact that Kampaṉ centres on Rāma's earthly kingship, he emphasizes Rāma's inseparable connection with *dharma*.

Tulasīdāsa gives a twofold solution to the problem of the connection of Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness. While he makes it clear that Rāma himself transcends the limitations of his earthly kingship, he appreciates Rāma's earthly kingship in a positive sense by representing it as the reward of knowing his divine majesty. In contrast to Kampaṉ who connects *dharma* with Rāma himself, Tulasīdāsa, following the steps of Vālmīki, connects it with Rāma's subjects. He even emphasizes the perfect observance of the *dharma* in *Rāma-rājya* to the point of equating it to that in the *kṛta-yuga*. A distinct feature of Tulasīdāsa's description of *Rāma-rājya* is that he simultaneously represents *Bhakti* as liberating man from the law of *karman* that is founded on the very same *dharma*. But by availing himself of the unquestionable authority of the *Veda* which, according to him, is not only the source and origin of the *dharma* but also has *Bhakti* as the sole means of salvation for its essence, he eliminates the contrast between *dharma* and *Bhakti* and implicitly equates *dharma* to *Bhakti* in the sense that the true *dharma* is *Bhakti*. Thus Tulasīdāsa holds the view that in *Rāma-rājya Bhakti* as the true *dharma* and the sole means of salvation takes the place of the perfect observance of the *dharma* in the *kṛta-yuga*.

Both Kampaṉ and Tulasīdāsa are champions of *Rāma-Bhakti* and profess their belief in *Rāma-rājya*, the kingship of god Rāma. But neither of the two aims at a theocracy or salvation outside human society. The two of them seek to avoid the Scylla and Charybdis of these two extremes. In this respect, however, there exists a distinct difference between them. Kampaṉ centres on Rāma's earthly kingship, but at the same time keeps his virtual state of being the divine lord of the universe in mind. On the other hand, Tulasīdāsa proclaims the redemptory acts of the universal lord Rāma within the scope of his earthly kingship.

As is well-known, the ideal of *Rāma-rājya* in some form or other has lived on up to the present.[53] A striking instance is the fact that

Gandhi, the leading Indian nationalist, in his vision of an independent India received his inspiration from this ideal. This may be illustrated by the following passage from *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*:

"By political independence I do not mean an imitation of the British House of Commons, or the Soviet rule of Russia, or the Fascist rule of Italy or the Nazi rule of Germany. They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours. What that can be is more than I can tell. I have described it as Ramarajya, i.e. sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. The Congress constitutions of Nagpur and Bombay for which I am mainly responsible are an attempt to achieve this type of swaraj".[54]

Here Gandhi conceives *svarājya* "self-government" as *Rāma-rājya*, and he interprets *Rāma-rājya* as sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. According to him, *Rāma-rājya* is, therefore, a form of democracy, but not in the sense of an imitation of the British House of Commons. He expresses the latter point by including in his interpretation of *Rāma-rājya* as sovereignty of the people that it is based on pure moral authority. Gandhi makes another remark about *Rāma-rājya* which is of particular interest to the subject under discussion:

"Ramarajya means rule of the people. A person like Rama would never wish to rule. God calls himself a servant of servants".[55]

By this remark Gandhi seems to put his finger on the kernel of the problem of the connection of Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness. Viewing Rāma as a god but not as an earthly ruler, he detaches his divineness from his earthly kingship. As a result, in his view of *Rāma-rājya* the authority which in the ancient concepts of *Rāma-rājya* rested with king Rāma or the king/god Rāma, becomes a pure moral authority exemplified by god Rāma as a servant of servants.[56]

Summarizing, one can say that in the course of time the character of king Rāma has undergone the following development. The ideal of a king (Vālmīki) was raised to the level of a king/god (Kampan̲ and Tulasīdāsa). This conception attained such a great vogue that even attempts were made in one way or another to link up existing rulers with the king/god (Kampan̲: his patron, Caṭaiyan̲; Keśavadāsa: his patrons, the Bundela kings of Oṛchā). But its very champions already realized its implicit problem. Finally the royal aspect of the king/god has to give way to his divine one (Gandhi). The ideal of a king has developed into a god conceived of as a servant of servants, and his royal power into a spiritual authority in the sense that he stands for pure moral authority.

In a way the ultimate separation of royal power and spiritual authority, which within the context of *Bhakti* had come to be united in the person of the king/god Rāma, reminds us of the conclusion to which Heesterman in his study of the problem of Indian kingship has come. In

Heesterman's view[57], the formula that Indian civilization developed to handle this problem is the king-brahmin model according to which royal power and spiritual authority are separated, and the king has to derive his authority from the brahmin who, as he has the monopoly on the *Veda*, holds the key to the transcendent world. This king-brahmin model also seems to underlie the problem of the connection of Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness. In particular it is reflected in Kampaṉ's dualistic view of Rāma's relationship to the brahmins: the same Rāma who as the divine lord of the universe transcends any hierarchy, as an earthly king is subordinate to the brahmins. Then, it is only *Bhakti*, the belief in an incarnate god, which renders the seemingly impossible possible, i.e. the union of royal power and spiritual authority.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of this concept as it has lived on in Hindi literature, cf. Gaeffke, 1966: 6-11.
2. Cf. Jacobi, 1983: 137 ff., according to whom the identification of king Rāma with god Viṣṇu is alien to the original form of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*.
3. *Kamparāmāyaṇam*, ed. Vai.Mu. Kōpāla-Kiruṣṇamācāriyār, Triplicane, Madras-5, 1958.
4. Cf. Paul Nadar, 1957a: 31-49; 1957b: 92-112.
5. For example, in his description of Daśaratha's reign Kampaṉ takes into account the conditions of Cōḷā kingship. See section IV.
6. Cf. *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam, Ayōttiyā-Kāṇṭam*, chapter 1 *mantirap-paṭalam* "chapter on the consultation with the ministers", verse 39

    puṟattu nāmoru poruḷiṉip pukalkiṉṟa tevaṉō
    aṟattiṉ mūrttivan tavatarit tāṉeṉpa tallāl
    piṟatti yāvaiyuṅ kāttavai piṉṉuṟat tuṭaikkun
    tiṟattu mūvarum tiruntiṭat tiruttumat tiṟalōṉ

    "What else can we say except that the embodiment of the *dharma* (*dharmamūrtthi*) has come and taken on human form (*avatāram*)? He will correct and regulate the three (gods) in their activities of creation, protection and destruction".
7. [Tulasīdāsa] *Śrīrāmacaritamānasa* (*sacitra, saṭīka, moṭā ṭāipa*). *ṭīkākāra Hanumānaprasāda Poddāra*, Gorakhapura (undated).
8. Cf. Vaudeville, 1955.
9. Cf. Vaudeville, 1955: 165-166.
10. *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam, Yutta-kāṇṭam*, chapter 38 *tirumuṭicūṭṭu-paṭalam* "chapter on the coronation", verse 38

    ariyaṇai yaṉumaṉ ṟāṅka vaṅkata ṉuṭaivāḷ paṟṟap

parataṉveṇ kuṭaika vikka viruvaruṅ kavari vīca
viraiceṟi kamalat tāḷcēr veṇṇeymaṉ caṭaiyaṉ ṟaṅkaḷ
marapuḷōr koṭukka vāṅki vaciṭṭaṉē puṉaintāṉ mauli.

11. *cūriyakulattavareṉappaṭukiṉṟa cōḻavaracarkku orucār vēḷāṇ marapiṉar paṭṭāpiṣēka camayattil makuṭaṅkoṇamtu tarutal tamiḻnāṭṭu vaḻakkamātalālum, irāmapirāṉ cūriyavamicattavaṉātalālum antattamiḻnāṭṭu vaḻakkai yoṭṭi vēḷāṇkulattuc caṭaiyappa mutaliyāriṉ muṉṉōr mauli koṭuttār eṉṟaṉar eṉpar.*
12. Cf. Sastri, 1935: 140.
13. Cf. Keśavadāsa, *Kavipriyā*, ed. Viśvanāthaprasāda Miśra, Allahabad 1954, I, 6-8; *Vīracaritra*, ed. Viśvanāthaprasāda Miśra, Allahabad 1959, II, 20-24. See Schokker, G.H.: "Geschiedschrijving en de legitimiteit van het koningschap: India" (forthcoming publication).
14. According to Vaudeville, 1955: 272, Tulasīdāsa's description of *Rāma-rājya* virtually consists of two parts, viz. 1. *Rāmacaritamānasa* VII, 20,4-22,3, and 2. *Rāmacaritamānasa* VII, 22,4-23. The former part has been put into the mouth of Bhuṣuṇḍi, a crow and devotee of Rāma, during his conversation with Garuḍa, Viṣṇu's vehicle, and describes the blissfulness of *Rāma-rājya*. The latter part, in which Bhuṣuṃḍi as speaker recedes, is quite different in tone and seems an imitation of the classical descriptions of the golden age. Out of respect for the tradition Tulasīdāsa has included the latter part. But it is especially in the former part that he expresses his own view of *Rāma-rājya*. Hence, in the present article only this part has been taken into consideration.
15. Cf. Appendix I, 1.
16. Parjanya and Māruta are the gods of rain and wind respectively. Perhaps Tulasīdāsa received his inspiration for the second part of his description of *Rāma-rājya* wherein the description of nature plays an important role, from this very verse.
17. Cf. Appendix II, 1.
18. Kampaṉ's reference to Manu, the mythical author of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, shows that this Sanskrit *dharmaśāstra* enjoyed a great prestige in Tamilnāṭu.
19. Cf. *Manu* VII, 35

sve sve dharme niviṣṭānāṁ sarveṣām anupūrvaśaḥ
varṇānām āśramāṇāṁ ca rājā sṛṣṭo 'bhirakṣitā

"The king has been created to be the protector of the castes (*varṇa*) and (persons belonging to) the stages of life (*āśrama*) who, all according to their rank, are intent upon their respective duties (*dharma*)".

See also Lingat, 1967: 232.

20. Cf. *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam*, *Ayōttiyā-kāṇṭam*, chapter 4 *nakarnīṅku-paṭalam* "chapter on Rāma's departure from the city", verse 1. See also Kampaṉ's conception of Rāma as the embodiment of the

dharma (*dharmamūrtthi*), n. 6.
21. For this motive of the *avatāra*-doctrine, cf. Hacker, 1960.
22. Cf. Appendix I, 2.
23. Cf. Appendix III, 2.
24. *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam, pāla-kāṇṭam, araciyaṟpaṭalam*, verse 1
ammāṇakaruk karacaṉ ṉaracark karacaṉ
cemmāṇ ṭaṉikkō lulakēḻiṉuñ cella niṉṟāṉ
immāṇ kataikkō riṟaiyāya virāma ṉeṉṉum
moymmāṇ kaḻalōṟ ṟarunallaṟa mūrtti yaṉṉāṉ
25. *Ibidem*, verse 2
ātim matiyum maruḷummaṟa ṉumma maivum
ētiṉ miṭalvī ramumīkaiyu meṇṇil yāvum
nītin nilaiyummivai nēmiyi ṉōrkku niṉṟa
pātim muḻutum mivaṟkēpaṇi kēṭpa maṉṉō
26. Cf. note 25.
27. Cf. Appendix II, 2.
28. Cf. Appendix I, 3.
29. According to *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* I, 69, 29-30, Nahuṣa and his son Yayāti were ancestors of Daśaratha and Rāma.
30. Cf. Appendix III, 3.
31. Cf. Appendix II, 2.
32. Cf. Appendix II, 3.
33. *Kampa-rāmāyaṇam, Ayōttiyā-kaṇṭam, mantaraicūḻccippaṭalam*, verse 7
kariya maliṉuṅ kaṇṇuta lāṉiṉum
uriya tāmarai mēluṟai vāṉiṉum
viriyum pūtamō raintiṉum meyyiṉum
periya rantaṇar pēṇuti yuḷḷattāl
34. *Ibidem*, verse 8
anta ṇāḷar muṉiyavu māṅkavar
cintai yālaruḷ ceyyavun tēvaril
nontu ḷāraiyu noytuyarn tāraiyum
mainta veṇṇa varampu muṇṭāṅkolō
35. *Ibidem*, verse 10
āva taṟku maḻivataṟ kummavar
ēva niṟkum vitiyumeṉ ṟāliṉi
āva tepporu ḷimmaiyu mammaiyum
tēva raippara vuṉtuṇai cīrttatē
36. Cf. note 33.
37. *Ibidem*, verse 9
aṉaiya rātali ṉaiyaviv veyyatī
viṉaiyi ṉīṅkiya mēlavar tāḷiṇai
puṉaiyuñ ceṉṉiyai yāyp pukaḻn tēttuti
iṉiya kūṟiniṉ ṟēyiṉa ceytiyāl

38. *Ibidem*, verse 15
umaikku nātaṟku mōṅkupuḷ ḷūrtikkum
imaippi ṉāṭṭamo reṭṭuṭai yāṉukkum
camaitta tōḷvali tāṅkiṉa rāyiṉum
amaiccar colvaḻi yāṟṟuta lāṟṟalē

39. *Ibidem*, verse 19
cīla mallaṉa nīkkic cempoṟṟulait
tāla maṉṉa taṉinilai tāṅkiya
ñāla maṉṉaṟku nallavar nōkkiya
kāla mallatu kaṇṇumuṇ ṭākumō

40. *Ibidem*, verse 20
ōrvi ṉalviṉai yūṟṟattiṉārurai
pērvi ṟolviti peṟṟuḷa teṉṟarō
tīrvi laṉpu celuttaliṟ cevviyōr
ārva maṉṉvark kāyuta māvatē

41. *Ibidem*, verse 11
uruḷu nēmiyu moṇkava rekkamum
maruḷil vāṇiyum vallavar mūvarkkum
teruḷu nallaṟa mummaṉac cemmaiyum
aruḷu nīttapi ṉavatuṇ ṭākumō

42. *Ibidem*, verse 17
vaiya maṉṉuyi rākavam maṉṉuyir
uyyat tāṅku muṭalaṉṉa maṉṉaṉukku
aiya miṉṟi yaṟaṅkaṭa vātaruḷ
meyyi ṉiṉṟapiṉ vēḷviyum vēṇṭumō

43. Cf. note 19. See also *Araciyarpaṭalam*, verse 10 wherein a similar description of Daśaratha is given (Appendix II.2.A.: Daśaratha's capacity to protect).

44. Cf. Appendix III, 1.

45. Cf. *Manu* II, 6
vedo 'khilo dharmamūlaṁ smṛtiśīle ca tadvidām
ācāraś caiva sādhūnām ātmanas tuṣṭir eva ca
"The whole *Veda* is the foundation of the *dharma*, next the sacred tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know it (i.e. the *Veda*), as also the customs of holy men, and finally inner contentment".
For this enumeration of the four sources of the *dharma* as a graduated scale of values, cf. Lingat, 1967: 20.

46. Cf. *Manu* I, 81-82a
catuṣpāt sakalo dharmaḥ satyaṁ caiva kṛte yuge
nādharmeṇāgamaḥ kaścin manuṣyān upavartate
itareṣv āgamād dharmaḥ pādaśas tv avaropitaḥ
"In the *kṛta-yuga* the *dharma* is four-footed and complete, and so is truth. No gain whatever accrues to men by unrighteousness.
But in the other (three) ages the *dharma* is deprived

successively of one foot as a result of (unjust) gains".
For the concept of *dharma* as being four-footed, the commentator Kullūka refers to *Manu* VIII, 16 *vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmas* ... "For the glorious *dharma* (is said to be) a bull ...". According to Lingat, 1967: 207-208, the four feet of the *dharma* correspond to the four chief means of acquiring merit, viz. *tapas* "religious austerity", *jñāna* "knowledge", *yajña* "sacrifice" and *dāna* "knowledge" (cf. *Manu* I, 86).

47. It is worthy to note that Tulasīdāsa here designates Rāma's earthly acts (*carita*) by the term *līlā*. In *Bhakti* the term *līlā* is currently used to guarantee the transcendent independence of the incarnate god. It denotes his free action which only proceeds from his own nature and only serves the purpose of his own pleasure. According to Vaudeville, 1955: 304, the view expressed by the term *līlā* is characteristic of the philosophy of the crow Bhuṣuṇḍi. But the question is as to how far it is shared by Tulasīdāsa himself. Important though this question is, it is outside the scope of the present article to pursue it further. It may suffice to observe here that Tulasīdāsa elsewhere displays a certain reserve on the matter.

48. Cf. also Vaudeville, 1955: 272, who, however, does not go into the problem of the connection of Rāma's earthly kingship with his divineness.

49. Kampaṉ nowhere uses the Sanskrit words *Bhakti* or *bhakta*. He only uses the word *aṭiyar* "lying at the feet (of)" in the meaning of "votary".

50. Cf. *Rāmacaritamānasa* VII, 12, *dohā* 2-13, *chaṁda* 1-6; Vaudeville, 1955: 269-270.

51. Cf. Appendix IV, 1.

52. Cf. Appendix IV, 2.

53. Cf. note 1.

54. Cf. Gandhi, 1976: 192.

55. Cf. Gandhi, 1972: 92.

56. Gandhi's conception of Rāma as a servant of servants reflects his well-known ideal of *sevā* "service", which is based on a reinterpretation of this ancient Sanskrit term in the sense of the Christian ideal of love of one's neighbour.

57. Cf. Heesterman, 1978: 5; 17-18.

APPENDICES

I. Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa

1. VI, 116, 83-90

83. *ājānulambibāhuś ca mahāskandhaḥ pratāpavān*
lakṣmaṇānucaro rāmaḥ pṛthivīm anvapālayat
84. *na paryadevan vidhavā na ca vyālakṛtaṁ bhayam*
na vyādhijaṁ bhayaṁ vāpi rāme rājyaṁ praśāsati
85. *nirdasyur abhaval loko nānarthaḥ kaṁcid aspṛśat*
na ca sma vṛddhā bālānāṁ pretakāryāṇi kurvate
86. *sarvaṁ muditam evāsīt sarvo dharmaparo 'bhavat*
rāmam evānupaśyanto nābhyahiṁsan parasparam
87. *āsan varṣasahasrāṇi tathā putrasahasriṇaḥ*
nirāmaya viśokāś ca rāme rājyaṁ praśāsati
88. *nityapuṣpā nityaphalās taravaḥ skandhavistṛtāḥ*
kālavarsī ca parjanyaḥ sukhasparśas ca mārutaḥ
89. *svakarmasu pravartante tuṣṭāḥ svair eva karmabhiḥ*
āsan prajā dharmaparā rāme śāsati nānṛtāḥ
90. *sarve lakṣaṇasaṁpannāḥ sarve dharmaparāyaṇāḥ*
daśavarṣasahasrāṇi rāmo rājyam akārayat

2. I, 7,15-17

15. *īdṛśais tair amātyais tu rājā daśaratho ' naghaḥ*
upapanno guṇopetair anvaśāsad vasuṁdharām
16. *avekṣamāṇaś cāreṇa prajā dharmeṇa rañjayan*
nādhyagacchad viśiṣṭaṁ vā tulyaṁ vā śatrum ātmanaḥ
17. *tair mantribhir mantrahitair nirviṣṭair*
vṛto ' nuraktaiḥ kuśalaiḥ samarthaiḥ
sa pārthivo dīptim avāpya yuktas
tejomayair gobhir ivodito 'rkaḥ

3. II, 5,8-10

8. *prasannas te pitā rāma yauvanarājyam avāpsyasi*
upavāsaṁ bhavān adya karotu saha sītayā
9. *prātas tvām abhiṣektā hi yauvarājye narādhipaḥ*
pitā daśarathaḥ prītyā yayātiṁ nahuṣo yathā
10. *ity uktvā sa tadā rāmam upavāsaṁ yatavratam*
mantravat kārayāmāsa vaidehyā sahitaṁ muniḥ

II. Kampa-rāmāyaṇam

1. *Yutta-kāṇṭam, viṭaikoṭutta paṭalam* 39, verses 36-37

36. *aiyaṉum avarai nīkki aruḷceṟi tuṇaivarōṭum*
vaiyakam muḻutum ceṅkōl maṉuṉeṟi muṟaiyil cellac
ceyyamāmakaḷum maṟṟac cekatala makaḷum caṟṟum
naiyum āṟu iṉṟik kāttāṉ nānilap poṟaikaḷ tīrttē
37. *umparōṭu impar kāṟum ulakam ōr ēḻumēḻum*
em perumāṉ eṉṟu ētti iṟaiñci niṉṟu ēval ceyyat
tampiyarōṭum tāṉum tarumamum taraṇi kāttāṉ
amparattu aṉantar nīṅki ayōttiyil vanta vaḷḷal

2. Daśaratha's and Rāma's virtues
A. Elaboration of Daśaratha's virtues in *Araciyaṟpaṭalam*

mati "wisdom": verses 4 and 5.
Daśaratha resembles the wisdom needed for minute investigation (4). By investigating good books he crosses the ocean of the *śāstras* (5).

vīram "heroism" and power: verses 5, 7 and 8.
With his sword Daśaratha crosses the ocean of his enemies (5). His lances are worn out because (often) he has to sharpen them. His golden anklets, too, are worn out because of the jewelled crowns of kings (bowing at his feet) (8).
By his association with Śrī he crosses the ocean of *bhoga* "enjoyment" (5). With the Cakravāla (mythical range of mountains encircling the orb of the earth and being the limit of light and darkness) as its wall, the ocean as its moat and the mountains as its big mansions, the whole earth resembles the great city of Ayodhyā (7).

celkati "redemptive power": verse 4.
In his nature to guide everyone on the right path Daśaratha is like a son to his parents. He is like a medicine to a disease.

Capacity to protect: verses 4, 9, 10, 11 and 12.
In creating well-being Daśaratha resembles *tapas* (4). His white umbrella resembles the moon because it removes darkness and spreads cool shadow to everyone on the earth. Since these actions neither diminish nor increase, his white umbrella even excels the moon (9). The strong Daśaratha has become the body in which the souls of all beings on the earth live, because he protects all the souls as his own soul (10). Like the hot sun, the successful and peerless Daśaratha, who has shoulders as high as mountains, will protect all souls on the earth for a long time (11). Daśaratha, with his strong and round shoulders, rules over the whole country, just like a poor man who protects his meagre land, and he does so in an agreeable manner because he has no enemies (12).

B. The five virtues which are common to Daśaratha and Rāma (*AP: Arasiyaṟpaṭalam; MCP: Mantaraicūḻccippaṭalam*)

aruḷ "mercy": *AP* verse 2 (cf. note 25); *MCP* verse 11 (cf. note 41).

dharma: *AP* verse 2 (cf. note 25); *MCP* verses 11 (cf. note 41); 17 (cf. note 42).

aṉpu "love":
AP verse 4. In his love Daśaratha resembles a mother.
MCP verse 16. Which power excels the power of love? Then, what is the use of purifying the organs of sense for those who have bones and skin (the human beings), and for those who do not have bones and skin (the gods)? In all the three worlds there is nothing more powerful than love.

dāna "charity":
AP verses 3, 5 and 6. There is no hand which has not become wet with the water poured by Daśaratha's benevolent hands (3). By his *dāna* he crosses the ocean of the *yācakas* "mendicants" (5). He is a *vaḷḷal* "generous person" (6).
MCP verse 18.

nīti "justice": *AP* verse 2 (cf. note 25); *MCP* verse 18.

3. Virtues specific to Rāma

maṉaccemmai "mental transparency": *MCP* verse 11.

Absence of great evils such as cheating (*cūtu*): *MCP* verse 12.

maṉakkōḷ "absence of enmity": *MCP* verse 13.

naṭuvuṟu nōṉmai "impartiality": *MCP* verse 14. Reigning with impartiality is the true reigning. It is comparable to a *tapas* performed on (the edge of) a sword.

A man of pleasant words (*iṉiya colliṉaṉ*), thought (*eṇṇiṉaṉ*), action (*viṉaiyaṉ*), purity (*tūyaṉ*), excellence (*viḻumiyaṉ*), victory (*veṉṟiyaṉ*): *MCP* verse 18.

Absence of *kāma* "sexual desire": *MCP* verse 21.

Tamil text relating to II.2.A.

Pālakāṇṭam, Araciyaṟpaṭalam

3. *moyyār kalicūḻ mutupāriṉ mukantu tāṉak*
kaiyār puṉalā ṉaṉaiyātaṉa kaiyu millai
meyyāya vētat tuṟaivēntaruk kēynta yārum
ceyyāta yākam mivaṉceytu muṭitta mātō.
4. *tāyokku maṉpiṟ ṟavamokku nalampa yappiṉ*
cēyokku muṉṉiṉ ṟorucelkati yuykku nīrāl
nōyokku meṉṉiṉ maruntokku nuṇaṅku kēḷvi
āyap pukuṅkā laṟivokku mevarkku maṉṉāṉ.
5. *īntē kaṭantā ṉirappōrkaṭa leṇṇi ṉaṉṉūl*
āyntē kaṭantāṉ kalaiyeṉṉu maḷakkar vāḷāṟ
kāyntē kaṭantāṉ pakaivēlai karuttu muṟṟat
tōyntē kaṭantāṉ ṟiruviṉṟoṭar pōka pauvam.
6. *veḷḷamum paṟavaiyum vilaṅkum vēcaiyar*
uḷḷamu moruvaḻi yōṭa niṉṟavaṉ
taḷḷarum perumpukaḻt tayara tappeyar
vaḷḷalvaḷ ḷuṟaiyayiṉ maṉṉar maṉṉanē.
7. *nēmimāl varaimati lāka nīḷpuṟap*
pāmamā kaṭalkiṭaṅ kākap paṉmaṇi
vāmamā ḷikaimalai yāka maṉṉaṟkup
pūmiyu mayōttimā nakaram pōlumē.
8. *āvarum vaṉmainē raṟintu tīṭṭalāl*
mēvaruṅ kaiyaṭai vēlun tēyumāl
kōvuṭai neṭumaṇi makuṭa kōṭiyāl
cēvaṭi yaṇintapoṟ kaḻalum tēyumāl.
9. *maṇṇiṭai yuyirtoṟum vaḷarntu tēyviṉṟit*
taṇṇiḻal parappavu miruḷait taḷḷavum
aṇṇaṟaṉ kuṭaimati yamaiyu mātalāṉ
viṇṇiṭai matiyiṉai mikaiyi teṉṉavē.
10. *vayiravāṉ pūṇaṇi maṭaṅkaṉ moympiṉāṉ*
uyirelān taṉṉuyi roppa vōmpalāl
ceyirilā vulakiṉiṟ ceṉṟu niṉṟuvāḻ
uyirelā muṟaivatō ruṭampu māyiṉāṉ.
11. *kuṉṟeṉa vuyariya kuvavut tōḷiṉāṉ*
veṉṟi yantikirivem paruti yāmeṉa
oṉṟeṉa vulakiṭai yulāvi mīmicai
niṉṟuniṉ ṟuyirtoṟu neṭitu kākkumē.
12. *eyyeṉa veḻupakai yeṅku miṉmaiyāṉ*
moypeṟāt tiṉavuṟu muḻavut tōḷiṉāṉ
vaiyaka muḻuvatum vaṟiña ṉōmpumōr
ceyyeṉak kāttiṉi taracu ceykiṉṟāṉ.

Tamil text relating to II.3.

Ayōttiyākāṇṭam, Mantaraicūḻccippaṭalam

12. *cūtu muntuṟac colliya māttuyar*
nīti mainta niṉakkilai yāyiṉum
ēta meṉpaṉa yāvaiyu meytutaṟku
ōtu mūla mavaiyeṉa vōrtiyē.
13. *yāro ṭummaṉak kōḷila teṉṟapiṉ*
pōro ṭuṅkum pukaḻoṭuṅ kātutaṉ
tāro ṭuṅkal ceyyātatu takkapiṉ
vēro ṭuṅkeṭal vēṇṭa luṇṭākumō.
14. *kōḷu maimpoṟi yuṅkuṟaiyap poruḷ*
nāḷuṅ koṇṭu naṭuvuṟu nōṉmaiyiṉ
nāḷu mavvara cēyara caṉṉatu
vāḷiṉ mēlvaru mātava maintaṉē.
16. *eṉpu tōluṭai yārkku milārkkuntam*
vaṉpa kaippulaṉ mācaṟa māyppateṉ
muṉpu niṉṟuyar mūṉṟula kattiṉum
aṉpi ṉallato rākkamuṇ ṭākumō.
18. *iṉiya colliṉa nīkaiya ṉeṇṇiṉaṉ*
viṉaiyaṉ ṟūyaṉ viḻumiyaṉ veṉṟiyaṉ
niṉaiyu nīti neṟikaṭa vāṉeṉil
aṉaiya maṉṉaṟ kaḻivumuṇ ṭāṅkolō.

III. Rāmacaritamānasa
1. VII, 20,4 - 22,3
20,4 *rāma rāja baiṭheṁ trailokā haraṣita bhae gae saba sokā*
bayaru na kara kāhū sana koī rāma pratāpa biṣamatā khoī
20, *dohā*
baranāśrama nija nija dharama nirata beda patha loga
calahiṁ sadā pāvahiṁ sukhahi nahiṁ bhaya soka na roga
21,1 *daihika daivika bhautika tāpā rāma rāja nahiṁ kāhuhi byāpā*
saba nara karahiṁ paraspara prīti calahiṁ svadharma nirata śruti nīti
21,2 *cāriu carana dharma jaga māhīṁ pūri rahā sapane huṁ agha nāhīṁ*
rāma bhagati rata nara aru nārī sakala parama gati ke adhikārī
21,3 *alpa-mṛtyu nahiṁ kavani u pīrā saba suṁdara saba biruja sarīrā*
nahiṁ daridra kou dukhī na dīnā nahiṁ kou abudha na lacchana-hīnā
21,4 *saba nirdaṁbha dharma-rata punī nara aru nāri catura saba gunī*
saba guna-gya paṁḍita saba gyānī saba kṛta-gya nahiṁ kapaṭa-sayānī
21, *dohā*
rāma rāja nabhagesa sunu sacarācara jaga māhiṁ

kāla karma subhāva guna kṛta dukha kāhuhi nāhiṁ
22,1 *bhūmi sapta sāgara mekhalā eka bhūpa raghupati kosalā*
bhuana aneka roma prati jāsū yaha prabhutā kachu bahuta na tāsū
22,2 *so mahimā samujhata prabhu kerī yaha baranata hīnatā ghanerī*
sou mahimā khagesa jinha jānī phiri ehiṁ carita tinha huṁ rati mānī
22,3 *sou jāne kara phala yaha līlā kahahiṁ mahā muni-bara dama-sīlā*
rāma rāja kara sukha saṁpadā barani na sakaï phanīsa sāradā

2. I, 188,4
avadha-purīṁ raghu-kula-maṇi rāū beda bidita tehi dasaratha nāūṁ
dharama dhuraṁdhara guna-nidhi gyānī hṛdayaṁ bhagati mati sāraṁgapānī

3. II, 10,1 - 2a-b
1. *barani rāma guna sīlu subhāū bole prema pulaki muni-rāū*
bhūpa sajeu abhiṣeka samājū cāhata dena tumhahi juba-rājū
2 a-b *rāma karahu saba saṁjama ājū jauṁ bidhi kusala nibāhai kājū*

IV

A. Negative terms common to the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmacaritamānasa*

Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa	*Rāmacaritamānasa*
1. No disease:	
84; 87	20, *dohā*; 21,1; 3
2. No sorrow:	
87	20, *dohā*; 21,3; *dohā*
3. No fear:	
cf. 84	20, *dohā*
4. No juvenile death:	
85	21,3
cf. longevity, B	
5. No harm:	No pain resulting from divine or material causes:
85	21,1
6. No fraud:	
89	21,4

The following negative terms occur only in one of the two works:

Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa	*Rāmacaritamānasa*
1. No widowhood:	1. No enmity/discord:
84	20,4

	Cf. mutual love, B
2. No danger from snakes: 84	2. No sin: 21,2 Cf. virtuousness/gratefulness and appreciation of each other's virtues, B
3. No robbery: 85	3. No poverty: 21,3
4. No violence: 86	4. No ignorance: 21,3 Cf. intellectual capacity, B
	5. No lack of the marks of good fortune: 21,3 Cf. being endowed with auspicious marks, B (*Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*)

B. Positive terms common to both works (apart from the concept of *dharma* discussed in the text itself)

Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa	*Rāmacaritamānasa*
Universal happiness: 86	 20,4

The following positive terms occur only in one of the two works:

Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa	*Rāmacaritamānasa*
1. Longevity: 87 Cf. no juvenile death, A	1. Mutual love: 21,1 Cf. no enmity/discord, A
2. Abundance of male offspring: 87	2. Religious merit: 21,4
3. Benevolence of the nature: 88	3. Virtuousness/gratefulness and appreciation of each other's virtues: 21, 4 Cf. no sin, A
4. Being endowed with auspicious marks: 90 Cf. no lack of the marks of good fortune, A (*Rāmacaritamānasa*)	4. Intellectual capacity: 21,4 Cf. no ignorance, A

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INHERITANCE AND *ŚRĀDDHA*:
The Principle of 'Spiritual Benefit'

Ludo Rocher

In 1870 the Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court was called on to determine "whether under the Hindu Law current in the Bengal School, the son of a paternal uncle's daughter is entitled to succeed to the estate of a deceased Hindu, if no nearer heirs are forthcoming".[1] If he was, the property should be his; if not, the property should revert to the Crown.

The answer to this question depended on whether or not Jīmūtavāhana's *Dāyabhāga*, the highest authority on inheritance in Bengal[2], recognized the paternal uncle's daughter's son as an heir. It was clear that it did not do so explicitly. A further question was then raised, namely whether the order of succession discussed in the *Dāyabhāga* was meant to be exhaustive, or whether the text merely provided general principles to be applied in the light of specific circumstances. The Court, in a judgment delivered by Mr. Justice D.N. (Dwarkanath) Mitter, decided in favor of the latter alternative: the paternal uncle's daughter's son qualifies as an heir, for he ranks among the *sapiṇḍas* as defined by Jīmūtavāhana.[3]

There is absolute agreement in the texts on Hindu law that a deceased person's inheritance first goes to his *sapiṇḍas*, and, among these, to whoever happens to be the closest surviving *sapiṇḍa*:

> *anantaraḥ sapiṇḍād yas tasya tasya dhanaṃ bhavet.*
> "Property always goes to the one who is closest to the deceased *sapiṇḍa*".[4] (*Manu* 9.187ab)

There is less agreement, however, on the meaning of the term *piṇḍa*, and, hence, on the definition of *sapiṇḍa* relationship.

Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā*, the most authoritative text on inheritance in India outside Bengal, discusses the meaning of *piṇḍa* at length, in connection with the rule of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (1.52) to the effect that a man should not marry a woman who is his *sapiṇḍa*:

> "He should marry a girl, who is a non-Sapinda (with himself). She is called his Sapinda who has (particles of) the body (of some ancestor, &c.) in common (with him). Non-Sapinda means not his Sapinda. Such a one (he should marry). Sapinda-relationship arises between two people through their being connected by particles of one body. Thus the son stands in Sapinda-relationship to his father because of particles of his father's body having entered

> (his). In like (manner stands the grandson in Sapinda-relationship) to his paternal grandfather and the rest, because through his father particles of his (grandfather's) body have entered into (his own). Just so is (the son of a Sapinda-relation) of his mother, because particles of his mother's body have entered (into his). Likewise (the grandson stands in Sapinda-relationship) to his maternal grandfather and the rest through his mother. So also (is the nephew) a Sapinda-relation to his maternal aunts and uncles, and the rest, because particles of the same body (the paternal grandfather) have entered into (his and theirs); likewise (does he stand in Sapinda-relationship) with paternal uncles and aunts, and the rest. So also the wife and the husband (are Sapinda-relations to each other), because they together beget one body (the son). In like manner brothers' wives also are (Sapinda-relations to each other), because they produce one body (the son), with those (severally) who have sprung from one body (*i.e.* because they bring forth sons by their union with the offspring of one person, and thus their husbands' father is the common bond which connects them). Therefore one ought to know that wherever the word Sapinda is used, there exists (between the persons to whom it is applied) a connection with one body, either immediately or by descent".[5]

It is clear from this that Vijñāneśvara adopted the position that *sapiṇḍa* relationship "is based upon community of corporal particles, or, in other words, upon consanguinity".[6]

Jīmūtavāhana (11.6.17) quotes Manu 9.187ab. He does not discuss the meaning of *piṇḍa*, and tacitly takes it in its ordinary sense: *piṇḍa* is the ball or cake, mostly made of rice, which a person offers to his ancestors when he performs *śrāddha*.[7] He points to the fact that the immediately preceding verse (Manu 9.186) ordains that one should offer *piṇḍas* to three generations of ancestors:

> "Three generations shall be given water, three generations must be offered *piṇḍas*. It is the fourth generation that offers these. The fifth generation plays no role".

There is more to this verse, Jīmūtavāhana adds, than the obligation to offer *śrāddhas*. Since it occurs in the middle of the chapter of inheritance, it also means to say that offering *piṇḍas* plays a role in inheritance. Accordingly, the purpose of the immediately following verse (9.187ab) is to specify how this is so: the inheritance always goes to the person who is closest to the deceased as far as his *piṇḍa* offerings are concerned.

Jīmūtavāhana obviously also knew the other point of view, for he concludes:

> "It would be wrong to say (*na ca... iti vācyam*) that being closest in Manu 9.187ab is meant to be understood in terms of birth rather than in terms of offering *piṇḍas*. Nothing in the wording of this text hints at the order of birth. On the contrary, Manu introduces the term 'closeness' after having said that *piṇḍas* and water shall be offered to three generations, that the fourth at the lower end offers the *piṇḍas*, and that neither the fifth at the top receives *piṇḍas* nor does the fifth at the lower end offer them. In doing so he makes it known that the criterion for being closest is being superior as far as offering *piṇḍas* is concerned".(11.6.18)

There is no doubt that here and elsewhere in the *Dāyabhāga* Jīmūtavāhana repeatedly and explicitly invokes the criterion of being *upakāraka* "of service" to the deceased by offering *piṇḍas*, for someone to qualify as an heir. There is also no doubt that here and elsewhere in the text he often and specifically calls on the concept of *upakārātiśaya* "being of greater service" to the deceased, for someone to be closer to him (*ānantarya*) and to inherit prior to someone else.[8] As I indicated earlier, Justice Mitter held that all these instances were merely illustrative of Jīmūtavāhana's attitude to inheritance generally, and that the underlying principle ought to be applied in cases not explicitly discussed in the *Dāyabhāga* as well.[9] He defended his thesis in a lengthy opinion in the case brought before the Court in 1870, to which I referred earlier.

If Mitter's thesis is correct, Jīmūtavāhana's view of *sapiṇḍa* and *sapiṇḍa* relationship can be summarized as follows. Once the *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas*, which are intended for a single recently deceased ancestor, are completed, he is elevated to the rank of a *pitṛ* and united with the ancestors generally by means of the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* (or *sapiṇḍana*).[10] From then onward he shares in the "undivided" (*avibhakta*) *piṇḍas* which the descendant offers at his *pārvaṇa śrāddhas* to three generations of ancestors on his father's side (father, father's father, father's father's father) as well as to three generations of his mother's ancestors (mother's father, mother's father's father, mother's father's father's father). All of them, together with the person who offers the *pārvaṇa śrāddha*, are *sapiṇḍas*.

At this stage Jīmūtavāhana goes one important step further. Since the deceased shares in the *piṇḍas* offered to his ancestors, he also shares in any *piṇḍa* that is offered to any one of them, irrespective of the identity of the person who offers it. In other words, in addition to survivors who offer *piṇḍas* to the deceased personally, the *sapiṇḍas* of the deceased also include any person who offers one or more *piṇḍas* to any ancestor to whom he himself would have offered *piṇḍas* had he been living.

In 1870 Mitter applied these principles to the case before him. In addition to the *piṇḍas* which a father's brother's daughter's son (FBDS) offers to three generations of ancestors on his father's side, he also offers *piṇḍas* to three generations of ancestors on his mother's side. These are: his maternal grandfather, i.e. the deceased man's paternal uncle (FB), and his maternal grandfather's father and paternal grandfather, i.e. the deceased man's paternal grandfather (FF) and great-grandfather (FFF). Although the deceased himself does not enjoy any of the *piṇḍas* which his FBDS offers at his *pārvaṇa śrāddhas*, the *piṇḍas* offered there to his FF and his FFF are *piṇḍas* which he himself would have offered had he been living. A FBDS, therefore, is a *sapiṇḍa*, and he qualifies as an heir.

Mitter's thesis that "the principle of spiritual benefit... constitutes the fundamental basis of the law of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga" (p. 145) has not been universally accepted. In the background of the opposition to Mitter's approach lies the fact that most scholars, often tacitly, seem to assume that the *Dāyabhāga* is more recent than the *Mitākṣarā*.[11] A few of them, even Bengalis, went as far as to believe that, prior to the time when Jīmūtavāhana wrote the *Dāyabhāga*, inheritance in Bengal was indeed governed by the law of the *Mitākṣarā*.[12] In their opinion Jīmūtavāhana's purpose was not to void the existing law of inheritance and establish a new law based on totally different principles, but to alter it only on some specific points,[13] namely by slightly changing the order of succession, "specially by recognising some dear and near cognates as heirs in preference to remoter agnates".[14] To do so he reinterpreted the ancient texts, using a variety of arguments "of which the capacity to confer spiritual benefit by the performance of the Párvana Sráddha is most prominent and conspicuous".[15] However, since Jīmūtavāhana only intended to amend specific aspects of *Mitākṣarā* law, his text must be construed strictly. On any point of law on which the *Dāyabhāga* is silent, *Mitākṣarā* law applies, even in Bengal.[16] The fact that Jīmūtavāhana resorted to spiritual benefit in a number of cases does not imply that he accepted it as a general and absolute principle to be applied in each and every decision on the order of succession.[17] As far as the case under consideration is concerned, that means that, since Jīmūtavāhana does not explicitly make a father's brother's daughter's son an heir on the basis of spiritual benefit, *Mitākṣarā* law applies, and he does not qualify as an heir.

I do not want to insist in this article on the question whether Jīmūtavāhana intended the principle of spiritual benefit to be applicable in general or restricted terms.[18] The fact is that he relies on it repeatedly, and that, in the Courts of British and Independent India, it made *Dāyabhāga* law, i.e. the law of inheritance in Bengal different from the law in the rest of India:

> "The Dayabhaga lays down the principle of religious efficacy as the ruling canon in determining the order of succession;

> consequently it rejects the preference of agnates to cognates, which distinguishes the other system, and arranges and limits the cognates upon principles peculiar to itself".[19]

When it comes to explaining why the *Dāyabhāga*, followed by all later treatises on inheritance in Bengal, is different from the *Mitākṣarā* and all other texts used and applied in the law courts elsewhere in India, there are two premises which surface again and again in the scholarly literature.

The first premise notes that all *dharma* commentaries and digests basically present interpretations of the same body of ancient *smṛti* literature. If these interpretations are different, as they indeed are, this must be due to the fact that their authors made conscious efforts to interpret the same ancient texts in such a way as to bring them into harmony with different local usages: "closer investigation into the systems of law prevailing in the different provinces of India with the aid of the history of their peoples seem to me to lead to the discovery of the true causes of their uniformity and differences".[20]

In the case of inheritance this premise has led to a vast scholarly literature. I must mention, though, that these investigations have centered nearly universally around another principle on which the *Dāyabhāga* differs from the law in the rest of India, and which I will therefore only mention in passing. Again to quote *Mayne's Treatise*:

> "[The *Dāyabhāga*] wholly denies the doctrine that property is by birth, which is the corner-stone of the joint family system under the Mitakshara. Hence, it treats the father as the absolute owner of the property, and authorises him to dispose of it at his pleasure. It also refuses to recognize any right in the son to a partition during his father's life-time".[21]

In other words, to *janmasvatvavāda* "the theory that one becomes owner by birth", which Vijñāneśvara defends at length at the beginning of his chapter on inheritance, Bengal opposes the theory of *uparamasvatvavāda* "the theory that someone's ownership comes into being by and not before the death of the previous owner".[22] Arguments which scholars invoke to explain why Bengal was different in this respect from the rest of India range from the fact that Bengal was a center of trade and the heads of families therefore needed free and easy access to family property, to the fact that for a long time Buddhism and Tantrism were stronger in Bengal than elsewhere,[23] and even to influence of Islam.[24]

To test the validity of this premise as far as the principle of spiritual benefit is concerned, it would be helpful if it could be shown that performing *pārvaṇaśrāddha* and offering *piṇḍas* to the ancestors was more prominent in Bengal than elsewhere. Unfortunately, even the data on present day performance of *śrādda* in various parts of India are confusing, and extensive field work would be required to determine whether, at least today, it is given more importance in Bengal than elsewhere. To be sure, there are descriptions of lavish *śrāddha* ceremonies performed in Bengal.[25] Yet, there are also voices, from within Bengal, to the effect that the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* "has become obsolete among the Hindus and is not generally celebrated at all at the present day".[26]

The second premise involves an element which I already referred to, namely that, starting from the - as yet unproven - belief that the *Mitākṣarā* is older than the *Dāyabhāga*, some scholars, even within Bengal, go as far as to say that, prior to the time when Jīmūtavāhana wrote the *Dāyabhāga*, inheritance in Bengal was governed by *Mitākṣarā* law. But even among those who refrain from making as specific a statement as this, there is the general notion that, if the law of inheritance is different in Bengal from what it is elsewhere, this was the work of Jīmūtavāhana, "the founder of the Bengal school".[27]

Yet, at least as far as the theory of *maraṇasvatvavāda* is concerned, the fact that it is older than the *Mitākṣarā* is beyond dispute. In the introduction to the chapter on inheritance, which I referred to earlier, Vijñāneśvara refutes it at great length, in favor of his own theory of *janmasvatvavāda*. It is interesting to note, on the other hand, that Jīmūtavāhana does not insist on defending his own view on the origin of proprietary rights. The single expression of his opinion on that point appears, almost casually, in his interpretation of the term *pitrya* (1.3.). According to the *Nāradasmṛti* one speaks of *dāyabhāga* (or *dāyavibhāga*) when sons proceed to a partition of *pitryaṃ dhanam*.[28] Alluding to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4.3.74 and 79), Jīmūtavāhana interprets *pitryaṃ* as *pitṛta āgatam*; it therefore means, he says, *pitṛmaraṇopajātasvatvam*. In fact, more than a century ago Julius Jolly recognized that the theory of *maraṇasvatvavāda* was accepted by the author of the *Smṛtisaṃgraha* (8-10th century, quoted by Vijñāneśvara) and by Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva (ca. 1005-ca. 1054, quoted by Vijñāneśvara and Jīmūtavāhana).[29]

The premise that Jīmūtavāhana was the founder of the Bengal school has been applied to the principle of spiritual benefit as well. Even though it has been said by as great an authority as P.V. Kane that Jīmūtavāhana's system, based on a close connection between inheritance and *śrāddha*, may be closer to the ancient texts than Vijñāneśvara's:

> "Many of the passages from the Dharmasūtras are capable of being explained away on the theory of Vijñāneśvara, but one cannot help feeling on a careful study of the Dharmasūtra that the ancient sūtra writers saw an intimate connection between taking the inheritance and the offering of *Piṇḍas* and laid little emphasis on mere relationship by blood,"[30]

the view is still widely held that "the doctrine of spiritual benefit [was] introduced for the first time, by the founder of the Bengal school".[31] In Derrett's words,

> "Jīmūtavāhana discovered a principle, the famous principle of 'spiritual benefit', which he could use, like a knife, to cut his way through the jungle of texts, and to discover harmony amongst authorities which had previously been discrepant. In order to achieve his effect he was obliged to make many obvious exceptions to his theory, and to pass with a discreet silence over some unexplained anomalies. But the idea was so simple and congenial, so easily remembered and so attractive, that pandits adopted his principles in what would appear to be a short time, and he eclipsed his predecessors".[32]

What this means is that, according to general scholarly consensus, the principle of spiritual benefit was "invented" by Jīmūtavāhana, i.e. in the 11th century according to some or as late as the 15th century according to others.

As to the question whether, in reality, the principle of spiritual benefit too, might be older than Jīmūtavāhana, I must refer to the fact that Jīmūtavāhana (11.6.32) explicitly attributes it to *niravadyavidyodyota*. Unfortunately, no writer by the name of Vidyodyota or Udyota is known from other sources. The commentators on the *Dāyabhāga* interpret the term either as a reference to one of Jīmūtavāhana's predecessors or as a reference to himself.

It has also been suggested that Śrīkara, whom Jīmūtavāhana quotes not only in the *Dāyabhāga* but also in the *Vyavahāramātṛkā*, and hence one of Jīmūtavāhana's undisputed predecessors, "seems to have propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession". This suggestion, made by Kane, was based on a passage from Śrīkara quoted in Harinātha's *Smṛtisāra*.[33] It is true that Śrīkara's text corresponds in some ways to a passage from the *Dāyabhāga* (11.6.8-9); yet, there is no reference whatever to *śrāddha*, the offering of *piṇḍas*, or the heir being of service to the deceased. In fact, out of the seven occasions on which Jīmūtavāhana quotes Śrīkara, five are negative, some even strongly negative: Śrīkara's opinions are rejected as *mandam* (6.1.41), *asaṃgatam* (11.5.16), and *atimandam* (11.5.31). Of the two cases in which Jīmūtavāhana agrees with Śrīkara, one (11.5.12) may or may not have a bearing on Śrīkara's subscribing to the principle of spiritual benefit. The passage refers to the fact that a half brother inherits after a brother german but before a brother german's son:

> *sāpatnasya ca*
> 1. *sodarāt mṛtadeyaṣāṭpauruṣikapiṇḍadātur mṛtabhogyamātrapitrādipiṇḍatrayadātṛtayā jaghanyatvāt,*
> 2. *bhrātṛputrāc ca mṛtabhogyapiṇḍadvayadātur mṛtabhogyapiṇḍatrayadātṛtayā upakārakatvātirekeṇa balavattvāt, madhya evādhikāraḥ Śrīkara Viśvarūpokta evādaraṇīyaḥ.*

One thing this passage fails to make clear is whether only the fact that the half brother inherits in between a brother german and a brother german's son is an integral part of Śrīkara's opinion, or whether the two reasons why this is so are taken from Śrīkara's writings as well. The fact that Jīmūtavāhana attributes the same opinion to Viśvarūpa further complicates the issue. The arguments mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana definitely do not appear in the printed text of Viśvarūpa's commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, but this *argumentum e silentio* loses much of its value, since, as far as this printed text is concerned, it is well established that "there are grounds to hold that it is corrupt and deficient".[34]

In comparison with Udyota, Śrīkara and Viśvarūpa, we are on much firmer ground with another commentator on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Aparāditya (or Aparārka, which may have been the title of his book). Jolly noted, in 1883, that "certain opinions, which have been viewed as peculiar to the Bengal School, may be traced to Aparārka's commentary".[35] Kane not only reiterated this view, but pointed out, more specifically, that "Aparārka bases the right to take a deceased person's property on the superior spiritual benefit conferred by the claimant on the person deceased".[36]

Commenting on *Yājñavalkya* 2.135, according to which, failing male offspring, a widow, daughters, and parents, the inheritance goes to the brothers, Aparāditya points out that only brothers german inherit, because they are closer (*pratyāsannatara*) to the deceased than half brothers. Indeed, he says, they offer *śrāddhas* to the same maternal ancestors as their deceased brother; half brothers do not (*te hi mṛtabhrātrapekṣayaikasyaiva mātṛvargasya śrāddhakāriṇo na tu sāpatnāḥ*). And, after quoting *Manu* 9.187ab and 186 - referred to earlier in this article -, he again insists that it is the brother german who is closer to the deceased "because he offers water etc. to the same beneficiaries (*samānasampradānodakādidātṛtvāt*). The brother german's son is slightly removed (*īṣadvyavahitaḥ*) from the deceased, because the *piṇḍa* he offers to his father cancels one of the beneficiaries of the deceased. His grandson is even farther removed (*tato 'pi vyavahitaḥ*), because of the two *piṇḍas* he offers to his father and grandfather. Finally, his great-grandson is totally removed (*atyantavyavahitaḥ*), because the three *piṇḍas* to his ancestors exclude any *piṇḍas* for the benefit of the deceased's ancestors. Hence, Aparārka concludes, only the brother, his son, and his grandson are *sapiṇḍas* of the deceased. The reference to *śrāddha* and the repeated references to *piṇḍas* and their beneficiaries (*sampradāna*) leave no doubt that, according to Aparāditya, succession generally and the order of succession in particular were based on the principle of spiritual benefit.

Whether Aparāditya is older than Jīmūtavāhana, and whether the principle of spiritual benefit therefore antedated the author of the *Dāyabhāga*, is uncertain. Neither author quotes the other. If Kane is correct in saying that the *Dāyabhāga* was written between A.D. 1090 and 1130 and that Aparāditya wrote ca A.D. 1125,[37] Aparāditya may have been slightly older or younger than Jīmūtavāhana but, for all practical purposes, they may be considered contemporaries.

At least one important conclusion can be drawn from the fact that Aparāditya subscribed to the principle of spiritual benefit. In the colophons of his commentary he is described as follows: *śrīvidyādharavaṃśaprabhavaśrīśilāhāranarendrajīmūtavāhanānvayaprasūtaśrīmad-aparādityadevaḥ*. In other words, Aparāditya was a king, born in the family of Jīmūtavāhana king of the Śilāhāras of the Vidyādhara race.[38]

Even if Aparāditya belonged to the most northern branch of the Śilāhāras,[39] he reigned somewhere near India's west coast, in present-day Surat District and farther south. This means that the principle of spiritual benefit was upheld in an area far away from Bengal; to put is differently, it means that the principle of spiritual benefit was not, as has been claimed, typically Bengali. It is a recognized fact that "worship of the dead and inheritance appear everywhere in closest connexion with each other".[40] Earlier in this paper I quoted Kane to the effect that this was also the case in the *dharmasūtras*. Under these circumstances the choice was one of emphasis: either the fact that one inherited implied the duty of performing *śrāddha*, or the fact that one performed *śrāddha* meant that one became an heir. Jīmūtavāhana - and probably many others, not necessarily in Bengal - interpreted the ancient texts in favor of the latter alternative. It is only at the time when the *Dāyabhāga* became recognized as its standard authority, that Jīmūtavāhana's views on the role of the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* in determining the order of succession became one of the characteristic traits of, and limited to, the Bengal School and the law of inheritance in Bengal. It was left to Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter to draw the logical conclusion, and to formulate, in detail, the implications of the principle of spiritual benefit.

NOTES

1. *Guru Gobind Shaha Mondal* v. *Anand Lal Ghose* (1870) 5 Beng. L.R., 15. Reprinted in Tara Prosonno Banerjea: *A Manual of Hindu Law of Succession*. Vol. 1: *The Bengal School*. Calcutta Central Press Co., 1893, pp. 137-149. References to this case will be according to the page numbers in this reprint.
2. See my "Schools of Hindu Law", *India Maior. Congratulatory Volume Presented to J. Gonda*, ed. J. Ensink and P. Gaeffke. Leiden: Brill, 1972, pp. 167-176.
3. On the uncertainty of the law prior to 1870, see Trailokyanath Mitra: *The Law Relating to the Hindu Widow*. Tagore Law Lectures for 1879. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1881, pp. 77-78.
4. My translation agrees with Bühler's rather than with any of the various interpretations adopted by the commentators on the *Manusmṛti*. On these, see Bühler's note (*SBE* 25, pp. 366-368).
5. As translated in Raymond West & Georg Bühler: *A Digest of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, Partition, and Adoption*, 4th ed., London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1919, pp. 112-113.
6. *Lallubhâi Bhâpubhâi* v. *Mânkuvarbhâi* (1878) 2 Bom. L.R. 388, 424, after quoting the entire *Mitākṣarā* passage.
7. Pandurang V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. 2, 1941, p. 472. Henceforth I will refer to Kane's *History* solely by volume and page (vol. 1, 2nd ed., 1968, 1975; vol. 3, 1946).
8. The principal passages are summarized in Kane: *History* 3, pp. 736-738.
9. "Every one who has gone through the Dayabhaga must have perceived that the specific enumeration of each individual heir was not the object which the author had in view. It is perfectly true that a few of the heirs have been mentioned by name here and there; but the great majority of them have been left to be determined by the application of the principle of spiritual benefit" (p. 145).
10. On the symbolism used to express this "unification", see, e.g., J.D. Padfield: *The Hindu at Home. Being Sketches of Hindu Daily Life*. 2nd ed. Madras: S.P.C.K. Depository, 1908, pp. 217-219.
11. E.g., Kane mentions in passing: "... Jīmūtavāhana who also is certainly a little later than the Mit[ākṣarā]..." (*History* 1, p. 709). For a detailed analysis of the relation between both texts, see J.D.M. Derrett: "The Relative Antiquity of the Mitāksharā and the Dāyabhāga", *Madras Law Journal*, 1952, vol. 2, Journal Section, 9-14 (reprinted in *Essays in Classical and Modern Law*. Leiden: Brill, vol. 1, 1976, pp. 198-206).

12. Such was the opinion even of D.N. Mitter (p. 138). Cf. also Trailokyanath Mitra: *The Law Relating to the Hindu Widow*, pp. 60-61.
13. "The Dáyabhága bears the distant analogy of being as it were an amending Statute of the Mitákshará as far as Bengal is concerned" (Golap Chandra Sarkar: *Dayatattwa of Raghunandana*, ed. transl., 2nd ed., Calcutta: Cambray, 1904, p. viii).
14. Ibid., pp. v-vi. Cf. Priyanath Sen: *The General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence*. Tagore Law Lectures for 1909. Calcutta: University, 1918, pp. 161-162.
15. Sarkar: *Dayatattwa*, p. vi.
16. Golap Chandra Sarkar: *Treatise on Hindu Law*. 6th ed., Calcutta: R. Banerjee, 1927, p. 498. Again, even according to Dwarkanath Mitter, "of all the commentaries, that by Vijaneswara known as the Mitakshara has the widest range of influence... Its authority is denied in Bengal in so far that it yields to the Dayabhaga in points where they differ" (*The Position of Women in Hindu Law*. Calcutta: University, 1913, pp. 43-44).
17. Sarkar: *Dayatattwa*, pp. xii-xiii.
18. For relevant law cases, see *Mayne's Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*. 11th ed., Madras: Higginbothams, 1950, pp. 681-682.
19. Ibid., p. 55. Also J.R. Gharpure: *Hindu Law*. 4th ed., Bombay: Office of the Collection of Hindu Law Texts, 1931, p. 31.
20. Sarada Charan Mitra: "Origin and Development of the Bengal School of Hindu Law", *Law Quarterly Review* 21, 380-392; 22, 1906, 50-63, at 21: 383. According to S. Śrinivāsa Setlur, "no Hindu writer could hope to impose his treatise on his community or province without taking good care to bring it into harmony with their legal consciousness as expressed in their customs" (Bengal School of Hindu Law", *Law Quarterly Review* 23, 1907, 202-219 at 204).
21. P. 55. Also Gharpure: *Hindu Law*, pp. 31-32.
22. Cf. my "*Janmasvatvavāda* and *uparamasvatvavāda*", *Our Heritage* 19, 1971, 1-13.
23. Sarada Charan Mitra ("Origin and Development of the Bengal School of Hindu Law"), for example, uses the *Mahāparinirvāṇatantra* to explain certain traits of *Dāyabhāga* inheritance law. Meanwhile, see J.D.M. Derrett: "A Juridical Fabrication of Early British India: The Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra", *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 67, 1965, 203-236 (reprinted *Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu Law*, vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, 1977, pp. 197-242).
24. E.g., Jogendra Chunder Bose: *The Principles of Hindu Law*. 3rd ed., Calcutta: Audrey, 1917, p. xviii.
25. E.g., N.N. Ghose: *Memoirs of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur*. Calcutta: K.B. Basu, 1901, pp. 180-183.

26. Sarkar: *Dayatattwa*, p. xiv. More detailed, the same: *Treatise on Hindu Law*. 4th ed., Calcutta: R. Banerjee, 1910, pp. 335-336. It should be noted that Sarkar also objects to the principle of spiritual benefit itself, at least as far as *piṇḍas* offered by collateral relatives and *piṇḍas* offered to maternal ancestors by a maternal uncle etc., are concerned (*Dayatattwa*, pp. xxiv-xxv). Using the principle of *apūrva*, he maintains that a *pārvaṇaśrāddha* cannot be of use to the deceased; it is solely for the benefit of the performer (*Treatise on Hindu Law*. 4th. ed., p. 337). According to Kane too, "several objections can be raised against the theory of Jīmūtavāhana" (*History* 2, p. 473).
27. E.g., Rajkumar Sarvadhikari: *The Principles of the Hindu Law of Inheritance*. Tagore Law Lectures for 1909. 2nd ed., Madras: The Law Book Depot, 1922, p. 307. According to Sarvadhikari, "the doctrines of Vijanesvara and those of the teachers of the Mithila School must have been widely prevalent in Bengal, when Jimutavahana undertook to refute their doctrines, and conclusively proved that the principles laid down by the teachers of Benares and Mithila were not applicable in Bengal".
28. *vibhāgo 'rthasya pitryasya putrair yatra prakalpyate / dāyabhāga iti proktaṃ tad vivādapadaṃ budhaiḥ* (13.1 in both Jolly's 1885 and Lariviere's 1989 editions).
29. Jolly: *Outlines of an History of the Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption*. Tagore Law Lectures for 1883. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, p. 109. On the *Smṛtisaṃgraha*, see also Kane: *History* 1, p. 538.
30. "Vedic Basis of Hindu Law", *JBBRAS* 26, 1921-23, 57-82 at 79. Cf., in more general terms, J.D.M. Derrett: "It seems that the Dāyabhāga outlook, if we may so call it, was more true to the Hindu tradition than the much more sophisticated and difficult conceptions developed for the Peninsula by Vijñāneśvara in his *Mitākṣarā*, which never became a basis authority in Bengal" (Foreword to *Dāyabhāga*, ed. Heramba Caṭṭopādhyāya Śāstrī. Part. I. Howrah: Howrah Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Samāja, 1978, pages unnumbered). On the other hand, Jogendra Chunder Bose: "[The *smṛtis*] leave absolutely no room for doubt that the theory of spiritual benefit as understood by the Bengal lawyers, was absolutely unknown to the Hindu Lawgivers" (*The Principles of Hindu Law*, p. 31).
31. Sarkar: *Treatise on Hindu Law*. 6th ed., Calcutta: R. Banerjee, 1927, p. 498.
32. Foreword to H.C. Śāstrī's *Dāyabhāga*.
33. Kane: *History* 1, p. 572. Kane quotes only the latter part of a longer citation from a *Śrīkaranibandhana*, as preserved in an India Office Library manuscript. I have checked the entire quotation; unfortunately, the earlier part is highly corrupt, and I hesitate to

draw from it as specific a conclusion as Kane.

34. Kane: "The Predecessors of Vijñāneśvara", *JBBRAS* n.s. 1, 1925, 193-224 at 204.
35. Jolly: *Outlines*, p. 14.
36. Kane: *History* 1, p. 719.
37. Kane: *History* 1, pp. 709 and 723.
38. H.T. Colebrooke refers to the conjecture that the author of the *Dāyabhāga* is identical with Jīmūtavāhana, son of Jīmūtaketu and "a prince of the house of Silāra", but adds: "That, however, is not the opinion of the learned of Bengal" (*Two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*. Calcutta: Hindoostanee Press, 1810, Preface p. xii).
39. For details and references to studies on the Śilāhāras, see Kane: *History* 1, pp. 713-715.
40. Otto Schrader: "Aryan Religion", *ERE* 2, 1909, 11-57 at 28-29.

AGNI 1990

Frits Staal
With an Appendix by H.F. Arnold

I. *Background and preparations*

Several years ago, a gifted, charismatic and eccentric physician of Trichur, Dr. T.I. Radhakrishan, MRCP,[1] received from a patient a copy of O.M.C. Narayanan Nambudiripad's complete translation into Malayalam of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda.[2] Already familiar with Vedāntic ideas and inspired by a statement attributed to Max Planck, that matter may ultimately derive from consciousness, Dr. Radhakrishnan was fascinated by the lecture of these volumes. Himself a Menon, a high caste Nayar, he consulted with his friend, the well-known Malayalam poet Mahākavi Akkitham Achyuthan Nambudiri, and both decided to rejuvenate the Śrauta tradition and impress upon the modern world that Vedic ritual is not barbarian. Both were interested in a scientific investigation of ritual, both became board members of the Erkkara Memorial Committee (called after the leading Nambudiri Vedic scholar, Erkkara Raman Nambudiri) and Dr. Radhakrishnan became in addition President of the Śrauta Śāstra Pariṣad at Trichur.

Akkitham suggested that a performance of the Agniṣṭoma be organized under the auspices of the Śrauta Śāstra Pariṣad. But Radhakrishnan insisted that the first venture should be the Atirātra-Agnicayana. For Akkitham, the Atirātra idea took shape in mid-1988 when Cherumukku Vaidikan came to his house in a taxi and told him: "Mr. Staal has written that Panjal Atirātra could be the last one. I want to prove that this prophecy was incorrect".

The two leading Nambudiri Vaidikan traditions are the houses of Cherumukku and Taikkāṭ.[3] Both Cherumukku Vaidikan and Taikkāṭ Nīlakaṇṭhan Nambudiri cooperated and the first printed appeal for support for the 1990 performance simply stated: "we have been able to pull the cream of Vedic excellence". The list that follows includes, in addition to the two Vaidikans, the doyen of the Nambudiri Jaiminīya Sāmaveda, Nellikkāṭ Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad (in whose library three manuscripts of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa were recently discovered) and the Yajamāna, an eager, knowledgeable and eligible Somayāji, Kavapra Marath Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan Nambudiri, who had been Pratiprasthātā in 1975.

Cherumukku Vaidikan and the late Itti Ravi Nambudiri had been the chief organizers of the Panjal Atirātra performed in 1975 and are co-authors with me of *AGNI - The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar.* C.V. finalized the spot where the 1990 Atirātra would be performed: Kundoor (or Kundur), a village situated at about 76 17' E and 10 11' N, between Irinjalakuda and Alwaye in the former Cochin State. This hamlet was selected because of the availability of a suitable piece of land, situated next to a temple with its adjacent tank (needed for *apsudīkṣā*, *avabhṛtha* and the daily baths of the priests and other Nambudiris) and the proximity of Kuzhur, three kilometers away, where the Radhakrishnan family owned some houses.

One of the few distinctive differences between the Cherumukku and Taikkāṭ Vaidikan traditions is that Cherumukku is eligible to adopt (and adopted in 1975) *ṣaṭpatrikā* or "six-tipped" wings for the bird shape of his offering altar, while Taikkāṭ is eligible to adopt *pañcapatrikā* or "five-tipped" wings (AGNI II:343-350). The latter option was selected for 1990.

The training of the priests started in July, 1989, for Ṛgveda and Yajurveda under the guidance of the two Vaidikans in Edapal near Sukhapuram, and for Sāmaveda under the guidance of Nellikkāṭ Akkitiripad (then almost 85 years old) in Panjal. It may be recalled here (AGNI I:175) that the Ṛg- and Yajurveda portions of the ritual (more precisely: *hautram*, *ādhvaryavam* and *brahmatvam*) resort under the responsibility of the Vaidikans, whatever their *native* Veda (which is Ṛgveda of the Kauṣītaki Sūtra in the cases of Cherumukku and Taikkāṭ). The Sāmaveda portions are transmitted separately by the Sāmavedins. All these authorities, the priests and their helpers were provided by Dr. Radhakrishnan with a monthly stipend that enabled them to devote themselves exclusively to their tasks. Everything was thus in proper hands and the three living Akkitiripads (persons who have performed Atirātra-Agnicayana) participated in the preparations and remained involved throughout the proceedings: C.V.'s eldest son, C.V. Vasudevan Akkitiripad, who had performed the ritual in 1955; Nellikkāṭ Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad, in 1956; and C.V.'s third son, C.V. Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad, in 1975.

Preparations were made at the same time for the scientific study and evaluation of the effects of the ritual on nature, human beings, animals, plants and soil. A Kirlean camera was procured and teams of Indian and foreign scientists were getting ready to study the temperature within the ritual enclosure, the atmosphere above it, and the brain waves, heart beat and hands of the priests during their ritual activities, recitations and chants. As it turned out that the study of the priests could not be carried out, as had earlier been hoped, within the ritual enclosure, at least one of them was subjected separately to a limited amount of experimentation. The hands of the Yajamāna were photographed with the help of the Kirlean camera after his meagre meals and before his *apsudīkṣā* immediately prior to the *dīkṣā* when he closes his fists. Dr. Radhakrishnan kept emphasizing what he had written in the *Project Profile*, a pamphlet that was made available by the organizers, that the scientific approach was "with an open mind without any preconceived notions, and without assertions or claims".

The results of these efforts will be made available later and I shall confine myself here to two observations. First, EEG methods have long been used to study meditation and it makes equal sense to use them with regard to its precursors in the history of Indian civilization which are mantra recitation and chant. Second, the scientific study here referred to is a study of the *effects* of the ritual on other things. It is increasingly undertaken in the study of ritual.[4] The scientific study of ritual itself, however, is different from the study of such effects; it is what is being attempted by people like myself (e.g., Staal 1989).

It was decided that the twelve-day ritual should start on April 28, 1990, so that the ceremonies would be over before the *pūrṇimā* or "full moon" which fell on May 10. Soma was obtained in time-honored fashion from Kollangode and deer-skin, bullock-skin, *kōḻipparal* ("chicken-fish") pebbles, *darbha* grass and all the other required materials were also brought. Preparations of the priests, manufacture of the bricks and constructions at the site proceeded according to plan and went hand in hand with publicity and fund raising campaigns conceived and carried out in a professional spirit. Several well-known South Indian swamis or *saṃnyāsins* accepted patronage of the ritual and some of them attended the performance in the company of their Indian and foreign followers. One Nambudiri *saṃnyāsin*, a Vedānta scholar, spent much time within the ritual enclosure during the performance, an event to which at least one of the priests took exception. Such objections are in accordance with the fact that *saṃnyāsins* - or Buddhist monks, for that matter-are eschewed during life cycle rites such as marriage or birth, and need not surprise anyone familiar with the dialectic between *karman* and *jñāna* that is the paramount characteristic of classical Indian civilization.

When the dates for the performance were coming close two unexpected events occurred which put the entire undertaking into jeopardy. On March 23, 1990, Cherumukku Vaidikan passed away after having been treated by Dr. Radhakrishnan for partial paralysis for almost a month. This did not only snatch away the most competent and energetic teacher of Śrauta, but affected his two eldest sons, C.V. Vasudevan Akkitiripad and C.V. Vallabhan, who had been active in the training program (with the son of the latter being prepared to take on the Hotā office) and who now had to undergo a period of *dīkṣā* due to death pollution (*āśaucam*) for 41 days (for a cursory description of the Nambudiri mourning rites, see Anantha Krishna Iyer 1912, II:266-273). As may be noted here, Nambudiris use the term *dīkṣā* not only for the "consecration" of the Yajamāna at the outset of a Vedic ritual, but also for the period of ritual purification necessitated by such death pollution.

Then, on April 22, 1990, the wife of the son of the eldest brother of the prospective Yajamāna gave birth to a son and birth pollution (*sūtakam*) ensued for ten days (it would have been three if the baby had been a daughter) not only for the Yajamāna himself but also for two of the prospective priests, Adhvaryu and Neṣṭā, who belonged to his immediate family. This birth pollution would be over on May 3 but by that time it was too late to start the 12-day ritual since it had to be completed before May 10. It was not possible to postpone it for a month since in that case it would no longer fall within the prescribed spring season of Vasanta (AGNI I:193-194). The Yajamāna therefore proposed that the performance be postponed for one year. Dr. Radhakrishnan did not like this, given the advanced state of preparation of everything connected with the performance, not to mention much advance publicity. English and Malayalam newspapers had already begun to refer to the forthcoming performance. Discussions ensued with the priests taking different sides. Then another prospective Yajamāna stepped forward, Bhaṭṭi Puttillatt Ravi Somayājipad, who was eligible, well prepared and eager to perform at a time when all the required facilities were at hand. Sixty-two years of age, he welcomed an opportunity to perform the ritual to which he was entitled but which he could not by himself have afforded. After further discussion it was decided to pursue this option. Although this was irregular because the bricks had been made to the measure of the original Yajamāna, this obstacle was not felt to be insuperable since both were tall men. Actually, the same difficulty had been encountered in 1975 when many bricks were broken and use was made of bricks from the higher layers of the 1956 altar of Nellikkāṭ Akkitiripad, a few hundred yards away in the jungle (AGNI I:188 and Plate 16).

When newspaper correspondents learned of these discussions they seized upon them as the controversy for which they had been waiting. Like the commotion surrounding the goat sacrifice of 1975, so noisy that it misled American scientists, this issue was in the forefront of public attention during the few days immediately preceding the performance.

When I arrived on April 27, one day before the beginning of the ceremonies, and was asked to inaugurate the *Veda-samūha-arcana-yātrā* that had been organized partly to honor the Patron Swamis, I was expected to comment on the problem of "substituting" a new Yajamāna. I declared that unlike the intention for the Agniṣṭoma Somayāga expressed by the well known maxim *agniṣṭomena svargakāmo yajeta*, "he who desires heaven shall sacrifice with the Agnistoma ritual", the *saṃkalpa* formula of intent for the Atirātra-Agnicayana is: *sarvakāmo 'gniṃ ceṣye*, "desirous of all I shall pile AGNI!" I recalled that, in 1975, the question had arisen what is the meaning of this "all". Does it mean that only the most greedy are desirous of performing Atirātra? I put the question to Erkkara Rāman Nambudiri, who pointed out that the expression *sarvakāmaḥ* here does not mean "desirous of everything" but "desirous of the common good" (AGNI I:286). Arguing in favor of the performance, for reasons not dissimilar to those of Dr. Radhakrishnan (for I knew that it was unlikely that I would be able to return in 1991), I stated in my inaugural address that, since the ritual is not performed for the benefit of the Yajamāna but for universal prosperity, a prospective Yajamāna may be changed.

Actually, there was no question of substitution of a Yajamāna. Once the *prospective* Yajamāna has been consecrated during the *dīkṣā* or consecration ceremony on the first day, he cannot be changed and no one else can take his place whatever happens. Even if his father dies he must first complete the Agnicayana before he can embark upon his mourning *dīkṣā* and funeral rites. But prospective Yajamānas may change before the performance has even started. In 1975, the Yajamāna had wavered, and C.V. himself was ready to take his place if it should become necessary (AGNI II:458-459). Also a wider historical perspective shows that the tradition has developed in a direction in which the role of Yajamāna is liable to be changed like other priestly roles. It has long been customary, among the Nambudiris and other contemporary brahmins of India, to pick the Yajamāna as one member of the group which is collectively engaged in the performance of a ritual. This is furthermore foreshadowed in the classical development of the Vedic ritual which led, in its final period, to *sattra* rituals, ceremonies in which each of the priests is Yajamāna. Although *sattra* rites do not survive in Kerala, the actual practice of the Agniṣṭoma and Agnicayana traditions are similar in that the performances are organized by the Vaidikans, who decide in mutual discussion on the eligibility of a prospective Yajamāna and on the offices of the priests.

The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra does not seem to comment on the change of Yajamāna, but Āpastamba explicitly prohibits it. This applies to the person who has become Yajamāna *after* his *dīkṣā*. The pertinent texts have been collected by Harold Arnold in the *Appendix*.

At Kundur in 1990, the Adhvaryu and Neṣṭā priests also had to be replaced. The new Yajamāna stayed on after his *dīkṣā*, but the originally appointed Adhvaryu and Neṣṭā resumed their roles after May 3 when the birth pollution was over. The original Yajamāna also appeared after that date, smiling and cooperative within the ritual enclosure in spite of his disappointment.

II. *The Ritual Performance*

The ritual performance proceeded in accordance with its nature, that is, according to its rules. The differences or alleged differences between Panjal 1975 and Kundur 1990 were a frequent topic of conversation but apart from the number of tips of the wings, it chiefly pertained to trifling differences between the Cherumukku and Taikkāṭ traditions such as the presence or absence of a *visarga* in a mantra, and to the degree of expertise of the individual priests. When I put the question to some of the priests themselves, their answers were generally of the form:

priest A at Kundur is not as good as B had been at Panjal in 1975; for example, the Brahman does not always move in the right direction. Some also criticized a few ritual facts that, according to them, had not been performed in the right way. Inasfar as I could find out for myself, there were no significant differences at all. There may have been insignificant ones that I missed, and I witnessed at least one time-consuming discussion on the placement of a lamp which was not in use (and which also is not a Vedic implement). Similar discussions had taken place in 1975 and they reflect not only the differences between the two traditions of Cherumukku and Taikkāṭ, but also the rivalry between the two houses, not to mention the general nostalgia of the elderly who feel that the young are not as good as they used to be themselves. Actually, the collaboration between Taikkāṭ and Cherumukku was exemplary. Many recitals, primarily those by the Adhvaryu, were prompted either by Vasudevan, a 14 year old member of the Taikkāṭ family, who also was Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, or by C.V. Śrīdharan, the fifth and youngest son of Cherumukku Vaidikan. (For *prompting* see AGNI I:287).

The expertise of the priests varied more than in 1975 although this impression may be due in part to the fact that my still very imperfect knowledge of the subject had increased in the intervening years if ever so slightly. A striking case was that of the Udgātā, Nellikāṭ Vasudevan, Nellikāṭ Akkitiripad's son who was a Postmaster in Trichur and Pratihartā in 1975. At that time he obtained special leave and was trained by his father to re-learn what he had been taught when he was a boy. In 1990, he had been trained more intensively, and although the task of Udgātā is more difficult than that of Pratihartā, he was better in 1990 than he had been in 1975.

The essential identity of the ritual performances of 1955, 1975 and 1990 is illustrated on the accompanying plates which depict scenes from 1955 and 1990 and should be compared with the record of 1975 provided by AGNI. The 1990 photographs are my own, and the 1955 were selected from a small set of prints put at my disposal by C.V. Śrīdharan Nambudiri.

The priests of 1990 were largely different from those of 1975 as may be seen if AGNI I:266-267 is compared with the following table of the 1990 Yajamāna with his wife and officiating priests:

Yajamāna: Bhaṭṭi Puttillatt Ravi Somayājipad.
Gotra: Viśvāmitra. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 62.
Yajamānapatni: Devaki Pattinādi. Age: 47.
Brahman: Kummiṇṇi Vasudevan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 65.
Udgātā: Nellikkāṭṭil Māmaṇṇu Vasudevan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Bharadvāja. Sūtra: Jaiminīya. Age: 56.
Prastotā: Perumaṅgātt Vasudevan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Vāsiṣṭha. Sūtra: Jaiminīya. Age: 63.
Pratihartā: Nellikkāṭṭil Māmaṇṇu Nīlakaṇṭhan Nambudiri.

Gotra: Bharadvāja. Sūtra: Jaiminīya. Age: 62.
Subrahmaṇya: Tōṭṭam Āryan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Vāsiṣṭha. Sūtra: Jaiminīya. Age: 59.
Hotā: Cherumukku Vaidikan Vallabhan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Viśvāmitra. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 30.
Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:Taikkāṭṭ Vaidikan Vasudevan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 14.
Maitrāvaruṇa: Neddhatt Bhavatrātan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 34.
Potā: Nārāyaṇamaṅgalatt Ravi Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 38.
Neṣṭā: Cherumukku Nārāyaṇan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 64.
Acchāvāka: Nārāyaṇamaṅgalatt Potāyatt Brahmadattan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 42.
Agnīdhra: Bhaṭṭi Puttillatt Rāmānujan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Viśvāmitra. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 35.
Grāvastut: Nārāyaṇamaṅgalatt Agniśarman Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 62.
Adhvaryu: Taikkāṭ Vaidikan Keśavan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 60.
Pratiprasthātā: Cherumukku Vaidikan Kṛṣṇan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 52.
Unnetā: Nārāyaṇamaṅgalatt Vasudevan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Kāśyapa. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 74.
Sadasya: Erkkara Rāman Nambudiri.
Gotra: Viśvāmitra. Sūtra: Kauṣītaki. Age: 54.
Avidvān: Nagarṇṇam Vallabhan Nambudiri.
Gotra: Āṅgirasa. Sūtra: Baudhāyana. Age: 67.
Reciter of the *praiṣārtham* during Dīkṣā (AGNI I:329-333, 698-702):
Pantal Vaidikan Damodaran Nambudiri.
Gotra: Bhārgava. Sūtra: Baudhāyana. Age: 23.
Kautsan (Soma merchant): Subrahmaṇya Ayyar.

The Nellikkāṭṭu gotra is also given as Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bharadvāja. The gotras of the Sāmavedins are not entirely certain and may not even be fixed. Parpola (1984:432-433) has observed that this may be due to the fact that the Sāmavedins do not mention their gotras (or Jaiminīya sūtra) in their rituals.

Originally, the Yajamāna was Kavapra Marath Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan Nambudiri (Gotra: Āṅgirasa, Sūtra: Kauṣītaki) and the Adhvaryu and Neṣṭā were his younger brother Parameśvaran and his son Keśavan, ages 45 and 11, respectively. After May 3, the latter two assumed their original roles again as I have already mentioned.

As regards the priests' expertize, the entire gamut of excellence was represented and was in some respects identical with the 1975 range from Adhvaryu (now Pratiprasthātā) down. The best among the priests in terms of the qualities for which they have always been valued, i.e., "purity of enunciation" (*akṣarasuddhi*) and memory (AGNI I:267, 272), were found at both ends of the age span: the Prastotā, utterly benign, seemed steeped in the melodies of the Sāmaveda which he must have chanted for the better part of the day during most of his 63 years. The Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, at 14, was firm and forceful and seemed to incorporate the best of hopes for the future of the tradition. The Maitrāvaruṇa was equally vigorous and unwavering, and since he is a teacher, a Sanskrit scholar and also knows some English, I suggested him as a promising subject for the EEG experiments.

Final mention may be made of differences between Panjal and Kundur pertaining to some of the implements. The shapes of wooden utensils such as *juhū*, *sruva*, *sphya*, etc. was the same, and the same holds for most of the pots including specifically the *camasa* cups and *pātram* goblets. The little Soma cart was of slightly different shape and so were the five clay heads (Plate VIII) and the *ukhā* and *mahāvīra* pots. These two vessels were identical in the following respects. The former possessed the prescribed eight breasts and the latter was provided with the ribbed waist which enables it to be tilted when held between the *śapham* poles during the Pravargya, the feature that explains its sand-glass shape. The main difference in shape between these two vessels in the Cherumukku and Taikkāṭ traditions was that the latter were somewhat squatter. These differences and absences of difference are of importance, for example, for identifying pots that are excavated at pre- or protohistoric sites (like the Itgi vessel mentioned and illustrated by Thapar in AGNI II:22-25) because they show which features are essential and which are not.

One difference pertained to the orientations of chants on the *vaiṣṭutaṃ vasanam*. In 1975, the sticks were laid down first in the south, then in the west and finally in the east (AGNI I:Figures 48-50, Plate 103). In 1990, the order was: east-south-west. The difference is inessential because the sticks are not ritual implements: their only function is to keep track of the order of chants which can be done in several mathematically equivalent ways.

A final difference I will refer to is connected with the *āśvinaśastra* on the early morning of the final day. This recitation by the Hotā consists of a thousand verses from the Ṛgveda arranged in a very peculiar order and is, if we except the Sāmaveda, one of the most difficult memorizations that occurs in the ritual (Staal 1986:280-281). In 1975, a pile of bricks was made to the west of the hearth of the Hotā to serve as his back support during the three hour exercise (AGNI I:680). In 1990, the pile was made of sandbags and was so large that it almost pushed the Prastotā from his customary place in the Sadas which is back-to-back with the Hotā. The Prastotā had just completed his Chant for the Aśvins with the help of his two colleagues, Udgātā and Pratihartā. No one paid attention to his dislocation for everyone was concerned with the Hotā who had already lost his voice on previous occasions and embarked upon his ordeal with obvious apprehension. I mention this insignificant difference of back support because it illustrates a feature of Vedic ritual that is significant and to which we shall return.

On the tenth day, after the Grāvastut's recital during the midday pressing which actually takes place during the evening, a strong wind appeared, the flames on the altars flared up in various directions and there began a series of gusty shower storms that continued with brief interruptions till the end of the ritual. These downpours provided welcome relief from the temperatures on earlier days which had soared into the nineties. During the last of the two nights from which the *atirātra* derives its name, I stood mostly in a pool of water that had been formed in the strip between the Old Hall and the Mahāvedi where the Taikkāṭ Vaidikan gave me tea. Unfortunately, I could not wait for the *avabhṛtha*, the final fire and the succeeding rains for I estimated that if I had to leave at the same time as approximately 10,000 other people, it might not be easy to catch the trains and flights I had to catch in order to reach -- travelling via Madras which had reportedly been visited by a hurricane -- New Delhi and California in time.

III. *The Press*

The publicity that surrounded the Panjal Atirātra performance of 1975 was inconvenient for the performers and those who tried to document the ritual and led to misconceptions among social scientists. Without that publicity, however, the Kundoor performance of 1990 would not have taken place. Kundoor 1990 was intentionally publicized. A team of organizers marched through the length and breadth of Kerala propagating the importance of Vedic ritual. Dr. Radhakrishnan kept pressure on the press prior and during the performance and the result was a steady flow of articles and news items on the Atirātra in the Malayalam and English newspapers, many of them of better quality than they would have been had they been left to their own resources.

During the performance, the daily agenda of rites and ceremonies, sometimes accompanied by a brief description, was provided to the Malayalam press by the General Secretary of the Organizing Committee, Shri T.P. Sreeraman, Retired Finance Manager of Panyam Cements and Mineral Industries Ltd., Cement Nagar, A.P., now settled at Trichur. The general public was accordingly informed and the stream of visitors never thinned. Having walked long distances and almost invariably disappointed by the ritual proceedings, many villagers turned their attention to the foreign visitors, especially to the present writer, "a much sought after man" as *The Hindu* put it. My role was highlighted by the press in depictions ranging from the reasonably accurate to the outright mythological. As pointed out by Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, who had come from New Delhi to witness the ritual, here was an audience that could have turned me overnight into a well-appointed Guru. One reason: I had entered the secrets of the esoteric tradition and had made them publicly available in the form of what has long been - and still is in the Western monotheistic religions - the paradigmatic form of communication: THE BOOK.

An article published in the *Indian Express* on the first day of the ceremonies under the caption "STAAL IS BACK HERE" provides a more correct estimate of the extent and significance of our 1975 participation than apparently scholarly publications such as Paul (1978) or Schechner (1986, 1987). It begins:

> The moving spirit behind the 1975 athirathra yajna at Panjal is here again to add to his knowledge about the Vedas.
> The name of Dr Fritz Staal has become synonymous with the Panjal athirathra. As the Director of South Eastern Studies in California University, it was he who took the initiative to conduct the athirathra at Panjal.
> After the Panjal yajna, he made a lasting contribution to the revival of interest in the Vedas in the land of their origin by writing a voluminous book on the rituals of athirathra, titled *Agni - the Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, which is now considered an authority on the subject by Vedic pundits all over the country.
> In that celebrated work, Dr Staal expressed the fear that the athirathra at Panjal may be the last ritual of its sort in view of the diminishing interests in the Vedas and the fast shrinking number of the authorities on the Vedas in the country.
> There are many who believe that but for the interest taken by Dr Staal to organize the athirathra at Panjal, the organizers of the present yaga at Kundoor would not have had the confidence to organize another athirathra after a lapse of 15 years.

I quote this paper not to further inflate my ego but because it incorporates an adequate view of the nature of ritual. It correctly estimates that those who came to document the Panjal Atirātra did not create the ritual. Our role in 1975 included assistance that helped the performance of the ritual to come about. We did not influence the substance, form or manner of the ritual performance itself. The one apparent exception to this generalization pertains to the substance of the goat sacrifice which was eliminated from the 1975 performance for the first time in Nambudiri history, an elimination undoubtedly triggered by the publicity that was a result of our presence. However, this substitution was bound to happen sooner or later. Not only is the substitution of substances traditional (its foremost example being the Soma itself), but the ultimate causes for such a move away from the violence of sacrifice lie much deeper. As AGNI II:468 explained and I reiterated elsewhere (Staal 1987), it is in accordance with the development of the Indian tradition which has increasingly tended to avoid bloodshed, a process that goes back not merely to Jainism or Buddhism, but to the Vedic period itself as was shown by Heesterman in a series of articles (1962, 1964 = 1985:26-44, 1967 = 1985:45-58, 1983). Conforming to this development, goat substitutes had already been introduced into performances of Vedic ritual elsewhere in India, for example, in Maharasthra and South Canara.

Yielding to their pressure and not wanting to disappoint them, I gave numerous interviews to the press and to freelance journalists knowing fully well that what would actually be published might be different from what I had said. One lively reporter enquired in flawless and idiomatic English about the meaning of ritual and I gave a standard answer. She looked sceptical and I told her to interview one of the priests and find out for herself. Afterwards I asked whether his answer had been the same and she replied: "Not at all".

One result of the publicity was that topics that are in the west only discussed by scholars in learned papers and in a language unintelligible to outsiders, were now on the frontpage vying for attention with political speeches, fires and murders. In these circumstances myths arose of a most technical nature, for example, that Kerala is unique in possessing the Black Yajurveda of Baudhāyana and the White Yajurveda of Bādhūla. Such vageries of attribution pertaining to sūtras, gotras, or philosophic and religious systems, have always existed and have left their traces, for example, in epic literature.

I worked closely together with the reporter of *The Hindu* and the results were an interview published during the ritual (on May 2) and an article that appeared afterwards in its Sunday edition (June 20). The Malayalam newspapers tried once more to fan the fires of the "fierce controversy" that surrounded the goat sacrifice in 1975 (AGNI II:464-469). The attempt was not successful since attention focussed on the Yajamāna discussions which, unlike non-violence, is not a vital issue for most Hindus. One newspaper introduced a comparison which was widely appreciated because of its literary flavor. On May 1, *Malayala Manorama*, which also in 1975 had defended the goat sacrifice and opposed the use of a substitute, published an article which stated that attaining heaven by *piṣṭapaśu*, "substitute goat", is just as likely as begetting children by *muṣṭimaithuna*, "fist-sex".[5]

IV. *The Future of the Tradition*

I had been wrong in predicting that the 1975 performance of the Atirātra-Agnicayana would be the last. In fact, that very prediction helped to bring another performance about. In the intervening years, one Somayāga of the Agniṣṭoma type was performed (Trivandrum 1984), also attracting a fair amount of public attention. The question arises: has the tradition finally been saved, is it in a precarious state of health, or is it now finished, Kundur 1990 being its Finale?

I believe that the same reason that endangered the tradition in 1975 endangers it now, only the danger has increased: paucity of trained Sāmavedins. Another Atirātra could be performed but it should be in the near future since the only able Sāmavedins are those in the age bracket displayed in the above list: they are, or will be by the time this report is published, around sixty years of age. After 1975, when the scholarly public and the Indian Government were alerted, a Sāmaveda school was set up at Panjal and Itti Ravi went there to teach on a number of occasions. In the late eighties, the school had moved and there were only two pupils left - the only two Nambudiri boys then in existence who were Sāmavedins by birth, who had undergone the Sāmaveda *upanayanam* and who had been trained to a certain level. In 1990 I heard that both of them had given up and turned their attention to other things.

Both Nellikkāṭ Akkitiripad and his son, the 1990 Udgātā, are of the opinion that modern times are no longer conducive to a Sāmavedic education. Youngsters need jobs and job security, and they are unwilling to devote themselves to learning the Sāmaveda for a decade and more. The situation in the realm of Ṛg- and Yajurveda seems much more encouraging with several young Vaidikas of outstanding ability and probably more in the offing. Even here, caution is necessary. The most brilliant of these youngsters, who combines his Vedic and *śrauta* training with a modern education, confided to a contemporary that the daily repeated recitations of the Vedas are "boring". It may be added here that teaching the priests Sanskrit and the meaning of the mantras would not preserve the ritual tradition. On the contrary, once attention is paid to meaning, the tradition begins to change profoundly, as is clearly seen in the development of Indian thought from Vedic ritual, starting with the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and Buddhism.

In the realm of the Sāmaveda there are no youngsters left who have attained a level of expertise that enables them to complain of boredom. In the past, some Vaidikans have offered their own sons to be trained in the Sāmaveda but the Sāmavedins have refused. Their refusal is not only consistent with the tradition, but it explains why the ritual has been preserved for so many millenia. According to the Sāmavedins, the only ones who are eligible to its study and preservation are those who have gone through the entire gamut of Sāmaveda *saṃskāras*, including the *upanayana* which is especially uninviting because the boy-initiate is not allowed to change his *kaupīna* for a full year (which means that it is constantly being washed and wet - an unmistakeable form of sexual repression). But it is undeniable that only a person who has chanted Sāmaveda throughout his life and on every occasion - like the Prastotā of 1990 - is in a position to display that extraordinary mastery that cannot fail to astound us by its unvarying and unfailingly high level of expertise.

For all these reasons the ritual tradition of the Sāmavedins is endangered and it is not clear that any outside help would make much of a difference. More than money or public support is needed: an active interest and commitment on the part of young Sāmavedins belonging to the twenty surviving houses of the Sāmaveda (Staal 1961:86 with corrections in Parpola 1984:432).

As Caland remarked, to confine oneself to one Veda in Vedic ritual is like listening to one voice in a string quartet. It is just as impossible to omit the Sāmaveda as it is to omit the cello. In other parts of India the Sāmaveda is almost equally rare and Vedic ritualists have had to face this problem also. What has generally happened - primarily in Maharasthra and Uttar Pradesh - is that Sāmavedins from elsewhere-primarily from Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh - have been imported. Such an arrangement, however, does not augur well for the orchestration of a ritual performance where the collaboration between the priests has to be smooth and perfect. The Nambudiris preserve traditional Vedic stage directions and other signals that are exchanged between the participating priests. They are the result of a cooperation between the Vaidika and Sāmaveda traditions that over time has achieved near perfection.[6] For this very reason the importation of Tamil Sāmavedins is unlikely to be resorted to. And there is a final difficulty: since all other Sāmavedins of India belong to the Kauthuma and Rāṇāyanīya schools, with the latter, compared to the former, possessing the "faible individualité" mentioned by Renou (1947:122) which has resulted in practical identity between the two textual traditions, cooperation or cooptation between them is much easier than it would be if any Sāmavedin of these schools were to substitute for a Nambudiri Jaiminīya. There is one exception: there are a few Jaiminīya houses in Tamilnadu but they have not participated in *śrauta* rituals for many centuries and preserve only part of their tradition of ritual chants which are different from the Nambudiri Jaiminīya (Parpola 1986:69). As for the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya, it is sometimes uncertain which chant would correspond to the evanescent Jaiminīya and be the appropriate substitute to sing. In such cases, visiting brahmans tend to follow their own tradition and collaboration and fitting in with the Nambudiri Vaidikans would be very difficult.

Are other scenarios conceivable? Will future Vaidikans learn the Sāmaveda from tape-recordings for which there is now a growing demand? Will tapes be played within the ritual enclosure? Will the text be read out with an approximate singsong or without tones or accents -- another eventuality that elsewhere in India has been resorted to?

Although the Nambudiri Sāmavedins are most keenly aware of the danger of extinction, all the Vaidikans and their priests know that the Vedic ritual tradition has entered a twilight zone of existence. This awareness partly accounts for the attention and indeed affection showered upon me and other genuinely interested outsiders. I could hardly be absent from the ritual proceedings for any length of time without queries arising from inside the enclosure asking "where have you been?" The same anxiety explains what the poet Akkitham wrote to me after the ritual: "your presence at Kundoor was a great solace to us".

There are general reasons for optimism but it is not easy to evaluate them with precision. Asian traditions that continue to exist after hundreds and thousands of years, obviously possess a resilience and strength that is the exact opposite of the popular picture of poverty that Asia evokes in small foreign minds. The causes and circumstances are various. Even the Cultural Revolution, set out to destroy tradition, has not obliterated the Taoist rituals of China (see, e.g., Dean 1986, 1988; Hahn 1986). More than half a century ago, Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies ridiculed those who claimed that Bali was already spoilt: "For how, they ask, can so small an island have maintained its integrity when thousands of tourists are washed up yearly on its shores, raced on excellent roads to its catalogued beauty spots, and supplied with *objets d'art* specially fabricated for them?" (1939:2). That that integrity survived was not only demonstrated by their book on dance and drama, but after their words were written, Hooykaas did enough fieldwork to publish a series of monographs on Balinese ritual which ended only because he died. In Kerala, Vedic rituals are still abundant. Should the Atirātra itself not be performed, there are other *śrauta* rituals that will continue such as the Agniṣṭoma. The domestic *gṛhya* rites are only beginning to be studied by Asko Parpola (e.g., Parpola 1986) and Tantric rites are virtually untouched. In Kerala, Tantric rites are continuous with the Vedic, a fact that throws light on other forms of Tantrism whether in Kashmir, Java, Japan or Tibet. The relevance of the Nambudiri Tantra is not confined to Hinduism or to the Buddhist *kriyātantra* since the *anuttarayogatantra* provides the same teachings in less exclusively Buddhist terms (Snellgrove 1987:186). Thus there is not only hope for the tradition but also need for its study. Both are endangered and can only be preserved if small pyramids of specialists, such as existed in the past, are constructed again so that their tops may attain the expertise that is needed. Also in this respect was Kundur 1990 instructive, since what holds for the Nambudiri ritual tradition applies in the West to Asian studies in general.

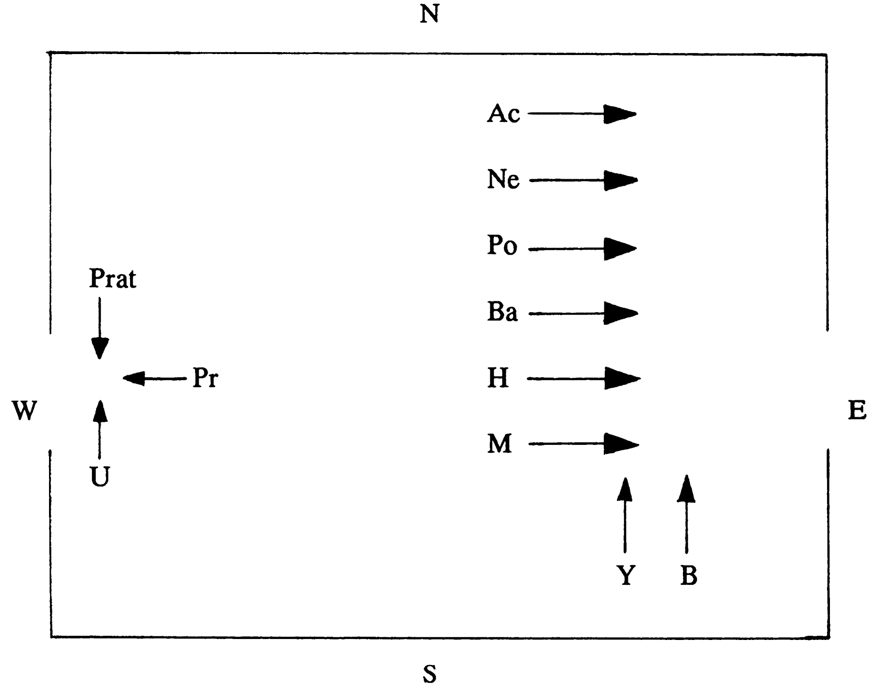
V. *The Sāmaveda and Some Other Conclusions*

It is a pleasure to offer this first report on the 1990 performance of the Atirātra to my old friend Professor Jan Heesterman as a gesture of felicitation. I am sure that the mechanisms of Yajamāna substitution as well as the terminological convergence in Nambudiri usage of *dīkṣā* denoting, on the one hand, the consecration of the Yajamāna and, on the other, the period of death pollution, will not fail to please our honorand. But do these simple facts about AGNI 1990 with their first and provisional evaluation address any of the more momentous issues on which he has himself offered us the ripened fruits of a considered reflection? And more specifically, do they contribute to a clarification of issues on which he and I have in the past defended divergent - or apparently divergent - views? I think the answer to both these questions is in the affirmative, and although I cannot expand on this in all desirable detail, I shall address one such issue by way of illustration.

Let us start with the Prastotā's dislocation that was caused by the size of the Hotā's back support mentioned at the end of Section I. At that time, all concern was reserved for the Hotā who was about to embark upon his stupendous task; and no attention was given to a small inconvenience caused to the Prastotā who had completed his chant in any case. But this minor act of discrimination is only an instance of a pattern that is much more pervading. Those who have seen the film "Altar of Fire" may recall an episode during which the Udgātā sings, facing east and also facing the camera, whilst standing at his usual place during the later phase of the ritual, that is, near the tail of the bird. Both Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātā smilingly ascend the altar and are about to hide the Udgātā from view but the Sadasya, Erkkara Rāman, prevents them with a slight push of his hand and causes them to retreat. Does he wish to give the camera full view of the Udgātā? Certainly not, for nothing is further from Erkkara's mind than the work of the camera crew. No, he wishes the Udgātā to face the east without obstruction because that is the direction in which he chants.

I have already referred to the traditional Nambudiri separation between two groups, Vaidikans and Sāmavedins, whose close cooperation is required for the performance of a Soma ritual. That separation is not merely an organizational matter; it runs much deeper. There is no need to moralize about it but it would be justified to say that, in the ritual tradition, the Sāmavedins have long been discriminated against. Many of the facts are well known (cf. also Renou 1947:210: "à l'intérieur des vastes organisations yajurvédiques, le rôle des *chandoga* est comparativement subordonné"). Sāmavedins do not participate in the Full-and New-Moon Ceremonies or in the Animal Sacrifice. Even in the larger Soma rituals, they are excluded from several important rites, especially those that are connected with the Soma, such as *somakraya*, "Soma purchase", *āpyāyana*, "swelling", or *nihnava*, "hiding". More surprisingly, they play no part in the *dīkṣā* as if the Yajamāna did not need to be consecrated *by them*. In more advanced rituals such as the Atirātra, the Udgātā is not supposed to enter the *prācīnavaṃśa* until several days after the beginning of the ceremony.

In the Soma ritual in general, the participation of the Sāmavedins is, of course, not merely essential; it could be argued that their chant is one of its most important ingredients. The Soma sequences which define these rituals always begin with the *stotra* or *stuti* that is chanted by the trio of Prastotā, Udgātā and Pratihartā. The chant is followed by the corresponding Ṛgveda *śastra* recitation, Soma offering and Soma drinking. This arrangement shows that the distribution *in time* of these events is well orchestrated. Their distribution *in space,* on the other hand, is awkward as is demonstrated by their spatial arrangement within the Sadas:



What is reflected here is the fossilization, at a certain point in time, of a developing process which started with rituals in which oblations that were prepared "at home" at the western extremity of the *prācīnavaṃśa* were made at the extreme east in the *āhāvanīya*. One may speculate variously on this predominance of the east (cf. AGNI I:96-99) but this is not our subject here. Significant is that this original type of ritual, in which the Sāmaveda played no part, was in due course complemented by the spectacular Soma ceremonies within which many existing rituals are incorporated, in which the scene has shifted further east to the Mahāvedi and in which the Sāmaveda is not only integrated but its Udgātā priest finally chants in the eastern direction. The arrangement of the Sadas provides us with a snapshot taken about half-way through a potential development which was arrested by the codification of the ritual since it is likely that otherwise the spatial arrangements might have been further improved. This illustrates, incidentally, that the textual study of classical Vedic ritual, as codified during a specific period in time, is not so different from "snapshot anthropology"[7] as some *védisants* might like to believe. Its value as a snapshot lies in the extreme antiquity of the camera work.

In the Sadas, the important recitations from the Ṛgveda are all carried out by priests who face the eastern direction which the entire ritual faces: H (Hotā), M (Maitrāvaruṇa), Ba (Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin) and Ac (Acchāvāka), to which Ne (Neṣṭā) and Po (Potā) have been added. These positions are fixed and they are assumed whenever the priests execute the tasks for which they have been called, that is, whenever they recite their *śastra* recitations. The Yajamāna (Y)'s own position and that of his right hand, the Brahman (B), are also generally fixed: they face the north whenever and wherever they are sitting down which is what they are doing most of the time.

The localisation of the three Sāmavedins and their spatial relation to the Yajamāna are much less perfectly coordinated. They face the three directions that are different from the direction which the Ṛgveda reciters always face: Pr (Prastotā) faces West, U (Udgātā) North and Prat (Pratiprasthātā) even (the generally inauspicious) South. They do not face the all-important east, the one direction toward which the entire ritual tends. This peculiar fact explains that Hotā and Prastotā sit back-to-back which occasioned the dislocation that happened to occur on the final day of the 1990 performance. That dislocation by itself was of no importance; but it could come about because of the anomalous position of the Sāmaveda chanters within the larger ritual space.

What does this anomalous position signify? Does it point in the direction of a pre-classical ritual structure or historical background? This is the kind of question that our jubilaris is an expert at unravelling. I would do better to leave it to him, but if I were to speculate on an answer it would take the following direction which he will, I hope, amend.

Let us first assemble the facts and label them with conventional labels so that we can discuss them *in abstracto*. There are in the Sadas, from the point of view of the directions they face, two groups of officiants, and two single individuals: *X.* the group of Ac, Ne, Po, Ba, H and M who face east; *Y.* the group of U, Y and B who face north; and *Z.* the two assistants of U, Prat and Pr who face south and west, respectively. If we wish to abstract and simplify further, we may distinguish between two groups:

X. those that face east
Y. those that face north, and the helpers of U.

At this point let us add some context to our abstractions and introduce additional information. Group X is engaged in the main ritual that faces east; it performs that ritual on behalf of Y who already has his own officiants or acolytes. As soon as we introduce Vedic labels, we note that Group X is connected with the Ṛgveda and Group Y with the Sāmaveda to which, through B, the Atharvaveda has been more or less artificially attached. We know that the tradition of the Ṛgveda came to the Indian subcontinent from the northwest and was thought of as coming from the north. Terms that were used later such as *uttarakuru* underscore this fact. The cult of Soma came with it, for it is not only Iranian but the Soma grew in the high northern mountains from where, in due course, it could no longer be procured. In classical India, "the tradition" is thought of as coming from the north. The later Śiva as its preceptor, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, symbolizes this by facing the south.

The Yajamāna faces the north: he is the recipient of these northern traditions. We may think of him as a ruler or otherwise powerful person, and he may have been "indigenous" in the sense that he already lived in the subcontinent when the particular wave of northern teachings we are concerned with here were presented to him. It makes sense to assume that, prior to these imports, he already had his own officiants, the precursors of those who in the classical ritual face the north together with him: B and especially U with his two helpers Pr and Prat. This particular collection of oriented facts points in the direction of the conclusion that the Sāmaveda was an indigenous tradition. This does not contradict the fact that the Sāmaveda as we know it is a musical adaptation of the Ṛgveda. It merely suggests that this adaptation adapted an alien import to an indigenous tradition that is now largely lost. Nor is our conclusion affected by the possibility that "indigenous" and "alien" may be relative terms in the sense that there may have been several waves of alien imports so that anything "indigenous" may reflect what at an earlier period may also have been "alien" (cf., e.g., Parpola 1988).

Like the Udgātā, the Brahman faces north along with the Yajamāna who is also his patron. He is not merely expected to prescribe *prāyaścitta* when mistakes are made; he has to see to it that his master is well served and not being misled or harmed by faulty executions that the northerners may try to spring on him. The Brahman's later attachment to the Atharvaveda underscores this indigenous origin.

If the Udgātā, the only active priest in the Sadas who faces north, was originally connected with the Yajamāna as one of his own indigenous priests, we have found an explanation not only for the fact that he was to some extent excluded from the Soma ritual, but also for the more curious fact that he does not play a role in the Yajamāna's consecration: for the *dīkṣā* prepares the Yajamāna and makes him eligible for the newly imported *northern* rites which has nothing to do with the fact that he already employed and patronized an Udgātā of his own. The Udgātā, then, is a typically "Indian" participant in the ritual, mainly responsible for the Sāmavedic modifications of the northern recitations which culminate in indigenous contributions such as the mantra *oṃ*. Whether or not this supports the speculations of Parpola (1981) that *oṃ* is Dravidian, we may assume that the *modifications* in the northern recitations that were introduced by this indigenous priest together with his helpers, by which modifications they incorporated those traditions into their own civilization, may provide a clue as to the identity of the language they themselves spoke. A linguist may establish the phonology of that unknown language that caused Indo-European sounds such as *agni* to turn into Sāmavedic sounds such as *ō-gnā-ī*.

The Sāmavedins were aware of their indigenous roots and of the alien origins of the northern rituals. This awareness is perhaps preserved in a famous rite of the earliest tradition, that of the Jaiminīya, itself a southern school characterized by Dravidian sounds. I am referring to the Udgātā's council to the Yajamāna, given after the *bahiṣpavamānastuti*, neither to be cut off from "the celestial world" (*svargaloka*), nor from "this" world (AGNI I:605-607). It would not be the first time that the vanished home of the northerners is conceived of in non-terrestrial terms (to a southerner, "arctic" is already barely terrestrial). It is likely, therefore, that *svargaloka* refers to that distant domain beyond the mountains, and "this" to an area of the Indian subcontinent, the home of the Yajamāna.

The ritual manuals preserve faint echoes of the truism, that those who are discriminated against do not always feel that they should conform to the whims of their oppressors. It is well known that the organisation of the ritual was largely carried out by the Yajurvedins, who incorporated into its structures Sāmaveda chants and Ṛgveda recitations. That from their point of view the support from the Sāmavedins was not something that at all times could be counted upon is reflected in a passage of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra to which Harold Arnold drew my attention. It says that according to Śālīki: *yadi dīkṣā dīrghāḥ syur āśvāsikā āhartāras tathodgīthaḥ kāmaṃ dīkṣayet* (21.7: Caland 80.2) which the *Śrautakośa* (II, English Section, Part I:48) translates as: "if the initiation-period is likely to be long, (if) the Soma procurers guarantee, and (if one is sure about the arrangement for) Sāma-chanting, one may initiate if he so desires".

That the Sāmavedins represent an indigenous culture is consistent with passages in the Ṛgveda where singers are described as turning to the right (*pradakṣiṇit*: 2.43.1; cf. 2.42.3 *dakṣiṇatas*, where "right" and "auspicious" are related, and *dakṣiṇit*: 5.36.4) and it is likely that in such passages, "right" begins to carry its later association with "south". Of course, turning to the right is not confined to Sāmavedins; it is generally Indo-European as Caland demonstrated almost a century ago (Caland 1898). Whatever the precise ritual significance of these passages, it is significant that they refer to chanters. Ṛgveda 2.43.2 is the only Ṛgvedic passage where a specific chanter, the Udgātā, is mentioned. Although this single occurence may be an interpolation (Mylius 1982:128) and his function may not be the same as that of the Udgātā in the classical ritual, he must have been a well known figure for a prophesying bird is there compared to him - not he to the bird.

While the Sāmavedins as a group suggest an indigenous direction, there are other priests who may represent features of indigenous culture, e.g., the Acchāvāka (more than the Potā: Mylius 1977, 1982, 1986), the Avidvān (AGNI I:155-166; Staal 1978; 1982, 42-53; Kashikar 1979) or the Grāvastut (who must be blindfolded not simply because people and stones do not communicate through human senses, but chiefly because he is not supposed to witness the Soma pressing which takes place in front of his eyes).

The Sadas, then, depict a pre-classical situation in a manner that has become anomalous or, as Jan Heesterman might call it, replete with conflict and contradictions. I call it "anomalous" because, from the ritual point of view, it conflicted with certain rules or rule-systems and only new rules or rule-systems made it possible for it to be combined and incorporated. Ritual may be regarded as a systematized structure constructed out of anything that has been handed down; it is accordingly traditional but the accent lies on the systematization. This systematization results in structures that are generally rich and complex which need not imply that they have been the result of an intellectual construction. Just as a crystal grows without being an organism, let alone a consciously put together mechanism, it is in the nature of ritual to be thus constituted, and to develop accordingly.

Since ritual is structured in this manner, it enables us to reconstruct the past. Such reconstructions are speculative and interesting like the speculations from which the physical sciences derive much of their explanatory power. Yet diachronic reconstruction does not belong to synchronic explanation. Speculations on the origin of the solar system are no part of the explanation of life even if life on earth cannot exist without the sun. That ritual preserves the most diverse and fascinating facts and is replete with traces of our human past does therefore not contradict the theory that ritual is primarily a rule-governed activity. On the contrary, those remarkable preservations can only be accounted for by theories of ritual that stress its structural, syntactic form.

NOTES

1. Not a Vedic abbreviation: "Member of the Royal Council of Physicians".
2. As far as I know, no other modern language of India can boast of a translation not only of this commentary but also of the Ṛgveda itself (translated into Malayalam, with the assistance of the same O.M.C. Nambudiripad, by a well-known Malayalam poet, Vallathol).
3. See AGNI I: 175. I shall use customary Roman spellings for many personal names with diacritics added sparingly.

4. A pamphlet from Nagpur reads: "On 7th. 8th and 9 April '90 a 'RUDRA SWAHAKAR' Yadna was performed under the auspices of SWADESHI VIDNYAN SANSHODHAN SANSTHA, Indira Nivas, Dhantoli, Nagpur, at the residence of its President Dr. V.S. Govardhan, F.R.C.S., with a view to assess by modern scientific gadgetry its effect on ecology and human & plant life. It was in sheer coincidence with the World Health Organization (WHO) Day of 7th April with this year's theme 'Our Planet our Health'!"
5. Masturbation is not a common theme in Sanskrit literature but the following anonymous verse about a hunter who stumbles upon the abandoned mansion of his enemy, was quoted to me by Sanskrit scholars who had read the *Malayala Manorama* article:

   tvadarinagarabhitticitranārī-
   madanagṛhe viniveśitaikahastaḥ /
   aparakaragṛhītakamadaṇḍaḥ
   karasuratam̩ kurute jaratpulindaḥ //

   which Professor Kunjunni Raja translated for me:

   With one hand placed on the Cupid mansion
   of a young girl painted on the walls of your enemy city,
   the other hand holding his own Cupid pole,
   an old hunter is performing masturbation.
6. Some of these are described in a forthcoming article entitled "Ritual and the Cosmos".
7. I am referring to Jonathan Smith's remark: "Anthropology is basically the process of trying to get a story out of a snapshot, and it usually doesn't work" (1987:207; cf. Staal 1989:148).

APPENDIX

Substitutes for the Sacrificer

H.F. Arnold

Although neither the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, nor either of the other Sūtras followed in the performance of the Agnicayana at Kundur in 1990, discusses the question of changing sacrificers, the question of whether or not a substitute can stand in for the sacrificer is discussed by the *paribhāṣa sūtras* of Āpastamba, Satyāṣāḍha-Hiraṇyakeśi, and Kātyāyana, the Pūrva Mimāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini, and the Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana.

In its collection of *paribhāṣās*, or general rules, the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra includes one that prohibits the use of a substitute for the sacrificer:

> *svāmino 'gner devatāyāḥ śabdāt karmaṇaḥ pratiṣedhāc ca pratinidhir nivṛttaḥ* (24.4.1.)
>
> Substitution does not apply to the master (i.e. the sacrificer), the fire, the deity, the word (i.e. the mantra), a rite, or a prohibition.

The commentator, Kapardisvāmin, glosses *svāminaḥ*, "master", as *yajamānasya patnyāś ca* (*Darśapūrṇamāsaprakāśa*, p. 125), "the sacrificer and his wife". The parallel *sūtra* in Satyāṣāḍha-Hiraṇyakeśin explicitly includes the wife and the son of the sacrificer:

> *na svāmitvasya bhāryāyāḥ putrasya deśasya kālasyā 'gner devatāyāḥ karamaṇaḥ śabdasya ca pratinidhir vidyate* (SatyŚS 3.1:283 = Chakrabarti, p. 187)
>
> There is no substitute for the master, his wife, or his son, for the place, the time, the fire, the deity, the rite, or the word.

Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra 1.6.9 states that there can be no substitute for the sacrificer, because he is connected with the "fruit", or results, of the sacrificial performance: *svāmi phalayogāt*. The commentator, Yājñikadeva, explains that, if someone were to stand in for the sacrificer, give the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇādāna*) and give up the material sacrificed (*dravyatyāga*), the fruit of the sacrifice would accrue to him and he would become the *de facto* sacrificer, and not a substitute:

> *yadi tu pratinihito dakṣiṇādānam dravyatyāgaṃ ca karoti tadā tasya samyakphalasambandhān mukhya eva svāmi syān na pratinidhiḥ*

1.6.10, *guṇeṣu pratinidhiḥ parārthatvāt*, allows a substitute for the sacrificer in subsidiary rites, which Yājñikadeva explains as depositing the sacrificial implements, adding fuel to the sacred fires, tying the *veda* bunch, etc. The Adhvaryu or one of the other priests may stand in for the sacrificer in these rites, because they merely help to bring about the fruit of giving the sacrificial gifts and giving up the material sacrificed, and do not produce any independent result.

1.6.11, *satreṣu tu śruteḥ*, allows a substitute in the case of the death of one of the performers of a *sattra*, in which all the sacrificers are also priests. In their commentaries on this *sūtra*, both Karka and Yājñikadeva cite the following revealed text:

> *atha yadi sandīkṣitānāṃ (kaścit) pramīyate tasya yo nediṣṭhī syāt tam upadīkṣya tena saha yajeran*
>
> Now, if one of those who have been consecrated together dies, they should consecrate in addition him who is his nearest (relation), and perform the sacrifice with him.

This is a variant of Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa 1.345 and Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa 9.8.1:

> *yadi dīkṣitānāṃ pramīyeta dagdhvā 'sthīny upanahya yo nediṣṭhī syāt taṃ dīkṣayitvā saha yajeran*
>
> If one of those who have undergone the consecration for a sacrifice of soma, comes to die, thay should, having cremated him, tie up his bones; then they should consecrate (in his place) him who stands in relation nearest to him and perform the sacrifice with him (tr. Caland, 1931).

A similar line of reasoning is followed by the Pūrva Mimāṃsā Sūtras 6.3.21-26.

> *tathā svāminaḥ phalasamavāyāt phalasya karmayogitvat* (6.3.21)
>
> Similarly, for the 'Master of the Sacrifice' [there can be no substitute]; because the result accrues to him, and the result follows from the action (tr. Jha).

After explaining that,

> that person is to be regarded as the 'Master of the Sacrifice' (a) who desires to obtain the result expected from the performance of the sacrifice; (b) who, by means of gifts, secures the services of the Priests; and (c) who makes an offering of what belongs to him (tr. Jha)'

Śabara concludes that, if a substitute were to do all that, he would himself be the sacrificer, and not a substitute, as he would himself obtain the result, because he who gives up his own property obtains the result:

> *tat sarvaṃ kurvan svāmy eva syān na pratinidhiḥ/ sa eva hi phalena saṃbadhyate/ ya utsargaṃ karoti, sa phalavān bhavati/*

Like KātŚS 1.6.11 seq., PMS 6.3.22 permits sending in a substitute for one of the participants in a sattra:

> *bahūnāṃ tu pravṛtte 'nyam āgamayed avaiguṇyāt*
>
> In a case where many persons are engaged, another person may be brought in, as that would save the act from becoming defective (tr. Jha).

In a *sattra* all the participants are consecrated by the *dīkṣā*. Although one of them, the *gṛhapati*, "householder", plays the part of the sacrificer, all share in the benefits of the offering. If one of the participants dies, or is otherwise incapacitated, another man may be consecrated to perform his office in order to avoid performing the sacrifice with less than the requisite number of participants. He is not, however, considered a "sacrificer" (*svāmin*), but only an officiating priest (*karmakara*), because he is paid by the others, and he does not share in the reward of the sacrifice, which accrues to the man he replaces (6.3.23-26).

One of the three sections of the Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, an appendix to the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra well known among ritualists in South India, deals with the topic of substitution (*pratinidhi*). Following ĀpŚS 24.4.1, stanza II.3 prohibits substitution for the mantra, the deity, the sacred fire, a rite, or the lord (of the sacrifice, i.e. the sacrificer), and adds that other authorities also prohibit substitution for the proper location and time:

> *na syāt pratinidhir mantre deve 'gnau karmaṇī 'śvre/na ca pratinidhir deśakālayor ity athā 'pare//*

The "other authorities" are clearly the followers of Satyāśādha/Hiraṇyakeśi.

Like KātyŚS 1.6.11 and PMS 6.3.22, TKM II.6 allows a substitute for a deceased performer of a *sattra*, but emphasizes that the substitute fulfills only the dead man's role as priest, not as sacrificer:

> *satreṣu svāmini prete kartṛsaṅkhyāprasiddhaye/pumān pratinidhātavyo nā 'sau svāmī kathañcana//*
>
> If (one of) the sacrificer(s) dies in the course of a Sattra, a man should be used as a substitute in order to make up the proper number of participants (i.e., sacrificers); but (with respect to enjoying the fruit of the sacrifice) he can never be considered as an "owner" (*svāmī*) (tr. Smith).

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THE LOGIC AND CONFLICTS OF A NEPALESE PANTHEON

Gérard Toffin

It is generally assumed that the Kathmandu Valley is in certain respects a living museum of pre-Islamic India. For instance, the Mahāyānist Buddhism of Sanskritic tradition, which disappeared from the subcontinent in the XII-XIIIth century, is still to be found in this Himalayan region, as is the cult of Indra[1], almost totally extinguished from India nowadays. The survival of a remarkable wood architecture reminiscent of Kushan models[2] and perhaps also the importance of rituals attached to the living goddesses Kumārī during Durgāpūjā are other noteworthy characteristics. These persistent features are largely due to the fact that the Kathmandu valley (formerly known as Nepāl or Nepālmaṇḍala) escaped Muslim occupation and provided a haven to Indians, both Hindus and Buddhists, fleeing the plains from the XIIIth century onwards. These refugees settled in the petty Malla kingdoms protected from possible invasion by the malaria-infested forests of the Terai and the Mahabharat range of the Himalayan foothills. Although the Newars, the original inhabitants of this land, speak a Tibeto-Burman language and have retained some local (tribal) features, their civilization is mainly Indian in derivation and is part of a broad cultural pattern typical of the subcontinent.

This study intends to determine the internal structure of the Newar pantheon in a dynamic perspective. Despite specialized studies and monographs on specific gods there is still a need for an anthropological analysis in this field. One risky point we will have to deal with is the manner by which local themes and the Indian Great Tradition have been mingled and superimposed. In my opinion, it is possible to assert simultaneously the two following statements. (a) Historically, the pantheon of the Newars results from the interaction between a native substratum and Sanskritic text-based divine figures. (b) Structurally, this pantheon forms a coherent (though conflicting) system and does not differ fundamentally from what can be observed in most parts of India. As a matter of fact, the so-called tribal heritage of the Newars has been reinterpreted by Hindu (and Buddhist) ritual experts over the centuries, especially in the religious sphere. Mahāyāna Buddhist elements, which do not basically alter the internal structure of the pantheon, will only be touched on briefly in this essay.[3]

The two fundamental levels of the pantheon

The Newars divide their pantheon into two basic categories: non-blood drinking deities *hi matvaṁ dyaḥ* (New) and blood drinking deities *hi tvaṁ* *dyaḥ* (New). The former - Mahādyaḥ (Śiva-Mahādev), Nārāyaṇdyaḥ (Viṣṇu), Buddha, etc. - are benevolent figures (Skt.: *śānti*), bestowing grace, favorable to mankind. They are only given vegetarian offerings, particularly a mixture of cow's milk, curd, clarified butter, honey (*pañcāmṛt*), never meat or alcohol. The latter, on the other hand, are terrifying (Skt.: *ugra, krodha*), fundamentally ambiguous, capable of both good and evil, thirsty for animal and sometimes even human blood, placated only by alcohol and flesh. Among them are divinities such as: Bhailo or Ajudyaḥ (Bhairava), Durgā, Taleju, Ajimā (= Mātṛkā), and the various Māī, etc. This distinction, whose principal criteria is based on the kind of libation made to the gods - just as social groups are ranked in the hierarchy according to the food they eat - applies as much to Buddhist divinities as to Hindu gods.

These two elements of the Newar pantheon correspond to a constitutive duality of Hindu culture in general. But such a duality does not entail two totally different cultural universes: one belonging to the great Sanskritic Tradition and the other to the autochthonous village world. Except for a few cases which will be treated separately, both these groups of gods belong to the Hindu (or Buddhist) pantheon and are in keeping with the highest textual traditions. Both are worshipped with Sanskrit religious texts. Even though partially Newarized, divinities such as Brahmāyaṇī, Viṣṇudevī, Taleju Bhavānī are no less Sanskritic than the gods of the Trimūrti, and many similarities can be emphasized between the purāṇic myths and the most popular rites. The two are often connected and evoke the same divine figure, such as Śiva and Bhairava, or Viṣṇu and his *avatāra*, the one being the terrifying face of the other. They do not form separate independent levels, one canonic and the other non-canonic, but two complementary aspects of the same reality, two sides of the same coin. Even though the second aspect is certainly subservient to the first it lacks none of its complexity either in definition or ritual. This complementary relationship springs from a very elaborate theology based on a pure/impure framework: the terrifying blood-thirsty deities are as necessary for maintaining universal order and prosperity as are the "vegatarian" deities. In the same way as the Kṣatriya enable the Brahmins to keep their distance from all sources of pollution, the terrifying deities assume impure functions, involving themselves in earthly affairs so as to maintain the purity of the first group of gods. To the violence incumbant in the exercise of royal power corresponds the violence of the terrifying divinities. The relationships between humans and gods are similarly analogous and hierarchical.

These two types of divinities are served by different priests: the first by Brahmins, the second by Tantric Karmācārya (or Vajrācārya), who are inferior in status. However, these religious specialists are not diametrically opposed. There are many reasons to believe that the Karmācārya themselves are debased Brahmins.[4] Furthermore these Tantric specialists act as subordinate auxiliary priests, as can be seen in their roles during certain funerary rituals, where they assist the principal officiant, a Rājopādhyāya Brahmin.[5] As a matter of fact, the Karmācārya serve deities whose propitiation would jeopardize the Brahmin's own status. But for a long time some Rājopādhyāya have themselves played an important role in the cult of Tantric goddesses such as Taleju or Harasiddhi. The two categories of priesthood are therefore less autonomous than might been assumed. From the encompassing point of view of Brahmanic Hinduism these two types of priests fall within the same conceptual framework, however conflicting it may be. The idea of successive delegations of priestly authority according to different hierarchical levels provides the basis for understanding the kind of dialectics operating between them.

Using South Indian sources C.J. Fuller (1988) recently tried to reinstate the overstressed dichotomy between the Great and Little Tradition by reformulating the arguments in new terms. His interpretation is based on the type of offering made to the two groups of deities: Sanskritic and local. He postulates that only the former are honored with a *pūjā*, whereas the latter are only entitled to a *bali*, a sacrifice. According to him the two terms cover totally different functions: the purpose of the former is a ritual sanctification aimed at conciliating the gods, whereas the latter is only a desacralizing ritual to exorcise and expell malevolent divinities. The example of the Newars, however, contradicts this disjunction. In the Kathmandu valley, any blood sacrifice at the temple of a deity is accompanied by a veritable *pūjā*, sometimes even more sophisticated than the vegetarian offering to the non-blood drinking god. To separate *bali* and *pūjā* into different categories would be totally unacceptable in this part of South Asia: the former rite has as much positive effect as the latter and includes distribution of *prasāda* to the worshippers from the leftovers of the offerings to the deity, as in a "vegetarian" ceremony. Moreover, Fuller's opposition ignores the paradigmatic model of the Vedic or Brahmanic sacrifice from which both rituals derive, as he himself rightly observes. What is presented here as a whole obviously is a local and partial view, which fails to link the various rituals with the wider context of the overall religious tradition.

The fundamental duality of the Newar (and Hindu) pantheon may be more rightly considered as a tension between two levels: one "transcendental" and the other "pragmatic", to use the terms of L.A. Babb (1975: 238), or between independence (separateness) and interdependence (Heesterman 1985: 13). The first group of divine forces embody the ultimate values of religion: they are related to the global socio-cosmic and socio-biological order and are directed towards universal salvation. The second group of deities lives in closer contact with humans, sometimes incarnating amongst them; they are rather more involved in people's immediate day to day activities, more concerned with daily needs than the gods of the first group, whose enigmatic beatitude seems often quite remote. "Blood drinking deities" are in some respects responsible for local human affairs, whereas the "non-blood drinking" ones are turned towards more transcendental spheres. Accordingly, even if the latter group originated from the metamorphosis of pre-Hindu divinities (as we will suggest later for some cases), it has been recast within a Hindu canonical framework.

Nevertheless, I am firmly convinced that such a sharp division is still too theological and needs further elaboration. Divinities do not lend themselves to such clear-cut and over-simplified classifications. As a matter of fact, it should be noted that some important Tantric goddesses (i.e. Vajrayogini, Manakāmanā) do not take blood directly. The animal to be offered is dedicated (*saṁkalpa*) to the goddess but sacrificed a little apart. The head of the sacrificial animal is then put on the deity's altar. In some instances, blood sacrifices are made directly to the goddess in her aniconic form but not to the goddess in her iconic (image) representation, except once a year, when the two forms of the deity are assembled (see *infra*). Some other terrifying gods such as Pacalī Bhairava of Kathmandu are also offered animals indirectly. Buddhist ideas may be responsible for this, but further research is needed to solve the problem. The case of Sveta Bhairava of Kathmandu's Gaṭhū (Gardeners) dancers, who does not take blood directly either, is different: this god is considered to be an incarnation of Mahādev.

I shall now try to show that deities of the Kathmandu valley can belong to different levels at one and the same time, crystalizing fundamentally different aspects within themselves.

Śiva-Mahādev between transcendence and locality

In Hindu mythology, Śiva is the very model of renunciation, the Great Yogī, Mahāyogin. He has long matted hair, wears a tiger skin over his body, inhabits mountains and forests, aloof from other gods and sometimes excluded from their sacrifices. Consequently he is supremely qualified to symbolize the highest values of religion, those relating to salvation, *mokṣa*, and hermit life. In Nepal, this marginal transcendental dimension is particularly in evidence in the temple of Paśupatināth, where Śiva is venerated in the form of a Master of domesticated animals. This temple, one of the most famous shrines in the country, is located in the middle of the Kathmandu valley, slightly removed from the small village of Deopatan (Gwala) and near a Śaiva Yogī monastery (Mrigasthali). The shrine which houses the god's *liṅga* is located inside a quadrangle within which blood sacrifices are strictly forbidden. Only Hindus are allowed inside. Formerly the priests of this temple seem to have been Kānphaṭā renouncers. At present, there are Bhaṭṭa Brahmins originating from South India: they form a special caste by themselves. In other words, the temple activity is controlled by non-Nepalis. What is more, the chief priest (*mūl pujārī*) must be Indian-born, thereby disassociating the god from the local Newar social structure.

Some compromises do exist on the autochthonous level: the Rājopādhyāya, "Newar Brahmins", for example, have a religious role vis-a-vis Dakṣina Mūrti, the Mahādev Guru, located in the surrounding area, and the Bhaṭṭa *pūjāris* have Newar Rājbhaṇḍārī assistants. But more generally, the mundane village level - as represented by the Newars and their Tantric Karmācārya priests - is relegated to the area outside the temple boundaries, in the same way as Unmatta Bhairava, the ityphallic god, evidently too impure to approach Paśupatināth, is kept outside. Moreover, on important Śaivite festivals, thousands of Indian pilgrims, *sādhus* for the most part, visit the temple. On such occasions, Paśupatināth is more linked with the world at large than with the culture of the valley.[6]

This ultramundane vocation is also clear in the Indreśvar Mahādev temple situated at Panauti in the tiny Banepa valley to the east of Bhaktapur. Here too the Mahādev temple is enclosed within a compound and is located slightly away from the town proper. The priests belong to the Jangam caste of Lingāyaṭ ascetics and come originally from South India. A great many people from outside Panauti gather to pay homage to the god on some fixed calender dates. In addition, one can note that the permanent presence of a Kānphaṭā Yogī belonging to the Mrigasthali monastery also here emphasizes the supralocal perspective. Finally, as in Paśupatināth, the Indreśvar temple's proximity to the cremation grounds establishes a link with death and by extension with deliverance from the chains of *saṁsāra*. There is however a slight difference between these two Śaivite sacred places: in Panauti, Unmatta Bhairava is housed within the temple complex itself. Blood sacrifices do not take place inside the main sanctuary but in a small shrine dedicated to Thampa Bhairava located just outside the compound.[7]

The situation is completely different in the small village of Pyangaon, 15 km to the south of Patan. Here Śiva, locally known as Nikuncā Mahādyaḥ, "the Mahādev of the two corners", is a village divinity, *grāmadevatā*, presiding over local destinies at the very center of the religious and social life of the community. The two temples where the god resides alternately one year and the next, are part of the internal space of the village. Nikuncā Mahādyaḥ is also a clan god: he is considered the *kuldevatā* of the four founding clans of the village, the symbol of their ties to the ancestors. This cult therefore combines territoriality with ancestry. The tantric local priests, *ācāju*, for instance, belong to certain families and clans. In this context the ultramundane character of Śiva has almost completely disappeared. The god has been remolded according to the segmentary village life and subordinated to the temporal demands of the group. As for Bhairava, he is integrated into the site of the cult itself: his seat is on the ground floor of the temple, Śiva occupying the upper floor. Significantly, the cremation grounds are completely separated from Śiva.[8]

One important observation can be made from these few local examples: Śiva-Mahādev is not a transcendent deity in himself, it is his devotees and his insertion into specific urban or rural communal lives, that defines him. His various aspects (or materializations), although referring theoretically to the same god, are characterized by either a local or a supralocal identity, depending on his relationship with the social group. Śiva is thus torn between two poles: one transcendental, in conformity with most of the purāṇic mythology, and the other, local, reformulated in Tantric terms and adapted to autochthonous values.

The two extremes, however antithetical, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Nearly all Śaivite figures display some oscillation between the two principles distinguished. In Pyangaon for instance half the village proceeds every year to the summit of a hill located at a distance of one and a half days walk to worship the primitive form of the god. The site known as Kāleśvar Mahādev is supposed to be the original home of the inhabitants of Pyangaon. Even though the idea of ancestry prevails here, such a massive pilgrimage to a religious sanctuary situated so far away, and shared by people not from Pyangaon, gives this deity a distinctly supralocal dimension.

The same ambiguity characterizes Paśupatināth. This god is not just a marginal deity, patron of *sādhus*. He is also "the political incarnation of Nepal", to use the expression of Sylvain Lévi.[9] As such, he is in close touch with the royal power. He even acquired the status of a *rāṣṭradevatā*, a divinity of state per excellence, during the Malla period (XIII-XVIII centuries). The old chronicle Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī relates that some Malla kings were crowned at Deopatan, some hundred meters from Paśupatināth, on the alleged site of a former political center, and not in their respective capitals.[10] Paśupatināth was thus endowed with a political and religious centrality on the occasion of the king's accession to the throne. This god also helped the king to defend his *rāṣṭra* from outside aggression and to conquer neighbouring territories. At a very early stage of Nepalese history, it is said that the king Somavaṃśa Bhāskara-Varma conquered alien lands thanks to the Paśupatināth *mantra*.[11] Much later, in the XIII century, when the king of Palpa Mukunda Sen invaded the Kathmandu valley, Paśupati showed his teeth, it is said, to intimidate the invader.[12] As a result, Mukunda Sena died and his troops were defeated.

Such a "territorialization" is even more pronounced in the cult of Luku Mahādyaḥ, the "hidden" Mahādev, a deity specific to the Kathmandu valley. In this form, Śiva is said to be present, in theory at least, in each ward or village. He is symbolized by a simple stone in the shape of a *liṅga*. In normal time Luku Mahādyaḥ is hidden under a pile of rubbish. He is venerated once a year, on the fourteenth day of the waning moon, during the month of Phālgun (February-March), on the occasion of Piśācaturdaśī (Pācare), a feast associated with the cult of the goddess Ajimā and with the various chtonic or demonic deities such as Gurumāpā, Tundi and other evil spirits *piśāca*. This cult is especially popular among women who invoke the power of the divinity for the protection of their families. One element of this cult is particularly important: the god receives blood sacrifices and alcohol. Being assigned a defined territory, Śiva is here transformed into a blood-thirsty carnivorous divinity.

Where does this god come from? According to an origin myth, he is said to have been born when Virūpākṣa, angered at Śiva's *tapasya*, tried to destroy him. Śiva managed to flee and found refuge under a pile of domestic rubbish heap. Virūpākṣa's chase of the god was interrupted by Buddha's clever intervention at Paśupatināth's shrine. Ever since, Śiva emerges from his concealed site at the time of Piśācacaturdaśī.[13] This legend was surely developed *later on*. Everything suggests that this deity was a pre-Indian telluric god which was transformed over the centuries into Śiva. The same thing could be said about Nāsadyaḥ, another specifically Newar divinity, known today by the name of Nṛtināth (Naṭarāja), the dancing Śiva. Nāsadyaḥ, the god of music, is represented at the rear of many temples by a small triangle carved out into the wall. Animal sacrifices, alcohol and beer are offered to this peculiar form of Śiva. In this manifestation, without priests to serve him, the god is particularly popular among the caste of Newar peasants.

Consequently it appears that the cult of Śiva-Mahādev in the Kathmandu valley is located at the intersection of a Brahmanic tradition and a tribal autochthonous heritage. It is split between a transcendental aspect, coupled with asceticism and a local aspect connected to kingdom, village, and other more or less well defined territorial units. It is very likely that the importance of chtonian roots in the Śiva cult in Newar religion is due to the enduring presence of some powerful tribal elements.

The two forms of the blood drinking goddesses

Blood drinking deities are the main focus of religious life. More often female than male, these numerous gods are worshipped on all occasions. The cult of Gaṇeśa and the Mātṛkā of one's neighbourhood area are among the daily rituals considered to be indispensable. Every morning, the chief woman of the house or her daughter worships the two divinities by placing offerings at their altars. No community feast takes place without sacrificing animals to these two territorial gods. The contrast with the Parbatiyās (= Indo-Nepalese) is particularly evident in that respect: the Newars do not participate as often as the Parbatiyās in the great vaiṣṇava and śaiva pilgrimage centers of the Kathmandu valley (Gorakhnāth, Paśupatināth, Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, etc.). In other words, Newar religion is characterized by a definitive hypertrophy of the second level of the pantheon (*hi tvaṁ dyaḥ*).

The blood drinking goddesses very frequently have two forms, two bodies. On the one hand, an anthropomorphic human shape, whose iconography is defined by textual codifications. On the other hand, a simple uncarved oval stone, sometimes pointed or round, fixed into the ground. These lithic symbols are often paired into groups, indistinguishable from one another, placed singly or in multiples, joined in free association. The first form of the goddess is housed within the locality, in enclosed temples called *dyaḥ cheṁ*, "the house of the god", or *dyaḥ gaḥ*, "temple" in Newari. The second aniconic aspect of the goddess is sheltered in open-frame temples, *pīṭha* (New: *pigaṁ*), built outside the settlement or on its periphery. The *pīṭha* is preferably located within the proximity of a small forest or a thicket of trees and near one or more cremation sites. Sometimes, a very low caste person, such as a Poḍe fisherman, lives next to the temple to look after it. In Newari, divinities residing at a *pīṭha* are called *pigaṁdyaḥ*.

The daily cult, *nitya pūjā*, is directed only to the anthropomorphic forms of the deity, the ones residing within the locality. The goddesses living outside the village are propitiated once a week (or a month) and on the annual occasion of the communal feast, *deś jātrā*, of the territorial unit. During this calendrical festival the statue (*mūrti*) of the divinity is generally paraded in procession from its temple *intra muros* to the *pīṭha* and placed next to the shapeless stone. The statue is left there for a whole day and night. This union of the two images corresponds to the climax of the festivities. The villagers and townsfolk wait for this precise moment to make the sacrificial blood offerings which they promised the goddess that year. In this night, the Karmācārya or Vajrācārya (Buddhist) priests carry out Tantric rituals in great secrecy within the *pīṭha*.[14]

Historically, these two forms of the goddess most probably belong to two different layers of the Newar religion: one associated with the cult of stones and local pre-Indian deities and the other with the Hindu pantheon of Tantric Śaivism (and Vajrayāna Buddhism). It is not improbable that the *pigaṁdyaḥ* were ancient tribal divinities, who, like Nāsadyaḥ and Luku Mahādyaḥ, were eventually integrated into the pantheon by identification with lesser Hindu gods. As Bernhard Kölver (1985: 137) has rightly remarked, only blood drinking gods have *pīṭha*, not the deities of the Trimūrti. This dimorphism of terrifying deities has to be examined in conjunction with the process of Hinduization and analysed accordingly. The annual reunion of the two divine figures thus appears to be a fusion between the tribal heritage of the Newars and Hindu conceptions under the auspices of Śaiva Tantrism.

Nevertheless, it would no longer be justified to consider these anomic forms as archaisms: they have been redefined through Hindu cultural ideas. The two forms of the goddess are, from this point of view, obviously connected to the ambivalent nature of blood drinking gods. The village-centered representation has to do with the peaceful and protective forces which look after the locality and its inhabitants. The outside or border-line forms of the deity are related to menacing and dreadful figures, too dangerous to be kept within the locality.

This duality also corresponds to the village/forest dichotomy, fundamental, as it is well known, in Hindu thought.[15] In the Kathmandu valley these two antithetical worlds (and values), one based on the sacrificial order, the other on the renunciation (connected with the forests and wild animals), are combined during village and town communal festivals. The rituals by which the *intra muros* deities spend a night outside the locality, near some groves, are intended to re-integrate for a while the forest values into the settlement and to reconstruct the territorial ties of the locality.[16]

Over and above these various levels of explanation, the Tantric dimension (which permeates the whole of Newar religion) is also prevalent. Pott (1966) has shown the relevance of cremation sites (*śmaśāna*) for Tantric rituals. These "cemeteries", impure by definition, haunted by evil spirits and ghosts, are appropriate spots to realize higher levels of consciousness for it is precisely in such sites that the separation between the earthly and the spiritual world is abolished. Meditating in these *śmāśana* and overcoming evil spirits who live there are the means to eradicate any trace of ego and pride within oneself. Through such secret rituals, practitioners can acquire supernatural powers (*siddhi*), which, in Tantrism, are always coupled with liberation from the bondage of earthly existence. The annual festival where the two aspects of the goddess are joined and where sacrifices are held outside the community boundary (and not inside, as required in Brahmanic tradition),[17] exemplifies a deviation characteristic of Tantrism. This religious "school" occupies the same position as does renunciation *vis-a-vis* the sacrificial order that the village is supposed to represent.[18] To sum up our argument: by all indications Tantrism in Nepal has been instrumental in bringing about an original synthesis between orthodox Hindu forms and pre-existing local heritage.

Ancestors and social identity

Lineage or clan divinities, called *digudyaḥ* in Newari and *kuldevatā* in Nepali, constitute a third group within the pantheon almost always related to the blood drinking gods. Like *pigaṁdyaḥ* the word *digudyaḥ* does not designate a particular divine figure but a class of gods. These divinities are represented by uncarved oval or round stones, a dozen centimeters high, smooth-surfaced and half-buried in the ground. Generally the same family or the same patrilineage propitiates the aforementioned deity in the form of a set of three to four-five stones.

The lineage divinity appears to be an union of several different gods forming a homogenous group.[19]

The *digudyaḥ* do not have a name, or else their names are kept secret by the elders of the kinship group. Their sex is undefined. Their altar is located outside the agglomeration, on a grassy lawn (New: *khyaḥ*), usually to the west, the direction of the dead, and is not marked by any sanctuary or monument.[20] Exposed to the elements, the lineage gods are endowed with only a limited amount of sacredness. Except for their annual or bi-annual festivals, they are left unattended. In the event of loss, they may even be replaced by stones taken from the nearby river. These incorporeal, enigmatic, silent gods seem to be limited to their inert mineral matter. Nobody knows their secret save the clan leaders (but what do they really know?). Contrary to all other divine figures they are not associated with a body of myths. The main classification which prevails among them is the type of offerings they are given: some receive chicken and chicken eggs, others duck and duck eggs, etc., a feature common to numerous other Nepalese hill tribe divinities of the same kind.

The *digudyaḥ* cult presents several striking similarities with the cult of awe-inspiring gods. Like the latter most of the lineage deities accept blood sacrifices, they are located outside the community boundaries and they are feasted once or twice a year.[21] The rituals of the lineage gods may attract as many as fifty people, gathered in front of the deity for a ceremonial meal organized according to elaborate rules of etiquette that correspond to the hierarchical order between kinsmen. During the ceremony, a crown or a metal diadem, normally kept in the lineage chief's house during the year, is carried to the cult abode and placed behind the group of lithic symbols. The Newars explain that these stones are the *āsana* of the ornamental form of the deity.[22] As with the blood drinking local goddesses most of the *digudyaḥ* have in fact two manifestations: one ornamental, housed inside the village or the town, the other lithic, situated outside the locality. In this case as in the other, the two forms are joined together each year. Therefore, the cult of lineage divinities seems to be copied from the cult of the local goddesses, unless it is the reverse. By all indications here too a process of acculturation, albeit imperfect, has integrated pre-Indian divinities into the Hindu pantheon.

What relationship do these divinities have with the territory? Let us first of all remark that the recently migrated families return to their original village on the lineage feast day to collectively or individually venerate the lineage god to whom they are attached. The *digudyaḥ* consequently represents a kinship group's origin in a given area. But more often these calendrical journeys last only for some years. Sooner or later the god will be separated and transferred to the vicinity of the site of the new settlement. The transfer of the deity's abode is carried out quite simply, by taking another stone from a nearby river and celebrating a rite called *dyaḥ sālegu* (New), lit. "god-pull", whose purpose is to shift the divine essence of the old stone to the new one. When rapid and repeated segmentations take place, the newly constituted ritual units do not bother to reassemble the whole group of stones, but limit themselves to one stone only. The difference between a purely local god and a *digudyaḥ* is clear: the former are deeply rooted in the land, they cannot be displaced, they are chtonic deities, *genii loci*, indissolubly attached to a narrowly circumscribed area. The *digudyaḥ*, on the contrary, are gods whose territories are almost transitory and mobile. They follow people around in their family migrations and easily forget their territorial ties.

Although sociologically the *digudyaḥ* are characterized by kinship groups, the relationship between ancestors and clan divinities remains vague. It is precisely this absence of a clear link which is problematic. Among the Nepalese hill tribes such a connection is much more evident. The Gurungs for example believe that a part of their ancestors are incorporated into their tribal land (Strickland 1983: 231); for them, ancestry has an important earthbound dimension. There is nothing similar among the Newars and the Parbatiyā Indo-Nepalese castes. The ancestors of these two groups are never really divinized; even in the case of founding members, there is no relationship between the ancestors of one kinship group and the *digudyaḥ*. As a matter of fact the Newar kinship groups are characterized by their shallow genealogical roots and their quick partition after six or seven generations. G.S. Nepali (1965: 396) does mention in his monograph that a *śrāddha* rite commemorating ancestors is celebrated a few days after the cult of the lineage deities, but this practice seems limited and extremely rare.

For the Newars, like the Indians, the personality of the ancestors is basically concentrated on the benevolent manes *pitṛ*, and on *preta* spirits, i.e. ancestors who died accidentally and consequently are transformed into evil beings. The *pitṛ* are worshipped before each meal, at marriage ceremonies and at funerals. The Newar *digudyaḥ*, as well as the Parbatiyā *kuldevatā*, form a different category. They belong to the kinship group's memory not as individuals but as an undifferentiated collective set of gods. As in Hindu India there is a puzzling dissociation between the *pitṛ* ancestor cult, consisting of imageless beings without a cult site and carefully set apart from the other deities by the orthodox texts, and the cult of family lineage divinities, *kuldevatā, kulāin*, who protect the members of a descent group.[23]

Two minor examples, interesting precisely because of their peculiarities, throw some light on the lineage deities. Let us once more turn to Pyangaon. As was shown earlier, the local god of this locality, Śiva-Nikuncā Mahādyaḥ, is also a *kul* divinity: he is associated with the four founding clans of the village, combining in himself both ancestry and territoriality. From the point of view of social structure all religious functions in this very archaic village are intertwined. Nikuncā Mahādyaḥ came originally from Kāleśvar to the south and settled in Pyangaon shortly after the foundation of the village in the same manner as if he were a *digudyaḥ*. Moreover, in this community there is complete homology between the local ancestral divinity and the tutelary clan god. Another replication is present within the cult area between "vegetarian" and "carnivorous" deities (Mahanka, Bhairava), and a similar division of ritual tasks between the benevolent divinities (superior) and the terrifying divinities (inferior) is to be found among the Tantric *ācāju* local priests (Toffin 1984: 75-81). The segmentary kinship structures in Pyangaon definitely permeate the whole religious field and regulate the entire divine world. Society and religion are indistinguishable; they constitute two profoundly isomorphic domains.

The second example is taken from the Rājopādhyāya Brahmins, the highest caste in the hierarchy and the repository for Hindu religious authority. It is very significant that among these priests, the *digudyaḥ* cult with its nameless, unhewn stones situated outside inhabited areas, is conspicuous by its absence - at least in certain towns (e.g. Patan). It seems that these gods are not respectable enough in the eyes of the Rājopādhyāya, perhaps because of their tribal or folk associations. They are apparently difficult to reconcile with the transcendental values that the Brahmins embody. In Patan, the Rājopādhyāya all propitiate the same *digudyaḥ* or *kuldevatā* deity, whatever their clan. The goddess in question is Pūrna Caṇḍī; she has a temple inside the town, and is also worshipped by groups other than Brahmins. As in Pyangaon, but for different reasons, the well-being of the lineages as well as of the territory are controlled by the same deity. Other specifically Tantric divinities belonging to the *āgaṁdyaḥ* category act as clan gods; they are housed in secret closed shrines, near each group of descendants.

In the final analysis, both local and lineage gods are essentially defined by the worshippers who seek recognition and protection from them. They represent and symbolize the unity of the group; they maintain their spirit of solidarity and attachment to mythic time. The cult of *iṣṭadevatā* (personal gods) exists, but is mostly restricted to the high Hindu castes.

Generally the Newars do not or very rarely propitiate a particular god as individuals, but as members of a village, a clan or a kingdom. This kind of community-based relationship is the opposite of the subjectivity of religious ties prevalent in Western Christianity today. To paraphrase Marc Augé, a French anthropologist (1988: 15), it can be said that polytheistic gods enable one to move from the "Self to the Other". They contribute to the identification of an individual to a community and are a constituent element of social relationships.

Conclusion

The three figures or divine categories analysed here (a) Śiva-Mahādev, (b) local blood drinking gods, (c) lineage or clan gods, are all related in one manner or another to a social group. The first, Paśupatināth, a patron deity of the king, is not only linked with *sādhus*, he also represents Nepal's sovereignty. The deities of the second group border a locality, village or town, protecting it against external or internal dangers. The third category symbolizes the perennial life of lineages (however deep the kinship group may be). These three types of gods each belong to a specific social unit: kingdom, locality, patrilineal kin-group. With the exception of Śiva, who subsumes his territorial bonds, these deities are so closely woven into the social tissue that they are no longer transcendent in the strict sense of the term. The divine power here appears to be more the attribute of a given social group than a way to communicate with the other world. This situation can be explained by two very closely related factors. Firstly, the ideal of renunciation is almost totally absent among the contemporary Newars. It was present in Mahāyāna Buddhism at an earlier period but was soon reduced in importance by worldly values. All the former Śākyabhikṣu monks from the monasteries (*vihāra*) are nowadays married and have families. Secondly, the Newar Brahmins, guardians of the transcendental values of Hindu religion, have partly converted to Tantrism. As a result they have made a compromise with the social order and with the different sources of impurity, which, in theory, they are supposed to avoid uncompromisingly.[24] In other words, as far as the Kathmandu valley is concerned, the indigenous values have modified to a certain extent the basic principles of canonic Hinduism. Such a process of "popularisation" has imposed a more pragmatic, this-worldly vision on religious life.

Another remark emerges from this analysis. It is generally accepted that a pantheon is structured by a system of relations between different gods or classes of gods. I tried, here, to illustrate this idea and to show that each god is himself a "network of relations and positions".[25] Local divinities as well as Śaivite and lineage gods have all several modes of existence: iconic and aniconic, hidden (*guhya*) or visible (*bāhira*), purely symbolic or extremely corporeal. Each divine entity is both unique and multiple, the one and its opposite at the same time, encompassing various different aspects which are not considered contradictory. Even Śiva, who sometimes takes the form of a great pre-monotheistic cosmic god, possesses several manifestations. He has antithetical figures, terrifying and benevolent, marginal and society-centered. Although these shifting conceptions may belong to different historical periods, they are perceived presently as one more or less harmonious whole. The Hindu polytheist god not only defines himself by his position and his relation to other divine figures within the pantheon, but also by affirming his

Protean personality. He is situated at the intersection of different tendencies, which exert opposing influences on him. This deity is not a single personality, but all of a group by himself, a class of multi-faceted divine beings, a combination of several forces.

It is worth pointing out that this definition seriously undermines the ideology of the three forces or functions that Georges Dumézil formulated in his profuse work. Is it really possible to state that a divinity represents a unique function in a polytheistic pantheon? Is it credible to claim that a deity, even if it applies to different domains, always intervenes through the particular mode of the original function to which it belonged (sovereignty, war, prosperity)?[26] Is this theory not introducing a substantialist view derived from a Judeo-Christian monotheistic conception? Among the Newars, most gods represent many functions at the same time. Moreover, the deities frequently have several names, Hindu and Buddhist, learned and popular, Sanskrit and Newari, and so on. The names of the gods in fact proliferate, endlessly renewed. Such prolixity appears to be a crucial characteristic of the polytheist god.

In short, Dumézil's tripartition tends to simplify the complex structure of the Indo-European pantheons. It obscures the interweaving of functions. It is fair to say that Dumézil realized later on these phenomena and reintroduced plurifunctionality in some parts of his work. But he limited it to a few isolated figures, notably to Vedic and Roman goddesses (1967: 307). My contention is that this notion of plurifunctionality may be extended to several male gods as well. Śiva for instance, who, of all the great Hindu gods, is the one least inclined to be reduced to a single function, and the hardest to pin down to a univocal definition.

NOTES

1. Concerning the god Indra in Nepal, cf. A.A. Bake (1961) & G. Toffin (1978a & 1990).
2. Cf. V. Wiesner (1978). This issue, however, is debatable; cf. G. Béguin (1989).
3. On Newar Buddhist pantheon, see for instance S. Lienhard (1978) and J.K. Locke (1982). It is important to remember that "Śaivite tantrism and Buddhism tantrism [= the core of Newar religion] presumably developed as the different aspects, conditioned by their sectarian differences, of a common Indian development in philosophical thinking, *in approach to the gods*, in building styles and all the rest" (D.L. Snellgrove, "Appendix", in Etienne Lamotte,

Towards the Meeting with Buddhism, Rome, 1970, pp. 129-130).

4. G. Toffin (1981: 74).
5. G. Toffin (1987).
6. On Paśupatināth, cf. A. Michaels (1989 and 1990).
7. This information is taken from V. Barré et al. (1981). Cf. also G. Toffin (1984: 249) for a detailed plan and study of this temple.
8. G. Toffin (1978b, 1984 and 1991a).
9. S. Lévi (vol. 1, p. 360).
10. D. Vajracarya & K.P. Malla (1985: XV-XVIII).
11. D. Wright (1966: 78).
12. M. Slusser (1982: 341).
13. M. Slusser (1982: 232). Cf. also G.S. Nepali (1965: 293). According to the local chronicles, Paśupatināth initially appeared also in Nepal in a concealed form. His "first *liṅga*" lay covered beneath ruins before it was brought to view by a cow.
14. G. Toffin (1982).
15. On this subject: C. Malamoud (1976: 3-20).
16. G. Toffin (1982). M. Slusser (1982: 342) refers to a tradition according to which the *pīṭha* is considered to be a paternal house *thaḥcheṁ* (New) (Nep: *māiti ghar*) of the goddess. Moreover, it is said that the mother continues to live in the *pīṭha* even though the daughter has taken abode at the *dyaḥcheṁ* inside the town.
17. C. Malamoud (1976: 8).
18. L. Dumont (1966: 324-350).
19. In certain cases, this group is divided into "carnivorous" deities and "vegetarian" gods. The latter are placed slightly apart so as not to be splashed with blood during sacrifices. Among Parbatiyās, cf. K.B. Bista (1972).
20. It seems that rich Newars, in certain cases, surround their *digudyaḥ* cult area with a wall (A. Vergati 1979: 120). This is, however, a very rare occurrence, due perhaps to the influence of the Parbatiyās. On this subject, see also: G.S. Nepali (1965: 333).
21. G. Toffin (1978b: 121-125) & A. Vergati (1979).
22. According to A. Vergati (1979: 124), among the high Hindu Newar castes of Bhaktapur, there is a direct connection between the *digudyaḥ* cult and the cult of the Tantric *āgaṁdyaḥ* gods.
23. Concerning the lineage divinities in India, cf. M.L. Reiniche (1979: 113-146).
24. Newar Buddhism also is mainly Tantric. As a matter of fact, the highest priestly initiation, limited to Vajrācārya priests, consists of purely tantric consecrations which can be paralleled with Hindu *dīkṣā*. Historically, in the late Malla period (XVI-XVIII centuries) monastic Buddhism was still given a place, but only the lowest one. Cf. D. Gellner (1987).
25. M. Detienne & P. Sollers (1986: 17).
26. For example in: *La Religion romaine archaïque*, Paris, 1967, p. 186.

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THE BRAHMIN, THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE POISONOUS GIFT

Klaas W. van der Veen

Introduction

Giving something or doing a favour to someone is an expression of affection, but at the same time it puts the recipient under obligation. This implication makes the gift contain a trace of poison.

In this paper I will discuss the question why in certain cultural codes and within specified social contexts, the poison in a gift is being denied. An, admittedly most general, comparison between 'Hindu culture' and 'the West' will be used to unravel why the 'pure gift', a present that does not compel the receiver to any counterprestation, has become a cherished ideal in the ideological superstructure of distinctly different cultures.

Reciprocity, Hindu ritual and custom

In 1964, shortly after my return from the field, Heesterman's article, "Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer", came to me as a most welcome gift. It provided me with an essential perspective at a moment when I began fitting the empirical data I gathered, on hierarchy and marriage in a Brahman caste in Gujarat, in an appropriate theoretical framework. Heesterman's interpretation of classical Vedic ritual texts supported my hunches about the crucial value of the concept of unilaterality I had found to be important in the marriage system of the Anavil Brahmans.

Analyzing the historical development of Hindu rituals, Heesterman showed that an originally agonistic sacrifice had been transformed into a ritual where "henceforth the single sacrificer would stand unopposed by his rivals an unimpeded by his partners in his ritual enclosure, creating a transcendent world all his own" (Heesterman [1964], 1985, 4). Meticulously Heesterman substantiated how reciprocity - since Malinowski the keyword for the anthropological study of 'traditional' societies - gradually had shifted to a ritual symbolizing autonomy, the catchword in what are called 'western' ways of life. He showed how the central theme in these rituals, the winning of life out of death, is in its most advanced form "no longer a communal but a strictly private celebration, centering on the *yajamāna* who is the sole beneficiary. [...] The function of the brahmin officiant was to take over the impurity of death of the patron by eating from the offerings and by accepting the *dakṣiṇās*" (Heesterman, 1985, 27). This insight into the importance of unilaterality, autonomy and consequently the denial of reciprocity enabled me to try a more exhaustive analysis of my data and it confirmed an idea that already had been dormant during the period I was gathering data on the financial transactions that go with marriage in traditional Anavil Brahman marriages. The most striking aspect of dowry-demand and dowry-giving was the forthright denial of reciprocity whenever my informants *talked* about the ins and outs of dowry. At the same time my research had made it more than clear to me that in *actual practice* bargains on dowry implied always a clearcut exchange of cash for status. There was an opposition between rule and reality, ideal and practice, with respect to dowry-giving, very similar to the contradictions and inner conflicts described by Heesterman (1985) for other contexts of Hindu philosophy and social customs.

The "gift of a virgin", *kanyādān*, the superior form of marriage prescribed for Brahmans, demands ideally that this gift does not oblige the receiver. In practice, however, to oblige and to be obliged is clearly not only central to the maze of human interaction, but also quite openly accepted. The ease with which mutual, compelling obligation, *vehvar* in Gujarati, is acknowledged in day-to-day life, rendered untenable the pretense that dowry is a non-committing 'gift'.

The importance of Heesterman's discussion of Hindu ritual was also realized by Gloria Goodwin Raheja, when, in the later seventies, she investigated the relationship between Gujar landholders/cultivators and the Gaur Brahmans of Pahansu (U.P.). Recalling her efforts to put field data in a proper perspective she says: "my first thought there in Pahansu, was that I should reread Heesterman's paper... When I read that in the *Pācaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* it had been written that "he who, having accepted many gifts, feels as if he had swallowed poison" (Heesterman, 1964, 31), I realized Pahansu thought on the matter [i.e. *dān*] was not as peripheral as I had believed: many Gujars and Brahmans alike had spoken to me in precisely those terms in their descriptions of *dān* as "poison", *viṣ*, embodying the evil and sin of the donor". Goodwin Raheja, basing herself on a wealth of empirical data on different types of exchange within the village community, then discusses some essential charac-teristics of Hindu society. She touches issues that were earlier raised in the works of Hocart, Dumont, Heesterman, McKim Marriott and others. Her study complements and makes it possible to articulate the earlier 'grand theories' that summarize the ideological backbone of Hindu society and culture.[1]

Goodwin Raheja (1988, 31-36, 248-254) argues that much of *her* interpretations hinge on one crucial fact: "that the significance of *dān*, and thus much of the giving and receiving that constitutes intercaste and kinship relations in Pahansu, was focused on the transfer of inauspiciousness from donor to recipient".[2] Her experience with systems of exchange in the village, made her aware that "Brahmans and Barbers and Sweepers and several other castes *were all alike* in that they were "vessels" (*pātra*) for the removal of inauspiciousness of the Gujar *jajmān*". She consequently argues that what she calls "centrality" (of the jajmān caste) does not "displace hierarchy but that these two are two contextually differentiated ways of constructing intercaste relationships and configurations of castes". She differentiates inauspiciousness (*naśubh*) and evil (*pāp*) from "impurity" (see Madan, 1987, for a similar argument). "The gifts that the Brahman, the Barber, and the Sweeper accept from their Gujar *jajmāns* are imbued with inauspiciousness and evil, but impurity is not thought to be transferred in *dān*". The giving of *dān* and the transference of inauspiciousness are conceptually and contextually distinct from hierarchical orderings.[3] "Heesterman's theory of historical transformations separates what in fact may be coexisting aspects of the relationship between Brahman and king (or Brahman and *jajmān*). These aspects are foregrounded in different contexts of social life and are not necessarily reducible to matters of "rank" on a scale of purity and impurity, precisely because inauspiciousness ... and evil ... are different from impurity" (1988, 32-33). Goodwin Raheja's reference to the coexistence of different aspects that get pre-eminence in different contexts is in my opinion an essential elaboration of the general line of argument put forward by Dumont, Heesterman and others. It is certainly something that fits with my own data concerning marriage and hierarchy among the Anavil Brahmans (see for instance my discussion of marriages by exchange, Van der Veen, 1972, 47-52, 137-140).

Ambivalence of the human condition, cultural codes and reciprocity

The coexistence of different, mutually opposing aspects - i.e. the impact of ambivalence in cultural codes - was also a theoretical perspective in my analisis of marriage and hierarchy.[4] In a concluding chapter on "Brahman Ideology and Anavil Brahman Practice" (Van der Veen, 1972, 206-229) I tried to explain the persistence of dowry-giving as well as the increase in the incidence of dowry among the Anavil Brahmans at that time (and in India as a whole at present; see Van der Veen, 1989) with reference to fundamental values in Hindu society. On the whole I had followed a more or less structural-functionalist reasoning, with much emphasis on socio-economic factors, to explain my findings among the Anavil Brahmans. To come to a more definitive understanding of the contractions and obscurities in my empirical data, I had to look outside a purely structural-functionalist paradigm. I therefore referred to classical texts. This applies to marriage rules as well as to the Hindu views on giving and receiving directly related to these rules. The ideal *Brahma*-marriage emphasizes the importance of giving without expecting to be given anything in return (Van der Veen, 1972, 207). That ideal of unilaterality finds, as I documented in my study, clear expression in the role patterns of bride givers vis-à-vis bride receivers and in the preference for isogamy (i.e. marriage between status equals).[5]

The contrast I found, however, between the ideal and the extent to which it can be realized, illustrates the tension between a reality of inevitable interdependence and its ideological denial. This is an issue that, in one way or another, is dealt with by the classical Hindu sages as well as by modern social scientists. In my own argument of the late sixties, I tried to make this explicit. New insights, as brought forward by Parry, Madan and Fuller, the general development of the sociology of India during the last twenty years as well as Elias' encompassing concept of figurative sociology, have added since then to an articulation and refinement of such an understanding.

The denial of reciprocity, which I had found to be such an important ideological corner-stone of the marriage system of the Anavil Brahmans, posed a problem. Trained as an anthropologist in the structural-functionalist tradition, I was tuned to the idea that reciprocity would and should be at the heart of any social system in a non-western society including India.[6] With that view I was certainly in good company. Marcel Mauss, the stallwart of the anthropological study of "forms and functions of exchange in archaic societes" (and certainly not a structural-functionalist) obviously was of the same idea. When discussing the numerous conditions under which a Brahman may accept gifts, he says: "This is a quaint theory. A whole caste which lives by gifts tends to refuse them, then compromises and accepts only those which are offered spontaneously" (1954 [1925]; see in this respect also Heesterman, 1985, Parry, 1986, Goodwin Raheja, 1988, 249-251, and Van der Veen, 1972, 221-223). Groping for an explanation of the ideological negation of reciprocity, as an anthropologist, I of course turned to the then current discussion of patterns of exchange. The vaste variety of systems of exchange such as had been found by anthropologists were and still are distinguished into three main forms of reciprocity (Smelser 1965, 136-9): a) "reciprocal and direct exchange, in which groups (usually kinsmen) exchange goods and services within the framework of a traditional determined pattern of mutual obligations. The amount, time or nature of these exchanges are never precisely stated, but eventually there must be a certain balance between the goods given and received. b) redistributive exchange, in which all goods and services are collected at a central point (usually the chief or the authorities) and then distributed among the members of the group. c) exchange through an impersonal medium, in which goods and services are marketed and priced in terms of money. Supply and demand determine their value."

This categorization of types of exchange is still valid. "The most important difference between a) and b) on the one hand, and c) on the other hand, is that the 'value' of the persons involved in the exchange is of decisive importance in the first two cases, and of little or no importance in the third, because of the presence of an impersonal medium" (Van der Veen, 1972, 208). Simmel (1978 [1907], 376), a major theoretician in this field, acknowledged this when he said: "while the gift of a specific object always 'retains an element of the person who gave it', exchange relationships tend to be more completely dissolved and more radically terminated by the payment of money" (see also Mauss, 1954, and Van der Veen, 1989). This aspect of identification between the donor and his gift will be a central issue in the following argument.[7] It will be clear that in systems of exchange through an impersonal medium the identification between the giver (the one who pays) and his gift (money) needs not to be emphasized. This does not imply, though, that such an identification cannot be made (see in this respect Parry, 1989).

As Bloch and Parry say, it is hardly surprising that there is a tendency to postulate a fundamental division between non-monetary and monetary economies. And given that money is held to have that kind of profound impact on society and culture, "it is easy to see how this opposition gets elided with a series of other dichotomies, 'traditional' and 'modern', pre-capitalist and capitalist, gift economies and commodity economies, production for use and production for exchange - with money acting as a major catalyst of the 'great transformation' between them, or at least as a telling index of it" (1989: 7). "The radical opposition which so many anthropologists have discovered between the principles on which gift and commodity exchange are founded, derives in part from the fact that *our* ideology of the gift has been constructed in antithesis to market exchange. The idea of the purely altruistic gift is the other side of the coin from the idea of the purely interested utilitarian exchange" (Bloch and Parry, 1989, 8-10; see also Parry, 1986).

I fully agree with this view that the very notion of a 'purely altruistic gift' should be understood against the background of market-exchange. It is after all clear that the demand of direct reciprocity that is inherent in exchange through an impersonal medium (money) facilitates the idea that compelling and unavoidable reciprocity (i.e. money, directly paid for goods or services) should not be part of non business-like, 'social' relationships. Such an idea of the 'pure gift' brings us back, however, to the Indian notion of gifts that are given 'spontaneously' and without any implication of reciprocal return. In a society that stands fundamentally opposed to fullfledged 'western' market economies one would expect a rather similar ideology with respect to the ideal of a 'pure gift'.

As I indicated in my study on dowry and hierarchy (1972) and as elaborated by Parry (1986), the discrepancy between the ideal of an unreciprocated 'gift' and the reciprocity in social action was an integral part of Hindu culture. The *dān* was and is, in Hindu thought, however, opposed to other types of gifts as part of reciprocal, indirect 'social' exchange. Similar to the claim, in modern western ideology, that the 'pure gift' is possible outside relationships of economic exchange, it is assumed in Hindu ideology that *dān* differs radically from all other types of gift-exchange.

Simple dichotomies in terms of 'traditional' and 'modern' or 'pre-capitalist' and 'capitalist' societies do, obviously, not suffice to explain social reality in 'the East and the West'. In both societies similar ideas on the value of 'superior' types of exchange (i.e. non committing, unilateral and 'spontaneous' acts) turn out to be part of social systems that otherwise differ from each other in many respects. I suggest here that the ambivalence of the human condition (being an individual and at the same time part of a whole) has to be taken as an analytical starting point in order to explain why simple dichotomies do not suffice and why the negation of reciprocity is considered to be important in Indian as well as Western ideology.

This first requires a discussion of the way the negation of reciprocity becomes ideologically important. Secondly, one wonders whether that ideology can be related to certain types of social systems. Thirdly, we shall ask the question what all this may have to do with the basic characteristics of Hindu culture.

Negation of compelling reciprocity: the individual, the group and "Social Exchange Theory"

As was clear from the rituals and ideology concerning *kanyādān*, the ambivalent nature of a relationship of mutual dependence becomes manifest whenever a present is given. There is the recognition of an obligation towards the other person and a simultaneous opportunity of placing him under an obligation. In his "Essai sur le Don" (1925), Mauss mentions the ambivalence of feelings with respect to a gift; "to give is to show one's superiority, to show that one is something more and higher, that one is *magister*. To accept without returning or repaying more is to face subordination, to become a client and subservient." (Mauss, 1954 [1925], 72). He attaches most importance, though, to the function of the gift as a symbolic tie between groups or between members of one group. I should like to stress the simultaneous presence of opposing impulses. These are always a discernible element of reciprocal transactions in which the person of the giver/recipient is essential. This ambivalence, however, is differently expressed in different cultures. It is especially important to analyse which of the two polar components is ideologically stressed in a specific society. This applies to the ideology of the society being studied as well as to the ideology by which a sociologist interprets that society (see in this respect also Dumont, 1986, 1-9).

Social scientists from western countries generally have tended to emphasize manifestations of interdependence in their interpretation of reciproal phenomena in non-western societies (Van der Veen, 1972, 208-209). This is a result of the antithetical approach they generally use. Due to the emergence of a fullfledged market-economy in the western world, it is possible there to 'restrict' (at least ideologically) to 'economic exchange', all exchange with the perspicuous purpose to serve one's own ends, while 'social exchange' (ideologically) should be devoid of evident efforts to serve one's own ends alone. In a convincing exposition of the exchange theories in the sociological and anthropological tradition, Ekeh (1974) traces the development of exchange theory in the context of the polemic between the British-American 'individualistic' and the French 'collectivistic' tradition. He refers to Homans, Blau, Gouldner, Malinowski, Firth and others as representatives of the 'individualistic' tradition and to Mauss and Levi-Strauss as 'collectivists'. As followers of Durkheim the last two interpretate 'social behaviour' in traditional societies, as a sort of maximal internalization of group norms (see Van der Veen, 1971, 1989). Dumont's approach with respect to Indian society shows exactly these traits, as I will argue below. The British/American sociologists and anthropologists mentioned have given much more attention to the way individuals try to serve their own 'individual' interests within the framework of social norms.

Parry (1986, 455) points out that "Mauss repeatedly stresses a *combination* of interest and disinterest, of freedom and constraint, in the gift." According to Mauss, 'interest' however "could not possibly be a matter of *self* (in the sense of *individual*) interest. It is not *individuals* but groups of *moral persons* who carry on exchanges. The *individuals* of modern society are endowed with interests as against the world. The *persons* who enter into the exchanges which centrally concern Mauss do so as incumbents of status positions and do not act on their own behalf" (Parry, 1986, 456; Ekeh, 1974, 32). Nor do persons stand in opposition to the things exchanged. The gift contains according to Mauss some part of the spiritual essence of the donor, and this compels the recipient to make a return. In short Mauss' perspective emphasizes the group aspects of exchange.

The representatives of the 'individualistic' version of western exchange theory, on the contrary, "see exchanges as essentially *dyadic* transactions between *selfinterested individuals* and as premissed on some kind of *balance*; the tendency to play down *super-natural* sanctions, and the total contempt for the question of *origin*, all these constituted an important legacy of Malinowski's teaching, and directly or indirectly exercised a major influence over much of the subsequent literature" (Parry, 1986, 454).

There is a clear difference between these two approaches. In both versions, however, there is an implicit suggestion that the rules of the group (i.e. the social norms) curb individualism. The gist of my argument is that social norms never do that alone. Social norms can only mould the way in which *both* components of the ambivalent condition are expressed. With respect to the two theories discussed, this implies that in the 'collectivistic' version the way in which individuals in 'primitive societies' promote their self-interest in line with the prevalent social norms, is not given much attention. On the other hand, in the 'individualistic' version too little attention is given to the fact that people are always parts of a whole as much as individual persons. That is why in the 'individualistic' theory of 'social exchange', the ideological conjunction between persons and things exchanged, received very little attention.

As noted earlier, the gradual expansion of a fullfledged market economy made possible a sharp distinction between 'social' and 'economic' exchange. In a market economy people are, according to the social norms, entitled to serve their own 'individual' self-interests in 'economic exchange', while in social exchange they should be 'sociable' and directed towards others. This added to the tendency in western thinking and social theory to give the word 'social' the specific connotation of "willing to cooperate with others". That in 'social' norms also and always expression must be given to the capacity and need of humans to oppose or manipulate others in order to realize individual and/or selfish ends, is insufficiently taken into account by most western social scientists.

Social exchange and the individual

It is therefore essential to acknowledge that social exchange can very well be used as an instrument to exert selfish power.[8] Individualism and selfishness are thus as much at the heart of systems of 'social' exchange, as the willingness to cooperate with others. Starting, however, from the unquestioned, dichotomous premise that selfishness must be expressed in a distinctly other way than the willingness to belong to others, western anthropologists dissect ambivalence into separate spheres.[9] An acknowledgement of the impact of the ambivalence of the human condition destroys the antithetic image of 'non-modern', 'pre-capitalistic' societies as communities where the consciousness of 'primitive' man coincides with the "collective conscious" and the interests of the group, as the 'collectivist' version says.

Since social and economic exchange are in western market economies consciously kept apart, the reluctance of western social scientists to give the individualistic, self-interested component in 'social exchange' its own, distinct and not-to-be-ignored place, is understandable. In societies where the demanding and inescapable reciprocity of social exchange is openly acknowledged in human relationships, the necessity to view the relationships with 'group-members' as positive only, is at its most.[10] There, the major ideological emphasis is on the notion that partners in social exchange willingly and whole-heartedly maintain relationships of social exchange with their 'own' people, i.e. kinsmen and other 'group' members. But because it is taken for granted that a service rendered cannot be turned down, while at the same time it obliges the other person to do a service in return, it is 'sociably acceptable' to manipulate others and to serve highly 'individual', selfish ends. Exactly because ideology stresses that persons are always bound to others and at the same time committed to inescapable and demanding rituals of reciprocity, 'utilization' of social relationships is a feasible strategy. That is also the reason why there is a connection between 'Gifts and Poison' (Bailey, 1971).

For the purpose of my argument it is important to discuss now an aspect which so far hasn't received much attention in currrent anthropological exchange theory. The acknowledgement of a compelling mutual obligation presupposes a perception of human beings as bound to others, while, on the contrary, the idea that someone can choose to reciprocate or not, i.e. to accept an obligation or to deny it, presupposes the notion of the individual as the locus of action.

Elias suggests that it is a peculiarity of the western image of man "that people often speak and think of individuals and societies, as if these were the phenomena existing separately (of which moreover, one is often considered 'real' and the other 'unreal') instead of two different aspects of the same human beings" (Elias, 1978, 245). In a social system where self-interest and 'social' exchange are constantly intertwined, the idea of choice and the consequent emphasis on the separate individual is hardly realistic. In that context it is obvious to all members of 'the group' that one needs the other to serve one's own ends. Thus human relations are seen in terms of mutual (inter)dependence only. That is to say, interdependence within one's own group!

The duties deriving from that mutual dependence are pictured as 'natural' expressions of mutual cooperation and mutual positive feeling. The 'manipulation of others' receives much less attention. The component of self-interest is subordinated to the component of sociability: 'selfish' and 'other-directed' exchanges are constantly and inextricably intertwined. That is why "investment in people" as Srinivas (1955, 38) aptly calls it, is such an effective way to serve one's own ends in this type of social system.

Social exchange, market exchange and the gift

In his earlier mentioned article, Parry (1986) adresses similar questions. He discusses the evolutionary aspects of Mauss' "Essai sur le Don" and relates that to aspects of Hindu culture.

With respect to the evolution of social practice and ideas he states, "if the Maussian thesis is that the modern contract is the enduring remnant of archaic gift systems, what then are modern *gifts*?" Mauss as well as his followers and critics completely overlooked that in western society gifts come to represent something entirely different. "*Gift-exchange* (in which persons and things, interest and disinterest are merged) has been fractured, leaving gifts *opposed* to exchange, persons *opposed* to things and interest to disinterest. The ideology of a disinterested gift emerges parallel with an ideology of a purely interested exchange." Parry (1986, 458) concludes that "while Mauss is generally represented as telling us how *in fact* the gift is *never* free, what ... he is really telling us is how *we* have acquired a *theory* that it should be."

Parry opposes the Indian gift, to the "Indian gift", i.e. one "for which an aequivalent return is expected" (Parry, 1986, 455). The Indian gift or *dān* then is only one kind, and a rather special one, within the framework of prestations in traditional Indian society. As we saw, Goodwin Raheja who made the same point specifically, distinguishes between two kinds of prestations. There is one range of exchange prestations characterised by compelling reciprocity and an ideology of mutuality and, secondly, there is the category of gifts generically known as *dān*. Such gifts 'send away' inauspiciousness from the donor to the recipient, "who may be a Brahman, Barber, Sweeper or wife-taking affine, *to whom the gift will bring misfortune unless the correct ritual precautions are taken*" (Parry, 1986, 456, my italics). Parry suggests that "in the Hindu context this notion that the gift contains the person is associated with the idea that the gift is a kind of sacrifice". It is in fact a surrogate for sacrifice. But what is most relevant here is that the identification between the sacrificer and the victim - which in classical theory is explicitly a substitute for his own person - "is carried over into the theory of *dāna*, as an identification between the donor and his gift." In his own research, Parry (1980, 1981) has shown how the Brahman priests of Benares see themselves as endlessly accumulating the sin and inauspiciousness they accept with the gifts of the pilgrims and mourners who visit the city to attain spiritual blessings. This ideological and ritual complex shows, according to Parry, that Mauss' emphasis on the value of "the spirit of a thing"[11] is not a culture-specific ideology but represents a general explanation.

As discussed above, anthropologists representing the individualistic strand of exchange-theory tended to ignore this aspect of social exchange. The awareness that there is not any absolute disjunction between persons and things is, however, a dominant trait of the Hindu perception. Because the thing contains the person, the donor retains a lien on what he has given away and there is according to this view no alienation of property. "It is because of this participation of the person in the object that the gift creates an enduring bond between persons" (Parry, 1986, 461). In the line of argument I follow, it is especially important to note that the absence of any absolute disjunction between persons and things is a supreme expression of the notion that human beings are part of a whole.

Parry (1986, 466) uses the concept of conjunction between persons and things mainly to prove that the Indian gift represents a stage in an evolutionary process. He contrasts the societies 'traditionally' studied by anthropologists in Melanesia, Polynesia and Africa where systems of exchange "reveal a preoccupation with reciprocity as a norm of social conduct", with "the ancient literate civilisations of Europe and Asia which have stressed the notion of the 'pure gift'." Parry suggests that an elaborated ideology of the 'pure gift' is most likely to be found in state societies with an advanced division of labour and a significant commercial sector. In the latter, "gift exchange does not have the material significance it has for the many tribal societies in which it provides the only access to crucial scarce resources. Gifts can therefore be given with the sole objective of cementing social relations without any insistence on an aequivalent return" (Parry, 1986, 467).

Parry adds that the development of a concept of 'pure gifts' requires a specific type of belief system. In all of the major world religions great stress is laid on the merit of gifts and alms, ideally given in secrecy and without expectation of any worldly return. These gifts are not reciprocated and in that sense they become "a liberation from bondage to it, a denial of the profane self, an atonement for sin, and hence a means to salvation" (i.e. a state or condition from which suffering has been eliminated). In other words, the unreciprocated gift is ideologically used as a device to prove that it is possible to 'give' without at the same time acknowledging that you are subordinated to the person to whom you give. The pure gift wherein altruism is (ideologically) no longer merged with self interest, is therefore at the same time a way to ignore the ambivalence of the human condition. Those who can give without expecting nor demanding any return, free themselves from others. That is to say they free themselves from human others because in the ideologies of the major world religions human beings are still seen as very much bound to God and/or a cosmic order.

Hindu philosophy and the notion of the unreciprocated gift contained therein, is to Parry an example, a particular stage, of the general development towards the perception of the 'pure gift'. Though I consider Parry's argument most helpful, I should like to reiterate that: "the idea that it would be possible to do or to give something 'for nothing' presupposes a social interaction without an interrelationship". Regrettable as it may be, giving a gift to, or doing a service for someone either propitiates or angers him. To deny that a gift implicitly carries an obligation is to deny interdependence. In societies where generalized exchange predominates, the interdependence of human beings (and supernatural magical powers) is axiomatic. Societies where redistributive exchange prevails, as we have seen, in certain contexts deny that a gift carries an obligation towards other persons. At the same time, however, such unilaterial gifts express and sustain the interdependence between human beings and supernatural, divine powers (Van der Veen, 1972, 211-218).

The idiom of exchange in generalized as well as redistributive systems is still based on the assumption of binding and obligatory interdependence between the members of a group that is part of a supernaturally ordained whole. In that sense, we are dealing with a 'collective' ideology. From the perspective used here, it is therefore important to see in what way the other component of ambivalence is being expressed within the framework of social norms. Ambivalence is moulded by different cultural codes but never eradicated, as western evolutionary theory often would like to.

The individual in generalized and redistributive reciprocity

In societies where generalized reciprocity is predominant, social norms determine rules of conduct which allow both components of the ambivalence to come to the fore alternately in a single person. One is obliged to give, but also obliged to receive. The components, being opposing forces, cannot be simultaneously stressed. It is of importance that in practice the two aspects are kept apart: a prestation cannot immediately be followed by a counter-prestation. Foster (1961, 1185) already pointed out that in social exchange the reciprocal relationships between two persons should never be in complete balance, but should show some uncertainty and phasing. According to Foster this is principally a necessary means of expressing the lasting character of the relationships. It might, however, also be regarded as a necessary regulation of the two components. The giver should have full satisfaction for his gift. The recipient may not directly undo his obligation. The prescribed pattern of behaviour demands alternating stress on each component of the ambivalence.

In social systems with mainly redistributive reciprocity, the two components are, ideologically viewed, much more sharply divided. The idea that exchange has to be realized within a framework of people (groups) who are specifically bound to each other is however retained, e.g. in a religiously ordained cosmic order. Within the social structure certain individuals (or groups) are assigned the roles of givers, others the role of recipients. They are mostly groups under the leadership of one person. All members of the group hand over goods to their leaders who then distributes them (see Sahlins, 1965, 141; and 1972, 188-189). Ideally the chief of a group redistributes what he receives. It will be clear that in such systems the two aspects of the ambivalence are differentially stressed for various individuals and (or) groups. In the practice of tributes the ruler and the privileged pesons are those who receive, and the subjects are those who have to give. Ideologically these roles are reversed. The ruler's nobility obliges him to be generous, the dependence of his subjects obliges them to servitude and to accept gifts and good offices from their ruler (i.e. to be subordinated). The crux of this ideology is the denial of the dependence opf the privileged. Here, ambivalence is ideologically denied since the privileged cannot reconcile the *obligation* to receive with their high position in the social structure (Van der Veen, 1972, 212-213). This ideological denial is important, exactly because the overal awareness that (inter)dependence asks for counterprestations is so strong. The outspoken hierarchical set-up of the social system makes it possible to separate the roles of givers and receivers. The composing aspects of ambivalence are consequently also demarcated.

Negation of ambivalence in Hindu society

India with its highly formalized, hierarchical social structure presents an excellent example of ideological negation of ambivalence. The *jajmānī*-system offers a case in point, in so far as it shows an ideological reversal of the roles of givers and recipients and the way it relates this to notions of purity. Within the ceremonial framework of *jajmānī*-relations the landowner 'gives' a fixed share of the harvest to his dependents every year or six months. The dependents are specialists such as potters, carpenters, and groups like barbers and washermen (but also Brahmans), specialised in providing impure (or purifying) services. They all do work which the jajmān cannot do (either because of the skill required or because of its polluting or purifying Brahmanic aspect). In the ceremony, however, it is the *jajmān* who with his gifts can put the *kamin* under an obligation. "In this way services and goods, which only specialists can provide, become necessary counterservices to be rendered because of a preceding obligation" (1972, 214).[12]

Recent research (Goodwin Raheja, 1989; Fuller, 1990) provides insights in the characteristics of the *jajmānī* system that are new. But I still hold it as essential for the *jajmānī* system, that the symbolic value of social exchange ceremonial has been retained in a socio-economic setting that otherwise exhibited all the prerequisites (money and extended trade-networks) for well developed market exchange.[13] The most striking aspect of the jajmānī-system is that the symbolic inversion of the relationship of dependence on specialists has been retained, notwithstanding the existence of a money economy that would have made it possible to acquire services of specialists, in terms of artisanal or pollution-removing skills, without having to maintain a lasting bond with special "servants". This shows that the Indian idiom of different modes of exchange is still firmly rooted in the presuppositions of 'social exchange', wherein no absolute disjunction between persons and things is made, and wherein consequently the identification of the person and the thing given, implies that there is poison in every gift. This perspective relates to the deeper layers of Hindu belief and Hindu society as they were analysed by Heesterman and Dumont. In Dumont's work the comparison between "modern and traditional" (modern western society and Indian society) is a constant point of reference. As indicated, his earlier work is characterized by a strong 'collectivistic' bias. In his discussion of 'holism' and 'individualism' he seems to suggest that in a "traditional, holistic and hierarchical" society as India the subordination of the human individual would be near total.

In my discussion of patterns of exchange a "binary opposition" may seem to be present, similar to the one Dumont uses. There is, however, a decisive difference. Once the ambivalence of the human condition is taken as a starting point for analysis, it is not possible to speak, as Dumont (1986, 25, my italics) does, of "two *antithetic universes* of thought, ... two mutually *irreconcilable ideologies*" according to which either the individual is a paramount value, or the paramount value lies in society as a whole. The individual (in the sense of "the empirical subject, indivisible sample of the human species, as encountered in all societies") will have to have his way, also in societies where the ideological dominant value valorizes the social whole (i.e. Dumont's 'holistic' societies). A further scrutiny of the way this type of individualism is realized in Indian society will be the subject of the next section.

The individual and ideological negation of ambivalence: India and the West

The preceding argument has shown that control over the threat ambivalence poses to the individual's sense of safety and his/her opportunity to exert the self, is a key-issue in human thought and action. I have stressed that in systems of generalized, as well as of redistributive reciprocity, the person with whom a relationship (i.e. exchange) exists, is of foremost importance. From the perspective used here, it implies that in these systems the other is constantly seen as supportive of as well as threatening the self. There is, so to say, little scope to experience the other as neutral (see in this respect also Mauss, 1954, 79-80). The elaborate symbolics of exchange-rituals in systems with generalized exchange (such as Kula and Potlach) prove how crucial it is for individuals to give, *and* to undo the 'poison' in gifts received.

In a similar way, the elaborate rituals expressing different types of reciprocity and the eventual denial of reciprocity in Hindu custom, show how important, there also, the other is. Mauss is right, though, when he states that in these systems the persons who enter into exchanges "do so as incumbents of status positions." Thus the individual members of the landholding Gujar caste in Goodwin Raheja's study, represent the *jajmān*. That role is not simply based on the individual characteristics of an individual Gujar, or on the temporal power of that individual or his caste, "but on the conception of certain gifts (*dān*) as providing for the well-being and auspiciousness of the donor and of the village as a whole through the ritual of transferral of evil, sin, and affliction from donor to recipient" (Raheja, 1989). Apart from the emphasis on the other person (or category of persons), this view underlines, also, the notion that human beings are bound to specific others, whom they need even to realize 'selfish' ends.

This shows again the difference between systems of generalized and redistributive exchange on the one hand, and market exchange on the other. The development of a fullfledged money-economy apparently has made it possible, through market exchanges, to disentangle the self from other persons. Payment of money made superfluous lasting relationships with others. The expansion of market exchange therefore allowed, to a very great extent, a separation of the domain of self-interested economic exchanges from other-directed, social exchange. This created the conditions to view others as 'neutral': not as either a member of the ingroup or an outsider, but as just a person with whom you don't have to be involved.

On the other hand, Goodwin Raheja's and Parry's work exemplify the enormous importance of notions that stress the unity between person and things, i.e. the 'spirit of a gift' and the transferral of inauspiciousness, in Hindu society. The interesting point is that the development of a money-economy in classical India would have made it possible to disjoin the strong identification between persons and things. That, however, didn't happen. Bloch and Parry's (1989, 19) observation that an existing world view gives rise to particular ways of representing money and spheres of transaction, is fully validated. The notion of *dān* is then exemplary. *Dān* represents *in extremis* the notion of the poisonous gift, i.e. an identification between a person and the thing given. At the same time however its meaning is ideologically turned around because *dān* prestations are necessary for the well-being of the whole village. The Brahmans in their capacity as priests are the receivers of *dān* par excellence. This brings up the question what aspects of Hindu philosophy, in its dialectical relation with socio-economic developments, explain the lasting importance of the stress on the unity between persons and things.

As said before, Goodwin Raheja's ideas on the coexistence of different aspects that get pre-eminence in different contexts, as well as Heesterman's idea, that "the two-sided reality of the Hindu view of life makes it possible to accept that the two different planes not only exist side by side but mutually reinforce each other" are in this respect quite relevant.[14] The differentiation and hierarchical ordering of the Brahman versus the non-Brahman (and a consequent further differentiation on the lines of *varna* or caste) is crucial. In line with the idea of a co-existence of different aspects, the Brahman should represent separation, independence, and the purity of a supreme individual, while the others (the rest of the world) must remain in the mundane world of interdependence and alternating emphasis on the different aspects of ambivalence.

Heesterman in his analysis of the historical development of Hindu philosophy and ritual points out how "an ever repeated cycle of exchanges, brought about through the cooperation of the rival parties, meant that one was all the time doubly dependent on the other. One needed the other so as to be able to shed one's dead, impure self; but, on the other hand, to fill the vacuum thus created, one again depended on the other" (Heesterman, [1964] 1985, 31-32). This is an expression of individuality and ambivalence closely bound to the notion that in giving, a person really gives a part of the self.

It is exactly this aspect that has been retained in Hindu ideology. In the words of Heesterman, "the problem before the ancient ritualists was to break through the vicious circle of mutual dependence. They had to find a way permanently to overcome death and secure the continuity of life. The solution that presented itself to them was to short-circuit the bilateral patterns of exchange and reversal by cutting out the other, the rival party. The elimination of the rival brought the cosmic cycle of life and death in one hand; thus the single yajamāna was enabled to deal ritually with death without incurring the risk involved in the ambivalent cooperation with the others" (Heesterman, 1985 [1964], 32). Henceforth the Brahman depends only on his own (ritual) work, his own *karman*. "He is born in the world which he has made himself... "Becoming himself the sacrifice, the sacrificer frees himself from death;... what he offers becomes his self in the hereafter..."" (Heesterman, 1985 [1964], 34).

What Weber (1964, 145) called "the most perfect theodicy ever produced in history", through the Samsara, Karma and Dharma doctrine "transformed the world into a strictly rational, ethically determined cosmos" wherein the individual through a series of incarnations can effect his own deliverance (see also Sharma, 1973b). In Hinduism "man is his own and sole saviour". Thus a conception of an 'autonomous individual' was framed in a world that otherwise did not provide people with much advanced technical knowledge and skill for a factual control of "nature" and "the world". The ultimate autonomy was therefore transcendental.

The idea that the individual is the locus of action is constructed along with a forceful emphasis on the concept of *dharma*, cyclical sequence, and hierarchy. Thus group-membership acts as the vehicle through which the final realization of the self can be attained at least for those who know the proper rituals, who perform them rightly and who are allowed to perform them, i.e. the Brahmans.

In the ideological construct of a hierarchical social order that puts the Brahman at the apex of purity and status, *only* the Brahman can (and must) excape the compelling mutuality of 'social' exchange that otherwise still dominated (classical) Indian society. In a world characterized by demanding reciprocity and a strong identification of persons and things, such ideal independence can only be reached through a radical renunciation of the world and relations with others. According to the texts the Brahmans have to do so only in the last phase of their life, when as a *saṁnyāsa* they must entirely renounce the world, material goods and relationships with other people.

In practice, however, "although renunciation is undoubtedly a remarkble value-orientation which permeates the world-view of even the wordly householder, it does not bestow its distinctive character upon the everyday life of Hindus" (Madan, 1987, 1). Like Heesterman, Madan argues that caste and renunciation are "in fact antithetical though complementary: while the former, based on a logic of difference and solidarity, provides a broad framework for individual and group action in a world of social relations, the latter is its repudiation as both value and empirical condition" (Madan, 1987, 1).[15]

In my study of marriage and hierarchy I elaborated on exactly these features in order to explain why unilaterality was of such overriding importance to Brahmans. It made me realize why renunciation is an integral aspect of the ideal of unilaterality and how it relates to the concept of the individual. In this respect the 'Indian' and the 'Western' version of individualism are part of a markedly different discourse.

In his Essays on Individualism, Dumont (1986, 23 ff.) also adresses the problem of the origins of individualism (i.e. the modern individualistic ideology). Given his 'collectivistic' bias, there is to Dumont an incrongruity in the very development of 'individualism'. He says, that "in rough and ready terms, the problem of the origins of individualism is very much how, starting from the common type of holistic societies, a new type has evolved that basically contradicts the common conception". The clue he offers for the transition between "two mutually irreconcilable ideologies" is quite explicitly the notion of complementarity. He states that for "more than two millennia Indian society has been characterized by two complementary features: society imposes upon every person a tight interdependence which substitutes constraining relationships for the individual as we know him, but, on the other hand, there is the institution of world-renunciation which allows for the full independence of the man who chooses it." *This* way of viewing characteristic aspects of Hindu society is in line with the ideas of Raheja, Heesterman and my own efforts to analyse the social structuring of ambivalence.

Similarly, Dumont (1986, 26) stresses the importance of the so-called *outwordly* individual which he opposes to the *inwordly* individual. The outwordly individual is characteristic for India, while the inwordly individual is characteristic for the modern western world. The inwordly individual lives in society, "in the world". The outwordly individual on the contrary becomes independent, autonomous, i.e. an individual, by leaving the society. It is clear that the distinction between outwordly and inwordly individualism is in line with Weber's theory on the transformation toward an "Innerweltliche Askese", as one of the crucial factors in the formation of the 'modern' world. It requires another paper though, to elaborate this development more specifically from the perspective of ambivalence. As it is, however, the discussion, over the last twenty years, of the Brahman, the Individual and the Poisonous

Gift, and of their place in Indian sociology and present day Indian society, has already contributed much to our understanding of communality and diversity in the shaping of human society.

NOTES

1. Her results made me aware of shortcomings in my own analysis of the marriage system of the Anavil Brahman of Gujarat (Van der Veen 1972). A crucial omission certainly is that I had found much verbal emphasis on the idea that *kanyādān* (ideally) should be a purely unilateral gift, but that I never looked into the literal, textual meaning of the word *dān*. This made me overlook the scripturally avowed awareness of ambiguity in *dān* (see in this respect Van der Veen 1972, 240).
2. She was therefore surprised that other ethnographers had not placed it at the center of their interpretations of village life. She takes that negligence as an effect of an overemphasis on the aspect of hierarchy as introduced by Dumont and Heesterman. According to that view the Brahman is the apex of an hierarchical order based on purity.
3. This leads her to a re-evaluation of Heesterman's model according to which in Vedic ritual evil was temporarily transferred to the Brahman with the consequence that there was a reversal in the hierarchical relationship of Brahman and king. Following the 'individualization' and 'interiorization' of the ritual in later historical periods, evil and impurity were according to Heesterman not transferred but transformed within the Brahman. The hierarchical order became thus fixed.
4. The term ambivalence is taken from psycho-analysis. It refers to the co-existence in one person, of opposing though intertwined emotional attitudes towards another person. In the work of Bleuler and Freud it referred to attitudes of love and hate towards another person. In their view ambivalence was considered to be a state of mind departing from 'normality'; Freud's dichotomous interpretation of ambivalence betrays, however, "the flight from ambiguity" (Levine 1958) and the tendency to view the world in terms of dichotomies - individual versus group, body versus spirit, male versus female, etc. - that since the Renaissance has become a dominant trend in western thinking. My use of the term ambivalence takes the co-existence of opposing, though interrelated, emotional attitudes as normal for the human condition and as such for the translation of human emotions into cultural codes for human conduct.
5. See chapters IV, VII and VIII of my book.

6. It is not possible to discuss in any detail the dichotomous presuppositions - in terms of traditional versus modern, western versus non-western - that during the time I did fieldwork still moulded my mind. In any case, I tried to escape such, too simple, generalizations. My discussion of the concept of ambivalence in chapter IX of my book makes that clear.
7. In a recent discussion on "Money and the morality of exchange", Bloch and Parry (1989) also go into this difference. There is no doubt that the main issues in anthropology and sociology of the last century, implicitly or explicitly, all relate to the crucial difference between socalled 'social exchange' and 'economic exchange'. The Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft discussion, the controversy on the views of Adam Smith versus Karl Marx, and in anthropology the Formalists and Substantivists debate, all deal with the differentiation between status-economy and market-economy (see also Keesing 1981, 205-211).
8. In most of the more recent ethnographies the ambiguity and ambivalence of social exchange is generally amply illustrated. For theoretical discussions of these data the dichotomous schemes of Sahlins seem to be still in vogue (see note 9).
9. I here refer to Sahlins (1974 [1965], 193-196), who summarized anthropological theories on exchange. The terms he uses, though, betray a total neglect of the inherent ambivalence of any form of exchange (i.e. any human relationship). The example he uses to illustrate the solidary extreme, a mother suckling her child, is, how 'sociable' the picture of a nursing mother may be, also an extreme example of the way in which a person makes another person dependent and can manipulate the other (see Van der Veen, 1972, 210).
10. The rejection of 'outsiders' is in such societies equally outspoken. See Mauss ([1925] 1954, 79) for an emphatic acknowledgement of this polarity.
11. Mauss uses the example of the socalled *hau* in Maori culture to illustrate this crucial aspect. His critics argued that this was a culture-specific trait that could not be generalized.
12. In an article that compares the ways in which the relations between the sexes and between affines are expressed symbolically in the context of an Indian marriage ceremony, Selwyn (1979, 696) links these aspects to the distinctions between high and low castes. His conclusion agrees with mine. He states that "Women who actually bear children, wife-givers who actually present wife-takers with the means of perpetuating the lineage, and low castes who, as agricultural labourers and as craftsmen, actually produce, are associated metaphorically with each other in a conceptual set or class that is systematically represented as being necessarily subordinate to another consisting of men, wife-takers and high

castes. This subordination is legitimated by ritually denying the actual interdependence of real individuals in the empirical world, and by ritually asserting that the former class is dependent on the latter in very fundamental ways indeed. Van der Veen's analysis of the relation between Brahmans and dominant caste in terms of the reality of dependence and the ideology of non-dependence (1972, 23) comes to mind."

13. In my earlier study I did not emphasize that the *jajmānī* system does not, nor ever did, encompass the whole spectrum of exchange relationships in village communities. Especially Fuller (1990) has substantiated the relative unimportance of factual *jajmānī* exchange relationships in the traditional Indian economy. He argues that it is entirely mistaken to characterize the pre-modern Indian economy as non-monetary. The fact that the prerequisites for a market economy were present does, however, only underline the important symbolic value of *jajmānī*-relationships, as they are retained in village communities untill this century.

14. In the words of Heesterman (1985, 12) there are two diagonally opposed principles of organization, "the one based on hierarchical interdependence and the other on separation and independence, represented respectively by the king (or the dominant caste) and the brahmin." Heesterman's main point of difference with Dumont concerns the role of the Brahmans. Dumont views the Brahman as the priestly exponent of purity in the mundane order of society and therefore associates him with the king in an overall scheme of hierarchy. Against this view, Heesterman emphasizes "the scriptural statements that warn the brahmin against association with the king and stress his (ideal) independence" (Heesterman, 1985, 206).

15. A similar and very justified comment on my thesis was made by Sharma (1973a), when she stated in a review of my book: "especially interesting is the discussion of the tension between Brahmanic ideology and the pragmatic necessities which shape its practice in a secular community. The Brahmanic ideal of man as not dependent on divine power but a part of it, and as aiming for independence of society, conflicts with the social pressures towards reciprocity in mundane interpersonal transactions. *One might argue that the notion of reciprocity has always been central to the cults of Hindu deities in which Brahmans are involved no less than anyone else*, but nonetheless this discussion of the question of reciprocity is of considerable value..." (my italics).

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HISTORY AND CULTURE IN HINDU NATIONALISM

Peter van der Veer

1. *Introduction*

Nationalism is the most important discourse in the contemporary world. Its emotional appeal leads people to kill and to sacrifice their lives. Notions of blood and descent, honour and shame which are generally tied up with discourse on kinship are embraced by nationalism in a move to make the nation one's family writ large. Nationalism is now almost ubiquitous. It affects the lives of people in Afghanistan or New Guinea as much as those of people in Europe or the United States. Nevertheless, although nationalism may seem now to have been always and everywhere with us, it has a history and a geography. It is the dominant discourse of modernity, originating in Europe and spreading from Europe to the rest of the world. This implies that it is directly tied up with the history of European expansion or colonialism. Although the general reading of nationalism in South Asia is that it liberated the people of South Asia from colonial domination, it is also true that nationalism and colonialism occupy largely the same discursive space and are thus more intimately linked than the term 'liberation' would suggest.

The argument of this paper is that nationalism in South Asia feeds upon the modernist project of colonialism which transforms indigenous discourses through the concepts of history and culture. While nationalism is not an autonomous force of resistance and liberation, it is also not merely derived from Western discourse. One of the great difficulties in its study is that the disciplinary projects of anthropology and history are also directly implicated in colonialism and nationalism, so that it is not simply fashionable, but deeply necessary to call for reflexivity. The complexity of these issues will be considered in the case of the Cow Protection Movement in the colonial period. Before going into a discussion of that case it is necessary to deal with some aspects of the theory of nationalism.

2. *Nationalism in South Asia*

Recent theories of nationalism (e.g. Gellner 1983, Anderson 1983) argue that the idea of the 'nation' can only arise when 'traditional culture' collapses under the assault of industrial capitalism. This historical development occurs in Western Europe. The emergence of the European nation-state is commonly seen to depend on three connected processes of centralization: "the emergence of supra-local identities and cultures (the 'nation'); the rise of powerful and authoritative institutions within the public domain (the 'state'); and the development of particular ways of organizing production and consumption (the 'economy')" (Grillo 1980:1). Gellner (1983) goes one step further by arguing that modern industrial society requires a national culture which is not only homogeneous but also secular. Nationalism comes in one package with secularism.

Nationalism is thus viewed as a result of a historical process in which economy, state and culture are systematically linked. This process has first occurred in Europe, but the forces of industrial capitalism are at work in the rest of the world as well. With Gellner and other theorists of modernization there seems to be no doubt of the ultimate success of modernity. However, there are some important objections against this narrative of modernity. First of all, it neglects the contradictions of homogenization. Forging an identity among people simultaneously creates a boundary between them and others. One may argue that the very process of identification depends on differentiation. There is an internal dynamic in this process which makes that what at one point in history may be portrayed as an anti-national rebellion may at another point also be portrayed as a successful nationalist movement leading to an independent nation-state. The centralizing force of nation-building itself sprouts counter-availing forces that center around other dreams of nationhood. This is a constant aspect of history in Europe and elsewhere and it is fundamental to the working of nationalism.

Secondly, the narrative linkage between developments in economy, state and national culture may seem convincing in the European case, but it leaves the rest of the world out of the picture. The difficulty with the modernization argument is that as soon as it goes beyond Europe it becomes obvious that it does not work. This makes one wonder why it would seem so convincing in the European case. Nationalism proves to be a compelling discourse in regions where the linkage with developments in economy and politics seems much less systemic. An argument which tries to answer this difficulty while accepting the assumptions of modernization theory is that in societies like South Asia we witness transitional, hybrid forms of nationalism and 'traditional culture' (Dumont 1970).

Dumont's view of South Asian communalism as a phenomenon which combines 'modern' and 'traditional' culture brings us to the heart of the matter. In his view, modern culture is secular and stresses the individual, while traditional culture is religious and stresses the group. Nationalism presupposes a modern, secular culture in which religion is the private matter of individuals who are united not on the basis of religion, but on the basis of their political will, common history and common territory. In South Asia, on the contrary, Dumont finds an emphasis on the religious community as a social, political and economic unit. Although Dumont's intellectual project emphasizes the comparison between South Asia and the West as a comparison between traditional and modern society, he does not consider the extent to which British nationalism and South Asian communalism are tied up with each other in the history of colonialism. As I have argued elsewhere (Van der Veer, in press), the reason for this is that his sociology of values develops an essentialist view of culture which separates meaning from its historical and political production. What I want to submit here is that national identities in Europe and South Asia are constructed simultaneously rather than through a one-directional flow of ideas from the West to the East which creates uneasy combinations between the modern and the traditional in Oriental societies. What we often do not realize is that English national culture and French national culture only became somewhat stabilized in the beginning of the twentieth century (Colls and Dodd, 1986; Weber 1976) and that this is also the period in which nationalism in South Asia is constructed. More specifically, British identity is formed through an account of British imperial history which stresses the essential difference between the modern, secular rationality of the British colonizer and the traditional, religious irrationality of the colonized Oriental. This was of course the legitimating discourse of colonial rule, but it continues to be important in debates about multiculturalism in Britain today (Asad 1990).

The opposition of secular rationality and religious irrationality is thus one of the strongest themes in both Western forms of nationalism and the modernization theory of nationalism. It produces a sharp distinction between nationalism and communalism in South Asia as well as Nehru's perception of the secular nation-state as a sign of modernity (cf. Madan 1987). What I want to suggest is that secular nationalism and religious nationalism (communalism) are intimately linked in their attempt to construct an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) by emphasizing a common history and culture. These notions depend on particular discourses on 'culture', 'religion', 'tradition' and 'history' in the colonial period.

Much is written today on the documentation projects of the colonial state in India which in their very attempt to define social identities and cultural traditions produced them (Cohn 1987, Dirks 1989). What we have to realize here is, of course, that these identities and traditions are not 'invented' by the colonial intervention, but transformed in relation to shifting relations of power. To argue that colonialism creates such diverse phenomena as caste hierarchy, Brahman supremacy, Brahmanic and Islamic scripturalism seems to be a new form of orientalism in its neglect of the interaction between Indian and colonial discourses in the construction of identity (cf. Pollock, in press). Concerning our subject it would mean to ignore the 'prehistory' of communalism (Bayly 1985) by simply arguing that British 'divide and rule' has created Hindu and Muslim nationalism from scratch. What seems to happen in the colonial period is that the projects of the colonial state and of the Christian missionary societies elicit a creative response from Hindu and Muslim movements. This response is not only that of 'reform', supported by socially mobile, newly educated urban middle classes. It is often neither the 'traditional elite' whom the British trust as their allies nor the 'arrogant lawyers' whom they fear as political agitators who formulate much of the response, but sadhus and moulvis, people the British do not know. The intellectual history of these religious, proto-national, movements show that they continue debates and agendas of the pre-colonial period. For example, in Indian Islam there is a clear continuity between the pre-colonial purism of Shah Waliullah and that of its colonial successor, 'Wahhabi' fundamentalism. I do not argue that 'reform' is not important, but that it should be considered in a wider context of discursive traditions.

The argument that tradition is an 'invention' of the present (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) should thus not lead us to a simplified opposition of 'real history' and 'invented tradition'. For an anthropologist a tradition is a discourse which authorizes instituted practices by relating them to a conception of the past. Much of Heesterman's important contribution lies precisely in the exploration of tradition and of its significance for the understanding of Indian society and history. Heesterman (1985) shows how Brahmanical traditions project an ideal, universal and unchanging world order (dharma), which is entirely separated from the political world of conflict. It is clearly an important feature of this and other traditions that they show themselves as transcending history and politics. The authority of the Vedic tradition is dependent on its timelessness (cf. Pollock 1989). However, if we want to go beyond that discursive feature to understand how social practices become authorized as traditional, we have to relate discourse and practice, as in the following definition by Asad (1986:14): "A tradition consists essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history. These discourses relate conceptually to a past (when the practice was instituted, and from which the knowledge of its point and proper performance has been transmitted) and a future (how the point of that practice can best be secured in the short or long term, or why it should be modified or abandoned), through a present (how it is linked to other practices, institutions, and social conditions)".

It is important to note that discursive traditions are always fragmented and contested and belong thus squarely to the field of politics, despite their reference to a transcendent a-political order. The establishment of correct practice and opinion always depends on shifting relations of power. Colonial domination decisively changes the political arena and thereby plays an important role in the transformation of tradition within nationalist discourse. This process is illustrated in the following discussion on the Cow Protection Movement.

3. *The cow as mother of the Hindu nation*

Protection of Gau Mata (Mother Cow) became one of the most important issues of an incipient Hindu nationalism between 1880 and 1920. The Cow Protection Movement demanded a ban on cow slaughter from the colonial government. Failing that, it attempted to prohibit physically the slaughter and sacrifice of cows. The movement created not only a rift between Hindus and the British, but also between Hindus and Muslims, since the latter acted as butchers and used the cow also as sacrificial victim in their celebration of Bakr-Id. The organizational aspects of the movement as well as the violent agitation and riots connected to it have been very well studied by historians and I will return to that later. Much less attention has been given to the Hindu love for Mother Cow and the protection of her body. Modern historians do not go as far as the colonial observers of the movement assuming that religion is only the smokescreen for political agitation, but the emphasis on organization does imply an assumption that mother cow is simply a rallying symbol for the mobilization of the Hindu community. Its function is to serve the struggle for independence with the rather unfortunate side-effect of Muslim alienation. What is left to be (at least partly) understood is why people would want to die and kill for the protection of cows. Much of the research begs the question what the cow's body meant to the Hindu protectionist.

When we turn to anthropology for interpretations of the prohibition of cow slaughter, we encounter a most curious discussion initiated by Marvin Harris (e.g. Harris 1977). In Harris's view the sanctity of the cow is a rational taboo, a cultural mechanism, protecting a low-energy, small-scale, animal-based eco-system. He focuses on the traction provided by bulls and the use of manure as fertilizer and cooking fuel. His argument is that the sanctity of the cow serves its functional purpose well. Furthermore, he argues that the taboo has arisen at a time of immense ecological pressures on human and cattle populations alike. Much of the ensuing discussion has shown that Harris's ecological and functional approach is highly speculative and at some points demonstrably false (e.g. Lodrick 1981). Most authors accept that the sanctity of the cow has to be understood in terms of Hindu religious tradition, but, unfortunately, not much progress is made in interpreting that discursive tradition.

My argument is that the sanctity of the cow's body and the prohibition to kill her and eat her flesh is made real for Hindus in crucial ritual performances which communicate a great variety of cosmological constructs. I would suggest further that these constructs are mainly concerned with images of femininity and the female body. In the North Indian region in which the Cow Protection Movement is most successful in the 19th and 20th century two connected strands of Hindu discourse and ritual practice are most influential: Brahmanical ritual concerning death, pollution and sin and Devotional worship of gods and goddesses.

The central notion in the Brahmanical worship of the cow is that a human being depends entirely on the cow in life as well as in death, as a child depends on its mother. The cow is in Brahmanical theology often used as a symbol of the earth, the nourisher. She is the mother of life, the substance of all things. She is a goddess, fulfilling every wish (*kamadhenu*). She is the symbol of wealth and welfare (*lakshmi*). While a ritual sequence of worshipping the cow by circumambulating it clockwise (*parikrama*) and respectfully touching its four feet with one's forehead is part of a great many Brahmanical rituals, a special ritual connects the cow to death. In this Vaitarani ritual a cow is worshipped and its tail grasped with both hands. This is in preparation of that terrible event after death in which the dead have to cross the fetid river of death, to the opposite bank, on which the kingdom of the dead is found.

Not only the body of the cow is sacred, but also its products. Cow milk is seen as a life-giving substance. Dairy products are the most highly valued sources of nourishment for Hindus. There is a directly felt relation between the drinking of milk and one's bodily well-being. To eat a vegetarian meal prepared in ghee (clarified butter) and with milk products makes a person *sattvik* (pure, of the highest quality). Clarified butter is considered to be the purest fluid possible and extensively used in Brahmanical sacrifice and as cooking medium in feasts. A mixture of five products of the cow (*pancagavya*): milk, curds, butter, urine, and dung is consumed in Brahmanical rituals of expiation. It is also used to purify bodily pollution. For example, it is smeared on ulcers. The purity of cow-dung is shown by the fact that food is cooked on it and nobody would hesitate to touch food after touching the dried dung. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is thought to reside in cow-dung.

The other context in which we encounter the symbolism of the cow as a protecting and wish-fulfilling mother is that of devotional religion. Especially rituals and myths centering on Krishna, one of the most popular gods in Hindu India, are saturated with this symbolism. Krishna's life story which is celebrated in numerous rituals is that of a god who grows up in pastoral surroundings among cowherds. One can perhaps distinguish two phases in that life story. The first focuses on the relation between Krishna and his mother, while the second shows the amorous relations between Krishna and the cowherdesses. It is the first phase in which we encounter the symbolism of the cow and milk most strongly. One of the best-known stories about Krishna's infancy is that he repeatedly steals butter and curds from his mother. Hindu interpretations of Krishna, the butter-thief, make much of milk as a symbol of motherly love; the child has an endless appetite for milk and a boundless love for his mother who is providing it, just as a cow who is always ready to suckle her child.

There can be no doubt that the construction of the cow as nurturing mother-goddess is very strong in Hinduism. However, the benevolent cow is not the only image of the female. The illness-goddesses, such as that of small-pox, are called mother, but they are feared and propitiated. Patients are said to be the vehicle of the goddess and kindly she is asked to leave. It is often remarked that these fierce, agressive goddesses are over-heated, since they are alone without husbands. This also extends to women who when they die unmarried and/or without children can turn into wandering witches who threaten those who are happy. A goddess is only benevolent if she is married and a 'satisfied' mother. In the cow protection movement Mother Kali, the dark goddess, or Mother Durga who rides a tiger, are often invoked in mass meetings. They are fierce, blood-thirsty mothers who destroy Evil and protect their worshippers. When the order of Hindu society is threatened, they assume their aggressive aspect. No doubt, the peaceful, vegetarian cow is one side of the mother image, while the illness-goddesses and Kali and Durga, who accept blood-sacrifices, are the other side. Killing the cow calls for the action of Durga who rides a tiger. The iconography of Hindu nationalism makes abundant use of the two images of the mother: the nurturing cow and the dangerous Durga on her tiger.

Very important in the images of the female is their relation with the construction of patriarchy. The most influential discourse on the family in Hindu North India is to be found in the myths and practices celebrating the marriage between the god Ram and the goddess Sita. Ram is the virtuous king (dharmaraja). Theologically, he is conceived as the 'Lord of Propriety' (Maryada Purushottam). A striking aspect of his character is his detachment. The story of Ram's life is a cautionary tale about the disruptive effect of sexual desire. It shows that the only way to control disruptive passion lies in a properly detached marriage. Ram is the ideal, detached husband who is the guardian of the order of society and of the family. Sita, on the other hand, is the ideal, submissive wife who shows unquestioning loyalty to her husband. She is called *pativrata*, someone who observes a vow tying her to her husband in perfect fidelity and who serves her husband as a god. This term is also encountered in descriptions of the disputed practice of 'widow-burning', sati. If her husband, her god on earth, dies before her, she is true (*sati*) to her vow by immolating herself on his pyre. As sati the wife will help her deceased husband to reach 'the other side', just as the cow does in the Vaitarani ritual (Weinberger-Thomas 1988). The concepts of *pativrat* and *sati* imply a special form of holiness for women which lies in selfless surrender to the husband-god (cf. Mallison 1979). There is a strong belief among Hindus that the wife is responsible for the well-being of the husband. If he dies before her, she 'has eaten her husband', as the Hindi expression goes. The husband can only survive when he resists the attractions of the female body through detachment. It is his duty to love his wife with detachment and to preserve order in the family by his male authority.

As Mother Cow the female is a protectress of men, a nurturer of the family. Being married and a mother she is submissive and treats her husdband like a god. Alone and without children she is only called 'Mother' to pacify her, since she is dangerous and powerful. The image of the male is as complex as that of the female. It is at the same time that of Krishna as a child, depending on his mother, and that of Ram as a man, ruling his wife and his kingdom. A final, third image connects him directly with the image of Mother Cow. It is that of the god Shiva, the independent, self-sufficient male, symbolized by the bull who, as an act of worship, is set free by its owners and may roam the Indian streets unmolested. Religious discourse on both Shiva and Ram focuses on ascetic detachment. A man is not only a person of authority. He is also detached and devoted to 'higher goals'. In that sense he has to realize the power of detachment and devotion within himself. And that power is unanimously seen as feminine in Hinduism (Van der Veer 1989a).

Mother Cow is thus only one image in a repertoire of images concerning the female body and the interplay of femininity and masculinity. However, it is a crucial image, since as a mother the cow signifies the family and the community at large. She depends on the authority and protection of the male of the family. While Mother Cow refers to family and nation alike, her protection refers to patriarchal authority and to the Hindu state, the rightful kingdom of Ram (*Ramrajya*). It is within the logic of religious discourse that the protection of the cow became a foremost symbol of the Hindu nation-state. Slaughter of the cow meant simultaneously the illegitimacy of British rule and an insult of Hindu patriarchy.

There can be little doubt that protection of the cow had a political significance already before the British period. Foreign travellers report the worship and protection of the cow in the sixteenth century. There is evidence of institutions to look after old and infirm cattle (*goshalas*) from the same period (Lodrick 1981). Some Muslim rulers, like Babar and Akbar, seem to have imposed a ban on cow slaughter. During the Mutiny, the King of Delhi banned cow slaughter in Delhi to forge a unity between Hindus and Muslims. Both Maratha and Sikh rulers defined their kingship in terms of the protection of the cow. It is therefore not surprising that the first agitation against cow slaughter under colonial rule took place in the Panjab after the British victory over the Sikhs. Cow slaughter had been a capital offence in the Sikh kingdom and the Namdharis or Kukas, founded by Bhai Bhalak Singh (1799-1862), started to agitate for cow protection. This Sikh reform movement related the British victory to the decline of Sikhism. Reform implied violent resistance to the rule of those 'unclean butchers from London', as a popular song had it (Kapur 1987:36). In 1871 Namdharis killed Muslim butchers in Amritsar and Ludhiana, while they declared Sikh rule in a village in Ferozepur. The growing militancy of the Namdharis led to the violent repression of their sect by the British. It is important to note that from the start cow protection challenged the legitimacy of British rule, although direct violence was aimed at Muslims who killed cows (cf. Robb 1985). Cow protection was clearly a sign of the moral quality of the state.

The role of North India's foremost Hindu reform movement, the Arya Samaj, in making cow protection a Hindu 'cause' in large parts of North India cannot be underestimated. In 1881 Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj, published a treatise with the title *Gokarunanidhi*, 'Ocean of Mercy with the Cow'. In this treatise he opposed firmly the slaughter of Mother Cow as an anti-Hindu act. In 1882, together with 'orthodox' Hindu leaders, who were his opponents on other occasions, he founded a committee for the protection of cows. In the following decade the Arya Samaj played an important role in the establishment of 'Societies for the Protection of the Cow' in different parts of British India. These societies were particularly successful in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Bihar and the Central Provinces.

The Arya Samaj propagated the idea that Hindus had to return to the ancient religion of the Vedas and abolish all later accretions which had debased their religion. Dayanand's movement had important doctrinal similarities with Sikhism in its rejection of image worship and of the ritual superiority of the Brahman priest which may partly account for its success in the Panjab as compared to other regions. However, Dayanand's arguments did not only strike a familiar chord with the Sikhs, but also with 'orthodox' Hindus. It is a peculiar feature of the Arya Samaj that, while it attacks the ritual superiority of the Brahman priest, it has an orthodox, Brahmanical theology and accepts some crucial features of Brahmanical ritual, such as the worship of Mother Cow. Dayanand's championing of Hindi and Sanskrit as well as his efforts to ban cow slaughter found a much wider support than only that of his followers. In my view one of his greatest contributions has been that he applied the peripatetic nature of Hindu asceticism to the propagation of 'causes' or 'issues' which were central in Hindu identity formation. Dayanand and his fellow preachers travelled all over India, gave lectures and founded societies. Improvement of communications by road and rail made that messages travelled much faster than before. Also, the Aryas made good use of printing presses to spread their ideas in pamphlets and daily newspapers. In this way the notion of cow protection could become an 'issue' which was not limited to one particular region.

Typically, it was British colonial policy which gave the movement a major impetus. In 1887 the High Court at Allahabad decided that a cow was not a sacred 'object' within the meaning of section 295 of the Indian Penal Code, and that Muslims who slaughtered them could not be held to have insulted the religion of the Hindus, an offense to be punished with imprisonment. Following this ruling, police had to protect Muslims who wanted to slaughter cows. Consequently, the British and the Muslims came to be seen as allied beef-eating barbarians determined to insult the deepest religious sentiments of the Hindus. An accidental cause for making cow slaughter an excellent symbolic issue was the fact that Muslims used to sacrifice cows on their festival Bakr Id. While goats could also be slaughtered at that festival, it became imperative for Muslims not to bow down to Hindu encroachments on their 'ancient' right to sacrifice cows at that festival. Time and place were thus set for violent encounter. When the riots started, the British response proved totally inadequate. A good example is what happened in Azamgarh in 1893. Here the British even played the role of catalyst of the disturbances. The magistrate had directed that Muslims who wanted to sacrifice on Bakr Id should register. He wanted this information to pinpoint possible areas of trouble, but his orders were interpreted as promising protection to all Muslims who wanted to sacrifice - and even to those who had never done that in the past. This ill-adviced action on the part of the magistrate of Azamgarh seemed to show that they did not even want to refer to established customs which had always been an important part of religious politics. In the Hindu view the British showed themselves allies of the Muslim beefeaters.

The networks built by Arya Samaj and 'orthodox' ascetics were now increasingly used for the 'defense of the cow' against barbarian agression. However, not only sadhus went around to spread the message, lay Hindus also went increasingly to pilgrimage centres where they were informed of the movement (Van der Veer 1988). Donations to support the movement were solicited from every household. 'Snowball'-letters (*patias*) were circulated to mobilize support when cow sacrifice or the transport of cows to government pounds had to be stopped.

It seems that every Hindu, from high to low, had to become part of the national family. The cow societies were supported by rajas who had been transformed by the British from lords of the land to landlords. As is clear from several accounts (Metcalf 1979, Van der Veer 1988) the protection offered by the British to this ruling elite enabled them to invest considerable amounts of money in religious causes such as the building of temples and the beautification of centres of pilgrimage. While they had to remain somewhat in the background of the movement because of their special relations with the British, there is no doubt that they supported it wholeheartedly. The direct organization of the movement was left to the service classes in the cities and petty landholders and schoolmasters in the rural areas. Through measures like caste excommunication, boycotting and fines, Hindus who had sold cows to butchers were forced to buy the cattle back. Itinerant groups that were engaged in cattle transport, such as the Nats and Banjaras, were forced to fall in line with what increasingly became a 'Hindu nation' fighting for one and the same cause.

This seems to be the case when at the Bakr Id of 1893 the movement turned violent in Bihar and the eastern parts of the North-Western provinces and Oudh. Large groups of people were mobilized through existing marketing structures (Yang 1980). Thousands of people attacked Muslims in districts like Azamgarh where the British completely lost control for several days. Perhaps the most striking feature of the riots was that the entire Hindu population of villages was involved and not just Hindus of certain economic and social status (Yang 1980:594).

The riots of 1893 signalled the end of the first phase of the cow-protection movement. Its significance can hardly be overestimated. As the lieutenant-governor of the Panjab put it in 1894: 'The cow-killing question is the question of all others, which, at least for the last 20 years, has been regarded by us all as the gravest danger that threatens us in India' (Mc Lane 1977:290). The movement entered a second phase after the Durbar of 1911; tension rose again with riots in the Hindu sacred centre Ayodhya. This was followed by a number of disturbances on the cow protection issue till the 1920s when it appears that the Khilafat Movement created a temporary truce between Muslims and Hindus. In the decades of the struggle for Independence that followed, the great ideologue of Hindu nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi, continued to use the love for Mother Cow in inspiring the Indian nation, but tried, at the same time, to include Muslims in the national family.

According to Gandhi, Hinduism can be distinguished from other religions by its love and protection of the Cow-Mother which he sees as the central fact of Hinduism. However, the Cow Protection Movement was particularly directed at defining the Hindu community as against Muslim sacrificers and British rulers. Muslims bore the brunt of it and reacted by asserting their own identity in distinction from Hindus. Gandhi attempted to reconcile both communities constructed in the cow protection movement. He argued that "the present-day 'Cow Protection' has degenerated into a perpetual feud with the Musalmans, whereas true cow protection means conquering the Musalmans by our love" (in Jack 1956:170). In that way he tried to make Cow Protection a movement which did not alienate Muslims, but won them over to the devotional path of love. Gandhi tried to include Muslims in his version of a pluralist nationalism.

However, we cannot fail to notice that Gandhi's pluralist nationalism retains a Hindu character by emphasizing the spiritual superiority of the protection of one's mother compared to sacrificing her. Gandhi's nationalism clearly perpetuates Hindu devotional discourse. Gandhi saw renunciation of the flesh as a central teaching of Hinduism. After having fathered five children he took a vow of celibacy at the age of thirty-six. Gandhi's celibacy communicates a dominant theme of Hindu asceticism: retention of semen gives supernatural power (shakti). As a leader of the nationalist struggle he showed himself and the Hindu that his powers were acquired through disciplining the body. While this theme glorifies the self-sufficient male, Gandhi's 'experiments with truth' (*satyagraha*) also exemplify another important theme of Hindu devotionalism, that true selfless devotion is feminine. His action-program focuses on 'non-violence' or 'passive resistance' for which he considers women much better qualified than men. The dialectical tension between femininity and masculinity in Hindu devotional practice is carried on in Hindu nationalism. On the one hand there is the idea that Hindus are like women since they have been conquered, raped and enslaved first by Muslims and then by the British. On the other hand, there is the idea that one can sublimate one's femininity within oneself, bring it to a higher plan by the retention of semen and attain supernatural power which is seen as feminine. This is Gandhi's program of nationalism based on spiritual transformation. He took this program very seriously. Not only did he take the vow of celibacy and, regularly, vows of fasting, but in the midst of his struggle to stem the tide of Hindu-Muslim violence during the partition of India he tried to increase his powers by taking young women to bed with him in order to test his detachment. He felt that his spiritual ability to control himself would enable him to save the nation.

Gandhi's universalizing efforts did not succeed. Cow protection in the post-colonial context remained a source of conflict betweeen Hindus and Muslims. Hindu nationalism continued to fight a secular state and to seek an ideal Hindu state (*ramrajya*) which would protect the body of the cow as the mother of the Hindu nation.

4. *Conclusion*

What can we learn from the case of the Cow Protection Movement in terms of our earlier statement that Indian discursive traditions are transformed in nationalist discourse within a colonial context? There is clearly no reason to argue that tradition is 'invented' in this case. The veneration of the cow is a Brahmanical discursive tradition with a history which goes far beyond the colonial period. It can, of course, not be separated from the changing, social framework which supports it, such as Brahman priestly groups, devotional monastic groups and political structures such as the state. This is, in fact, its history. It is important to note that the veneration of the cow had already been an important concern in the political formations preceding colonial rule, so that the Cow Protection Movement does not amount to the politicization of religious tradition. More in general I want to reject the notion that religious nationalism (communalism) infuses religion, which is supposed to be a-political, with politics, since religious tradition is, in our view, never divorced from politics. However, at the same time there is no doubt that the political arena is decisively changed under colonial domination and that this transforms the meaning of the veneration of the cow.

What changes is that the worship of the cow is incorporated in discourses on an imagined community of Hindus which shows this community as threatened by outsiders, Muslim and British. The Cow Protection Movement projects an image of the Hindu community as a brotherhood without denying the existence of caste brotherhoods (*biradaris*) but by encompassing them as equal parts of a larger community. It is an important aspect of the movement that its organization in fact depends on caste-brotherhoods. Whereas Cow Protection had been part of a Brahmanical discourse on moral order and state power which had emphasized hierarchical difference, it now becomes part of a discourse on Hindu identity and its difference from the identity of Muslims and British (Christians).

This change critically depends on the agency of religious movements such as the Sikh Kukas and the Arya Samaj. It also involves the agendas of certain caste groupings such as the Ahirs who in significant numbers took part in the movement in their attempt to claim Kshatriya status by emphasizing the purity of their faith (Pandey 1983:104). There is little reason to explain the movement in terms of elitist political interest in which the 'illiterate masses' are mobilized through religious rhetoric. It is also important to note that there are those on whom the Hindu identity has to be forcefully imposed. People who want to sell their cows and those who have vital interests in the transport and sale of cows in cattle markets are threatened in order to ensure their allegiance to the Hindu brotherhood. So much for unproblematized interpretation in terms of 'shared primordial values'.

The transformation is also clearly related to the colonial project of identifying religious communities as totalities with a definite, bounded cultural tradition, shared by all its members. This certainly sets the stage for the nationalist construction of Hindu or Muslim 'national culture'. Striking is the extent to which colonial discourse is legalistic. The British codified Hindu and Muslim Law as instruments to rule India and, in that way, had a decisive influence on the arena in which the debate on culture and history took place. As we have seen in the Cow Protection Movement, the decision by a colonial court that a cow is not a 'sacred object' elicited a violent response. This also shows, incidentally, that not only the colonial affirmation of traditional culture, but also its denial could stimulate certain discursive moves on the part of the colonized. In the actual riots, British decisions about local 'customary rights' played a significant role.

As a final remark I want to draw attention to the considerable extent to which this very analysis obscures Muslim perceptions, discourses and agency. In this paper I have chosen to limit myself to Hindu nationalism for the sake of the clarity and brevity of the argument. However, this choice shapes an argument which redoubles the notion of boundedness of Hindu and Muslim culture constructed in the very movement under discussion. Here I can only say that in my view Hindu nationalism provided the impetus of the Cow Protection Movement and that Muslim collective action can be largely interpreted as a defensive reaction. Nevertheless, the slaughter of the cow became almost as much a matter of communal pride for Muslims as its protection had become for Hindus, so that the Cow Protection Movement played not only an important role in the construction of Hindu nationalism, but indeed also in that of Muslim nationalism.

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EMPIRE AND CIGARS

A note on late 19th century labour immigration in the "Dutch East Indies"

R.J. Zwi Werblowsky

This modest homage to a colleague, teacher (for which colleague has not learned from Jan Heesterman?), and friend since the days of our youth, does not pretend to match the theoretical sophistication and analytical penetration of Heesterman's work. In fact, it does not claim to be more than an unpretentious footnote to F. van Dongen's *Tussen Neutraliteit en Imperialisme: De Nederlands-Chinese Betrekkingen van 1863 tot 1900* (Groningen, Wolters, 1966). The justification for including this footnote in a *Festschrift* offered to a great Indologist resides in the fact that the official name of the Chair from which Heesterman is about to retire was "Modern South Asian Languages and Cultural History". Moreover, this paper deals, in a sense, with a predecessor of sorts of Heesterman. One of the greatest sinologists Holland ever produced, and one of the pioneers of the modern study of Chinese Religion, J.J.M. de Groot, occupied the Leiden chair of the ethnography of the Dutch East Indies ("Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië") from 1891 to 1904 when, after Schlegel's death, he accepted the Chair of Sinology very reluctantly and with a sense of moral constraint (see Diary entry of January 1904.)[1] Incidentally, one of the most illustrious students of de Groot at that period, not in Chinese but in Indian matters, was the young Queen Wilhelmina who personally chose de Groot to be her tutor when preparing herself for her calling during the year before she attained majority and formally succeeded to the Throne. These tutorials were always attended by the Queen Mother and Regent[2] who took notes of de Groot's lessons. Queen Emma's, undoubtedly very hastily scribbled, notes were subsequently neatly transcribed by Freule van der Peul, one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, and are preserved in the Royal Household Archives in The Hague. A comparison between a) the six leather-bound and boxed notebooks containing Queen Emma's notes, b) Queen Wilhelmina's reminiscences of, and penetrating remarks on, these lessons[3], and c) de Groot's own lengthy and circumstantial account in his Diary, would justify a separate study which I hope to present elsewhere. Here we shall concentrate on one aspect of de Groot's pre-professorial career in the Civil Service of the Dutch East Indies administration. Perhaps this footnote to van Dongen may be found worthy to be included in a future, updated edition of W.P. Coolhaas, *A critical survey of studies on Dutch Colonial History*, 1960.

The transportation and transshipment, by whatever powers there be, of population groups to places where said powers needed a labourforce not available locally, is almost as old as the history of humanity. Whether we call it slavery, forced labour, indentured labour, or the attraction of "voluntary" immigrant labour to areas where the immigrants think that their chances of starving are less than at home, does not concern us here. The modalities of these population movements change, of course, with changing historical situations, and not all are connected with the "colonial era" *sensu stricto* (cf. the importation of African slaves to the Carribean sugar- and American cotton plantations). The need of the 19th cent. colonial powers of labour for specific purposes (construction of railways; plantations -- whether of cotton, rubber or tobacco; mining) and the underlying demographic, economic and socio-psychological conditions (the use of sheer force, the pressure of overpopulation, poverty, the assumption that certain population-groups were more work-efficient than others; cf. the shipment of African slaves to America, of Indians to East Africa and to the Pacific Islands, of Chinese to Malaysia viz. the Straits Settlements and to the Dutch East Indies) resulted in further major population shifts by the end of the 19th century. Post-Worldwar II Europe experiences another version of the same phenomenon (e.g., the so-called *Gastarbeiter*), and is reaping the harvest sown in the colonial period. It is enough to think of the Indians in Fiji (where they are now the majority and the original natives a minority) or in East Africa (where the new sovereign black states demonstrated their version of racism), or of the Chinese in Malaysia (cf. the secession of Singapore from the Malay Federation) and in Indonesia - not to speak of the migration to Europe from former colonial territories. These introductory remarks should set the following account in a wider context and prevent its isolation as a specific Dutch (or tobacco) phenomenon.

The wealth of the Dutch "empire" depended not on the exploitation of Java only (and Holland can be proud that next to exploitation there were also loud voices of protest, like that of Multatuli (pen-name) in his novel Max Havelaar), but also on that of other islands, especially the tobacco plantations in Sumatra. Where would we be without our Dutch cigars i.e., without that particular chapter of Dutch colonial history? But the locally available labour was, for a variety of reasons, clearly inadequate, and near-by China seemded to offer the most obvious and tempting answer to the need. Of course geographical proximity was not the exclusive reason. There had been massive Chinese labour emigration to the Americas and elsewhere. Immigration of Chinese to the Dutch East Indies had been going on for quite some time, not without causing occasional troubles.[4] Moresco (pp. 24-5) mentions the outbreak of unrest, troubles and "ferment" among the Chinese coolies which, incidentally, led to the positive result of the establishment of an Insurance Fund. The coolie question was a permanent source of headache (criminality, runaway coolies) both to the government and to the planters.

There were two possible sources of supply, especially after the Opium War when a number of "treaty ports" were opened to the western powers. The one was the weak and corrupt but still functioning Empire of the Middle which, however, put difficulties in the way of direct coolie emigration. The other was the Chinese population infiltrating viz. immigrating into Malaysia, then under British dominion. The Straits Settlements were a Crown Colony, and the administration even had a special official with the noble title "Protector of the Chinese" who, apparently, also considered it as part of his task to emphasize the humane character of British policy as compared to the behaviour of the Dutch. (That the latter can rightly be faulted in no way confirms the claims of the former!)

The Dutch tobacco industry was mainly in the hands of the "Deli Planters' Association". Their reputation, unlike that of their tobacco, was anything but enviable and there exist several collections of material, ranging from accusatory to apologetic to laudatory, bearing on the subject. A selection of newspaper reports from various sources (1888-1892) relating to the east coast of Sumatra, was published in 1892. In addition to the aforementioned volume by Moresco, we should also mention the Jubilee Celebration on May 5, 1938, in Amsterdam, immortalised in print under the title *Deli - 75 jaar oud cultuurland* (sic!). We shall later have to look at another Deli *Festschrift* published in November 1894. For our present purpose one pamphlet deserves close attention: *The Deli coolie question*, 1882, pp. 20.

The "Protector of the Chinese" (including those in Singapore and Penang), Mr. Pickering, published a report for 1881 highly critical of the Deli Co. An anonymous "Tobacco Worm" (thus the signature) protested in the *Penang Gazette* against the biased report, and his protest was reproduced in the *Straits Times* (2 May, 1882). The Deli planters too addressed a protest to the Netherlands Consul in Singapore, who indeed asked the Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlement to publish the Deli Planters' reply. The Protector's "Minute", justifying his negative report, deserves quoting and summarizing: "... it is well-known that owing to the outrageous abuses existing in the Deli coolie traffic from this colony, a commission was appointed in 1876...". The "Minute" then claims that most Chinese migrant coolies left China for Singapore and Penang, with the intention to work subsequently outside British protection. The Protector further mentions that the planters had made "repeated attempts to establish a direct emigration from China to Sumatra, but these attempts have always failed, not through interference on the part of my office (*Qui s'excuse* ...?) but because the Chinese are not favourable to Deli". He admits that Penang emigration statistics were somewhat higher because at that "port the immigrant is at the end of the line and has little choice but to accept the employment pointed out by the Keh-than or Crimps who bring them from China ...". The planters again wrote to the Consul, arguing that the Protector's "Minute" actually proved their case, and demanded that the whole material be published as a pamphlet. No doubt they saw in the Protector's report a threat to their interests. The printed pamphlet also contains some interesting statistics: in 1879 ca. 21.910 Chinese arrived in the Straits, in 1880 they were 30.886, and in 1881 the number had risen to 80.886. Of these (unfortunately the report does not specify the year) 8000 had gone to Sumatra, 4000 to the "Native States", 1500 to Rangoon and Calcutta, whilst 9000 remained in the Straits Settlements and 7000 returned home.

We have now set the scene. Enter J.J.M. de Groot, who arrived in the East Indies in 1878 and took up residence in Cheribon (Cirebon) on the northern coast of Java. As mere "interpreter" for contact with the Chinese population and not a proper colonial civil servant, he irked under his second-class status and had bitter words about his Sinology teacher in Leiden (about whom he generally has only nasty things to say in his Diary). Schlegel's recommendation and high praise of a Chinese interpreter's career (after all, he had himself been one, and his paid professorial chair was meant primarily to train recruits for this job rather than sinological scholars) was sheer "humbug". "In fact, I have walked into a trap" - fortunately for scholarship, for de Groot sought and found solace in intensive research work (among other things, the festivals and customs of the Amoy Chinese; let us not forget that the original, Dutch ed. of the *Festivals* appeared in 1881). De Groot considered the years 1878-9 as "the two most difficult and saddest years of my life", but "more and more the conviction grows in me that the job is not the right one for me, and I must seek my career in another quarter. Dogged persistence in my studies is the natural consequence of all this; I will and I shall excel in the scholarly field, and then a way out of all this will reveal itself". His total alienation from the colonial establishment ("malicious gossip ... seems to be [in the Indies] an incurable national plague") was increased by his close contact with the Chinese. The interpreter, "owing to the confidence that he soon ... enjoys among the Chinese population ... gains a better insight than anyone else into the intrigues and corrupt practices agaimst them, and one cannot expect him always to cover what he sees with the cloak of charity".[5] He almost became a social outcast after offending the Dutch ladies of the colony by denouncing in print their dancing at official balls also when Chinese were present, since in the eyes of the Chinese this was an unmannerly and "despicable pastime". His article, meant as good advice, was considered a public offence and was reported in all Dutch newspapers in the archipelago. Early in 1880 he was transferred to Borneo where he assiduously continued his study of Hakka-Chinese (he always made his trips through the Chinese districts alone and unaccompanied), worked on his Amoy book, and also found time to study the local (and by that time largely defunct) political system: the *kongsi*-system on which he later published a monograph.

As an amusing aside we may mention an additional reason for de Groot's contempt of the Dutch civil service: their total ignorance of English. There was nobody who "could write a decent English sentence". As a result he was requested, and readily agreed, to conduct the correspondence with the Rajah of Sarawak, thus gaining access to secret files and to inside information regarding the true relations between Sarawak on the one hand, and Britain and the Netherlands on the other. He thereby became so indispensable that the district "resident", otherwise notorious for his "rude, inhuman, bad and usually unjust" treatment of subordinates, treated him with conspicuous courtesy and respect.

During 1883-5 de Groot enjoyed two years of home-leave in Holland. (The significance of this home-leave for de Groot's subsequent scholarly work has been discussed by me elsewhere.) During his stay in Holland the last *kongsi* in Borneo was liquidated and there was trouble in Mandur. De Groot used the occasion to publish his monograph on the *kongsi*-system. But the decisive development, decisive also for the sequel of this article, was his request to the Minister of Colonies (after prior clearance with the Governor-General) to be allowed to do research in China. His request was granted, provided he extended his studies to the "linguistics, geography and ethnology of China in general".[6] The Diary for 8 May 1885, notes with satisfaction: "so I am granted more than I asked for". On 11 June, 1885, he settled in Amoy, and a new chapter begins in the history not only of sinology but also of coolie-recruitment for Deli.

As noted above, there had been a keen demand for Chinese labour since 1864, and the planters unsuccessfully tried to enlist the help of the new Consul-General in Shanghai and *chargé d'affaires* (later "Minister-Resident") in Peking, J.H. Ferguson. Born in Curaçao in 1826, he had the privilege, as governor of the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast, to transfer this African territory in 1872 to Britain. He was subsequently posted to China and arrived in Shanghai early in 1873. On 23 June, 1873, he participated in Peking in the memorable audience granted by the Emperor to the foreign diplomatic representatives who had obtained the concession, after wearisome negotiations, to be received by the Son of Heaven without having to "kow tow". Amusingly enough, none of the foreign diplomats knew enough about Chinese *finesse* to grasp the significance of the fact that the audience took place not in the Imperial Throne Audience Hall but in the *Tse Kuang Ko* (Pavilion of Violet Light) reserved for the reception of vassals!

Ferguson's interests were political and diplomatic rather then commercial. He would have preferred to be stationed in Peking rather than Shanghai, Amoy, Swatow or any of the other treaty-ports agreed upon in the British-Chinese Treaty of June 1858, no matter how important the commercial depot (*factorij*) there. He saw himself in the role of a future full-fledged ambassador and was, moreover, a sworn enemy of coolie recruitment which he bluntly compared to slave-trade. Since van Dongen seems convinced of Ferguson's humanitarian motivation in this matter (and not only his indifference to trade and commerce), it may be permissible to use an even cruder analogy (which, no doubt, would greatly have upset the puritanical de Groot) to describe de Groot's position. Evidently there was a good deal of simplistic patriotism and concern for the "interests of the fatherland" in his attitude. But Chinese labour had been exported for quite some time in increasing numbers to Central and South America, California and elsewhere. The treaty-ports were abused (also by the mandarins) for smuggling opium, for the crimping and press-ganging (*ronselen* in Dutch) of coolies, and for their shipment, in sub-human conditions, to their destinations. No matter what the "Protector of the Chinese" in the Straits thought of himself and his activities, the Chinese emigrants were usually the helpless victims of the Chinese "sharks" i.e, brokers, as well as of their Chinese overseers (tandils, mandurs) who invented ever new methods of extortion. I would compare de Groot's attitude to that of advocates of licensed prostitution. Since the phenomenon is inevitable and ineradicable, better have it properly regulated, supervised, and provided with protective measures rather than leave the women to the cruel mercies of their owners and pimps. Deli had a bad reputation anyway (kidnapping, crimping, unscrupulous brokers) and the labour-force recruited in the Straits was not the best: we find words such as "offal", "trash", "scum", "dregs" etc. They were hired for 90 or 100 American dollars per capita, and although the Imperial Government formally permitted free emigration, the *taotai* (Viceroy) of Canton and his mandarins opposed it, probably in collusion with British and Straits interests.

With de Groot's arrival in Fukien the picture changed. The Deli planters had decided to take things into their own hands, and, with the agreement of the Governor-General, appointed de Groot as their *de facto* agent and plenipotentiary, though technically merely as their "advisor", for the purpose of circumventing the Straits (i.e., the British) and their ports, and to negotiate with the Chinese the direct emigration from Southern China to Sumatra.

Alas, de Groot had no firm basis on which to stand, and no diplomatic or consular backing. After the closure of the Dutch Consulate in Canton, there were only Hon. Consuls i.e, foreign businessmen "honoured" in this way, but no Dutch representative with the necessary official standing and "clout". We shall ignore here the debate (conducted also in the Parliament in The Hague) whether Amoy or Swatow was eventually to be preferred as a consular station.[7] The wearisome negotiations can be reconstructed (and have been reconstructed by van Dongen) with the help of the papers in the Dutch State Archives. Van Dongen had, of course, no knowledge of the personal copies and plentiful other relevant material in de Groot's private files[8] as well as his detailed account in his Diary (biased as it may be). There was an additional and very delicate diplomatic complication. The Chinese authorities were more than likely to link free coolie emigration to a demand of establishing Chinese Consulates abroad (i.e., wherever there was a sizeable Chinese population). De Groot was violently opposed to such a development (he saw in Chinese Consulates not a protection of the Chinese population but a secret mechanism for more extortions from the coolies), and he practically accused Ferguson - according to van Dongen without good reason, though here I beg to differ; see Appendix- of favouring the opening of Chinese Consulates, of unpatriotic activities and almost of high treason.

In the absence of adequate Dutch diplomatic backing (and even if there had been consular representation, Ferguson would, in de Groot's opinion, have sabotaged his efforts), de Groot sought the co-operation of the German consular representatives in Canton, Amoy and Swatow, as well as of German shipping firms. As regards the latter, he negotiated with the two firms Lauts & Haeslop (Swatow) and Pasedag & Co. (Amoy). The correspondence with these firms, preserved among de Groot's private papers, was conducted in German. De Groot succeeded in obtaining the full collaboration of the German consular officials in Swatow (E. Freiherr von Seckendorff), Canton (H. Budler) and Amoy (Dr. Merz). After some initial failures in 1887, due, according to de Groot, to the activities of Chinese brokers determined to prevent "third parties" from encroaching on their territory, plus the stupidity and incompetence of the "blockhead" in charge of the operation on behalf of Pasedag & Co. who apparently did not know how to handle the situation, things finally did get going. De Groot informed the "Director of Education, Religion and Industry" (sic) of the initial failure (letter of 17 March, 1887), but relentlessly continued his efforts. In the end these efforts were crowned with success, not least through the assiduity of Budler and von Seckendorff who succeeded in persuading the *tao-tai* to abandon his opposition. The cost per coolie by direct shipping from Fukien was 60% of that paid in the Straits. De Groot notes in his Diary (early 1887) that "without the firm help of Budler and von Seckendorff ... I should never have succeeded". The Deli planters had already written to de Groot expressing their satisfaction that Pasedag & Co. would handle the direct shipping. De Groot, nevertheless, decided to work through Lauts & Haeslop because the coolies from Swatow were supposedly "better". By this arrangement de Groot circumvented Singapore shipping as well as the Chinese "sharks" and brokers in the Straits. On 24 April 1888 de Groot has "the pleasure" of sending a telegram from Shanghai to the Deli Co., announcing the glad tidings "that emigration from Kwangtung has been allowed by the Viceroy". The numbers of coolies can be inferred from occasional reports of passenger load per ship. Thus a letter from Haeslop to de Groot (28 February, 1890) mentions the s.s. Velox carrying 318, and the s.s. Fidelio carrying 226 coolies.

We do not know why, or on whose orders, Ferguson finally appointed de Groot as his deputy (*wei yuen*) with exclusive authority in all negotiations concerning coolie affairs. The document is dated 29 May, 1888. The Netherlands Consul in Amoy was instructed to inform all the *tao-tai* of coolie exporting provinces in South China of this appointment: henceforth de Groot was acting on the minister-resident's behalf in all coolie matters. Chinese versions of the letter of appointment were sent out by the Amoy Consulate to the Viceroys under the date "9th day of the 11th month of the 14th year of Kwangsu" (= 11 December, 1888). Very possibly the accompanying letters to the Chinese authorities were drafted by the experienced von Seckendorff. On 14 December de Groot wrote to the Minister of Colonies, enclosing a copy of his "power of attorney". He apologises for bothering the Minister, but feels compelled to do so as he finds himself in a difficult and "ambiguous situation". On the one hand he has succeeded, against tremendous odds and *with German assistance*, in arranging for direct coolie-immigration; on the other hand the minister-resident Ferguson was sabotaging his efforts. There are more complaints against Ferguson e.g., the accusation that the latter was discretely suggesting to the Chinese to insist on their demand to establish Consulates in the Dutch East Indies. The strained relationship de Groot-Ferguson sometimes assumed the obsessive character of a vendetta. (See Appendix.)

But there can be no doubt that the Groot took his task seriously. His files contain dozens of letters (written and received), notes, communications, bank drafts and payment orders (in Chinese, probably refund of expenses), statistical tables, calculations of costs - much of it written in German. There is also a map drawn by de Groot of those areas which supplied the coolie emigration. He also drafted a schema of conditions for the establishment of a regular line of steamers between China and Deli, as well as a contract with the coolies specifying their rights and duties. The latter document is in Chinese, but bears a superscription in German: *Bestimmungen über die Behandlung der Arbeitskräfte (von der holländischen Seite festgelegt)*.

The fact that by now there was a Dutch Consulate in Amoy was undoubtedly of considerable value to de Groot, both for practical (coolie shipment) and patriotic reasons, although he was aware of the fact that the Chinese would use their *exequatur* as leverage for demanding reciprocity. Moreover, he was not too happy with the fact that the Germans had a foot (and a big one at that) in the door, but he had little choice and in his eyes this was the lesser evil. On the question of Chinese consulates he wrote several memoranda (preserved in the State Archives) as well as a pamphlet, the cogency of whose argumentation may be doubted since the author did not restrict himself to pragmatic reasoning but wished to prove that this demand was not in accord with Chinese law itself. (Foreigners often commit *gaffes* when trying to teach others their own laws and culture!). Still, his written utterances on the subject "were discussed at length in Parliament (see official record) ... Mr Cremer lends weight to my point of view ..." as late as January 1891, a year after de Groot had returned to Holland for good. In January 1890 he had requested two years leave of absence which were granted by decree of the Governor-General of 28 January. Towards the end of 1891 he was appointed professor at Leiden and honourably discharged from the Colonial Service (documents dated 6 and 9 February, 1892, in the State Archives). Before returning to Holland de Groot notes in his Diary: "It gives me much satisfaction that I need not leave China before a Consulate General for Southern China has been established (after much bickering in the Lower House of Parliament), thanks to Cremer who both in and out of Parliament has handled the affair very energetically. As appears from his correspondence with me and from the parliamentary record, he has acted almost exclusively on the basis of the data I provided; after all, where else could he have obtained the relevant data? My 1888 memorandum has evidently not been without influence on the Ministry".

De Groot did not suffer from excessive modesty, and his Diary carefully notes all honours, academic and others, received. The lack of due recognition pained him all the more. His greatest non-academic triumph was the direct coolie shipping from Fukien to the East Indies, and as late as May 1897 he still wrote an article for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* "on the achievement of direct emigration of Chinese labour to the East Coast of Sumatra". In November 1894 he notes with bitterness, on the occasion of the publication of a Jubilee Volume celebrating the 25th year of the Deli Co.: "The achievement of direct coolie-emigration from China is reported with great fanfare, but no mention is made of the man to whom they owe it and without whose endeavours it would not have been accomplished; he is simply ignored.

That is characteristic". Strangely enough, shipment of coolies to Banka (to the north of Sumatra) is mentioned only once in de Groot's papers. Banka has no agriculture worth talking about and certainly no tobacco plantations, but tin mining. Was the ex-Catholic de Groot uncomfortably reminded of the early Christian martyrs sent by the Romans to the tin mines in Spain, or does Deli loom so large simply because he acted mainly as their representative?

NOTES

1. I have presented a preliminary and brief account of de Groot as a pioneer of the modern study of Chinese religion in *CHINA REPORT* (Wien), no. 71, 1983, pp. 15 ff. An enlarged English version in *Dialogue & Alliance* (New York) vol. 4:2, 1990, p. 60 ff. In this essay I also discussed the subject of de Groot's so-called "Diary". The notebook, written in Dutch, bears the German title *Notizen über mein Leben* and the Dutch subtitle *Een familiestuk*.
   The memoir makes repeated references to regular diaries which de Groot kept (especially during the period he spent in the East) but subsequently destroyed. Hence the term Diary, as used for the sake of brevity in this article, should not be taken literally.
2. I wish to express here my gratitude to Her Majesty and to the Royal Household Archive in The Hague for having granted me permission to study Queen Emma's notebooks on the de Groot tutorials. I hope to return to the subject in a separate study. A recent volume dealing with the Regency of Queen Emma (Uitg. Bosch & Keuning, 1990) has a chapter by Prof. Boekholt of Groningen University on Queen Emma's role in the education of Queen Wilhelmina.
3. In her autobiography *Eenzaam maar niet alleen* (1959); English translation under the title *Lonely but not alone* (1960).
4. E.W.H.M. Schadee, *Geschiedenis van Sumatra's Oostkust*, 2 vols., 1918; M. Moresco, *DELI-Batavia Maatschappij 1875-1925* (Commemoration Volume), Amsterdam, 1925.
5. Diary entry April 1878. This is de Groot writing and not Multatuli! In the article referred to in n. 1 I have dealt with de Groot's essential humanism.
6. All the relevant documents are in the Netherlands State Archives. Copies of many of them, in de Groot's handwriting, are also preserved partly in his Diary, partly in his private papers deposited after his death in the Prussian Academy of Sciences. I examined the whole *de Groot Nachlass* in the Archive of the

(then) *Akademie der Wissenschaften der D.D.R.* (Berlin east) and I wish to record my sincere gratitude to the Director and staff of the Archive for their unfailing kindness and help.

7. Cf. the article "Amoy or Swatow", and the reply by the member of parliament Cremer, published in *Het Haagsche Dagblad* and reprinted in the *Deli Courant* of 18 January, 1890.

8. See notes 1 and 6. I cannot conclude this article without thanking my friend Roland van den Berg, Ambassador of the Netherlands in Beijing, who kindly read the ms. and saved me from several faulty formulations.

APPENDIX

(Extracts from the de Groot "Diary" relating to Ferguson and coolie emigration)

In the article referred to in n. 1 I pointed out that the de Groot Diary (in inverted commas) quoted in the text is no real Diary at all but a kind of family memoir. The circumstances in which this "diary" came into my possession are also explained in that article. De Groot did, in fact, keep diaries, but subsequently destroyed them. Nevertheless some sinologists believe that a publication of this memoir would yield important or at least interesting insights and that it should be translated from the Dutch. To my mind this would be a useless and fruitless exercise, but since de Groot devotes an excessive amount of space to the coolie question, and especially to his obsessive hostility to Ferguson, a translation of the relevant paragraphs may not only supplement the foregoing account but also give some insight into the character of both de Groot and his "Diary".

15 August, 1888
Reply from our Resident Minister Ferguson to my written request that an attempt be made to persuade the Viceroy at Canton to lift the ban on emigration to Deli. That answer (see collection of official letters) contains nothing but a dissertation on the necessity of conceding China's demand (n.b., *never as yet expressed*) to be entitled to appoint consuls in our colonies, but he fences with the real question in regard to which I called for his intervention; in other words, the high-placed Mr. Ferguson has the nerve to fob me off with fair words notwithstanding the commission given to me by the Governor General. Such a fine representative indeed of our national interests! The more I see of him, the more he proves to be championing the demands and interests of the mandarins, a man, moreover, afflicted with a contempt for trade, without any understanding whatsoever of the value of the colonies to the fatherland, and who does not at all realize that the East Coast of Sumatra and its tobacco cultivation, brought to prosperity by so much energy and at the cost of so much capital, is doomed to collapse without a reasonable provision of indispensable Chinese labour.

April, 1888
Journey to Shanghai ... Have to consult Ferguson about the procedure to be followed with regard to emigration now that the ban on labour

emigration is about to be lifted. More wretched than ever, Mr. Ferguson plays his silly role. His lordship had obviously not expected that in the struggle lasting two years for the lifting of the ban I should ever manage to be successful. He shows himself clearly ill at ease. He is compromised by the fact that I, whom he did not deem worthy to be appointed consul at Amoy, or had not wanted as such for fear I might do something to further Dutch interests - that such a *quantité négligeable* does the trick that he himself dared not do or did not want to do a dozen years ago. His unsuitability for his job must come to light as clearly as possible. He is also compromised by his official refusal, last year, in a Jesuitical letter, to deny [*sic*] me his help and co-operation.

Now he adopts the tactic of getting me to neglect my duty by means of *lies*. On a certain Monday (on Sundays the pious fellow does not discuss business) he comes especially to see me in the hotel in the French concession in order to persuade me that neither the home government nor that in Batavia agrees with the emigration; he has that, so he says, in black and white. Naturally I express my astonishment at that, as the Governol General has charged me specifically with accomplishing it; but he swears to be in so many words that the G. General is *deceiving* me, and he advises me "as if I were his own son" to abandon all meddling in the matter of emigration, as I was putting my career and future at stake. That is the first time that a high-raking civil servant tries to persuade me, also a civil servant, by lies, to neglect my duty. How low that man's morality must have sunk! And what stupidity on his part not to understand that I should grasp *who* the real cheat was. I of course make it clear to him that I shall follow the course decided upon according to my instructions.

At the same time he gets from me a memorandum ... on the sad, very sad, state of affairs of our consulate in China, which document I have drawn up for the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Naturally, to go by the signatures with which the document is returned to me, the man is on all points in disagreement with me; for that matter, how could he possibly disapprove of his own miserable creation? The affair is launched, and moreover a copy is forwarded to the Governor General.

Shanghai, 24 April

Have the pleasure of telegraphing to the Deli Maatschappij that the emigration from Kwangtung has been allowed by the Viceroy.

4 May

To Hong Kong by French mail-boat. Mr. Ferguson, whose heart seems to be aflutter, and who doesn't any longer consider me a *quantité négligeable*, comes to say goodbye to me as I embark. How affable in such a great man!

9 May
Departure of the first cargo of labour from Swatow direct to Deli, thanks to the agents Lauts and Haeslop whom I appointed.

15 May
To Hong Kong from Amoy ... Thence ... to Singapore. Consultations there with the Consul General Lavino, Mr. J.T. Cremer, recently arrived from Java, Gransberg, Rappard, Rutgers van der Loeff, etc., for the preliminary arrangement with the Lauts and Haeslop company for the emigration business. It is decided to send Mr. Rappard to China as representative of the Planters' Committee to establish mutual confidence. Mr. Cremer travels with me to Hong Kong ... and from there to Shanghai, in order to make Ferguson responsible for *conserving* the advantages already gained. He seems able to do this, owing to his influence as a Member of Parliament.

1891. 20 January, 3 and 17 March, 20 and 26 May, 2 June
Articles in the "Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van de Dag" on the "Rechtstoestand van den Chineeschen emigrant", and on "China's consulaire politiek" in order to put down for ever Ferguson's fatal efforts to saddle the colonies with Chinese consuls. That dangerous statesman (?) shall not be cock of the walk. The articles are received by the Foreign Office and reviewed in the Indies press with much appreciation.

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA:
The Coming of the Turks in the Eleventh Century

Andre Wink

After four centuries of Arab Islam,[1] in the eleventh century, an altogether new stage begins in the history of India with the coming of the Turks. Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Kitāb al-Hind*, effectively dates the beginning of 'the days of the Turks' (*'ayyām at-turk*) from the rise to sovereign power of Sabuktigīn at Ghazna.[2] To all appearances this was a time when linkages between the nomadic steppe populations of Central Asia and the sedentary civilizations of the Middle East, China and India crossed a critical threshold whereby a series of conquests was set off which climaxed with the 'Mongol storm' in the thirteenth century.[3] These conquests were the result of the enhanced effectiveness of the social and military organization as well as the improved equipment of the Central-Asian nomads which allowed them to transcend earlier tribal limitations. We also find, at this time, increasing numbers of detribalized Turks being imported into the Islamic world as military slaves. In either way, a situation arose which saw people of Turko-Mongol origin - rather then Arabs or Persians - becoming the most important ruling élites of the Islamic Middle East and India henceforward. In the West, it was the Turks who took Asia Minor from Byzantium, threatening Latin Christianity (which responded with the Crusades), and ultimately opening the way for the establishment of Ottoman power in parts of Europe. In the East, in *al-Hind*, the Turks added the Panjab and subsequently most of the Gangetic plain or 'Hindustān' to the conquests of Islam, establishing the Sultanate of Delhi in the thirteenth century.

Originally, by definition almost, the Turks (including those that conquered India) came from Central Asia. But this is an area of which the boundaries are nowhere given. The expression 'Central Asia' or 'Inner Asia' is vaguely understood to refer to the landlocked region between the Ukraine or Rumania and Hungary and the Chinese Wall which is completely isolated from oceanic influences and hence is largely a cold and arid zone. In Arabic ethnological theory it is the climate which is always of overriding importance, and the Arab geographers related the Turks to their homeland in a deterministic and simple manner, in the way that eighteenth-century Europeans wrote about the American climate as the cause of native-American 'impotence' and the deficient physical and moral faculties and resultant lack of numbers of the inhabitants of the New World.[4] Like the American Indians, the Turks had a 'weak desire for intercourse' and few children because, like the climate of their habitat, their temperament was cold and moisture was prevalent in them.[5] Similar ideas about the Scythians prevailed among the ancient Greeks, although Herodotus, the 'lover of barbarians', is silent about their physical characteristics. An unknown writer of the fifth century B.C., commonly known as the Pseudo-Hippocrates (a name derived from the fact that his treatise 'De Aere, aquis, locis' was incorporated in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*), was concerned about the health of the Scythian inhabitants of the north-Pontic steppes: plagued with arthritis, their women were practically sterile, and because of the constant cold their skin was reddish, while the life on horseback rendered the men impotent; together with the obesity of women, the constant life on horseback was the reason for the low birth rate and this placed the Scythian nobility at an extreme disadvantage.

Thinly populated and predominantly steppe and desert, Central Asia can be divided in two zones with the Syr Darya or Jaxartes river and the Tien Shan mountain range as boundary: a northern one which receives sufficient rainfall to permit extensive grazing, the pastoral nomadism of the Turkish and Mongol tribes which until recently dominated the area; and a southern, arid one which counts many deserts (of which the Gobi and the Takla Makan are the most formidable) and which saw the growth of an urban oasis society under the impact of Persian and Islamic influences spreading along the trade routes but which did not permit grazing and where agriculture was confined to the riverain tracts to which the nomads would only come down to raid.[6] As the southern boundary of Central Asia can be regarded the chain of mountain ranges which run from China to the Black Sea: the Nan Shan, the Altyn Tagh, the Kun Lun, the Karakorum, the Hindu Kush, the Paropamisus, the Elburz and the Caucasus. At the point where the Himalayas, the Karakorum and the Hindu Kush intersect, another diagonal chain of mountains begins which run from the Pamirs (the highest mountains of this chain) to the Tien Shan (which separate the valley of the Ili and Jungaria to the north from the Tarim basin or Kashgaria to the south), to the Altai (the traditional home of the Turks), and on to the eastern and western Sayan ranges, the mountains of Outer Mongolia, extending up to Lake Baikal.[7] This diagonal chain again divides Central Asia in two halves, with its central reach lying between the Tarim basin and Transoxania, the basins of the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Syr Darya. Persian and Islamic influence tended to be predominant to the western side of this chain, while the eastern side was more strongly influenced by Chinese and Tibetan civilization. But nowhere in Central Asia did mountain chains prevent the movement of people, as they are rarely impassable. In fact, the history of the two plateaux to the south of the southern mountain range, those of Tibet and Iran, is inextricably linked to that of Central Asia. Equally, the Indian subcontinent was closely linked to Central Asia with lines of communication running through the complex of parallel ridges and valleys between the Pamirs and Herat. The most important of these were the valleys of the Ghorband and the Upper Kunduz. The Ghorband, with its tributary the Panjshir, is part of the Indus system, while the Kunduz flows into the Oxus.

Ethnically and linguistically the steppe went through major transformations, but its characteristic way of life remained that of an extensive pastoral nomadism, to which severe constraints were set by the prevailing arid climate and which allowed only a low population density but produced a greater surplus than the nomadism of the Middle-Eastern deserts. As a result, the Central Asian nomads - which by the tenth century belonged mostly to the Turkish-Mongoloid race and Altaic linguistic family - were divided in social groupings of greater structural complexity, which were highly stratified, and disposed of greater resources, while they had a higher potential for internal organization, than their Middle-Eastern counterparts.[8] Supplemented by agriculture, nomadic life in Central Asia invariably alternated with a sedentary period. The steppe's staple product was the horse, which dominated all aspects of the nomads' life, and assumed the role of the dromedary in the Middle East. Camels were rare, and were even more rarely ridden, never milked, but used as beasts of burden. 'The Turk is groom and horseman', wrote al-Jāḥiz, 'and trainer and seller of horses and veterinary surgeon and rider ... [if] at the end of a Turk's life one were to number his days, it would be found that he had spent longer time sitting upon his beast than he had spent sitting upon the earth.'[9] The horse was ridden, its fermented milk (*kymish*) drunk, its meat eaten, its fat salted and smoked. Large herds of sheep, goats and cattle were also kept, while the produce from this livestock was bartered with the sedentary neighbours for grain and metalware. This way of life allowed for great mobility. The nomads' skill in horsemanship and archery, combined with unique battle tactics, until the 15th-16th century development of gunpowder warfare gave them decisive superiority over peasant armies. Indeed, thanks to those factors, a structured nomadic power would be a constant menace for the sedentary states of Eurasia until early modern times.

It is important however to understand the Turkish-Mongol penetration of the Islamic world, and India and China as the result of multiple interactions occurring at a specific historical conjuncture rather than as a random series of outbursts. There is an ancient but misleading tradition, running from Greek writings on the Scythians (which had early Chinese counterparts) to the medieval Central-Asian missionaries like John of Carpini and William of Rubruck, which dramatizes Central Asia as a seething cauldron full of 'barbarians'. The result has been a rather abstract definition of nomadism and a doctrinaire equation of Central Asia with Nomadic Man. Geopolitically, it is true, Central Asia kept apart the major civilizations along its peripheries. But it also connected these by its ancient caravan routes and, from ancient times onwards, there was a symbiosis with mercantile cities and constant cultural exchange. In terms of intercontinental commerce and cultural sophistication the most important parts of Central Asia were Transoxania, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes (with its capitals of Bukhara and Samarqand in the Muslim period), Khwarazm, south of the Aral Sea, and Shosh, beyond the Jaxartes, the country around Tashkent. On the side of the nomads, the potential for state formation was greatest in Mongolia, the area along the Chinese wall, where powerful confederations of tribes could be created under united leadership by borrowing organizational models and technical resources from their more civilized neighbours. These would then snowball by gathering up local forces (Turkish or otherwise) over large areas, with the result that the steppe went through a long tradition of tribal conquest and unification, which was always quickly undone in the steppe itself but which could lead to more permanent formations among settled nations.[10] The character of these conquests - which were made possible by the intensified commercial and cultural exchange between Central Asia and the surrounding sedentary civilizations - changed considerably through time, from the Hiung-nu in the centuries B.C. to the Mongols in the thirteenth century, when nomad power reached the full capacity of its organizational potential and striking force and could be extended over both the steppe and the sedentary parts of Eurasia simultaneously.

Since historical interest has been focused upon an abstract idea of nomadism and a constant threat of invasion from the north, however, the barbarian status of the invading hordes tended to be taken for granted. Firdausi's Shāhnāma, with its strong mythological element, assumes the Oxus to have been the dividing line between 'Īrān' and 'Tūrān'. Īrān represented urban administration; Tūrān the tribal cauldron. In fact the ensuing frontier conflict was a creation of Iranian imperialism under Darius. In the 6th century B.C. the northern Scythians were still in close contact with the cities of Iran through the Caucasus as well as the Greek ports of the southern Black Sea coast. Scythian art of the Black Sea hinterland evidences strong Mesopotamian and Iranian influence. The Greek cities, with their fashions and wealth, were part of Scythian life. Scythians were an everyday sight in Athens, and, speaking broken Greek, were an object of ridicule in Aristophanes' plays. Iran's imperial history however was passed on mainly through oral tradition. And if we know little of ancient Iran, we know even less of the Iranian periphery; but it is clear that it was confused with the Scythian menace only by later tradition.[11]

The southward movements across the Hindu Kush included the Bactrian Greeks, the Shākas or 'Scythians', and the Kushāṇas, in close succession; then followed the Hephthalites, the Turks and, finally, the Mongols and their later descendants the Mughals.

In the Bactrian Greeks the nomad idea is not implicated, the origin of their settlements - between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus - going back to the Achaemenid period. The Greek rulers of Bactria and the Iranian rulers of Parthia (Khurasan) broke away from Seleucid control in the mid-3rd century B.C. One of them, Demetrius I, conquered Afghanistan (Arachosia) and eastern Makran (Gedrosia). Another, Demetrius II, crossed into the Panjab and the Indus valley and Cutch. Menander extended Indo-Greek power in 155-130 B.C. to the Swat valley and Hazara, holding on to the Panjab as far as the Ravi River.

It was the Shākas who overran the Yavana kingdom of Bactria, an event which is recorded to have taken place prior to their invasion of India. These people - which only the Sanskrit sources refer to as 'Shākas' - can be equated with the Scythians, a category of tribes which spoke either Iranian or other Indo-European dialects and which were nomads, 'horse-archers', with arrows hooked and poisonous, 'promising double death' (in Ovid's description), offering sacrifice to their gods, but not usually erecting images, altars, or temples. Archaeology revealed veritable 'pyramids of the steppes' which were royal burial-mounds, showing the horse as the supreme icon of Scythian culture and confirming Herodotus' account of royal Scythian funerary rites. From the 6th century B.C. there was at least a core of heavily-armoured riders in a Scythian army. Only in the easternmost ranges of their habitat did they intermarry with local Mongoloid populations. The importance of the Eurasian hinterland lay in the gold supply (*Altai*; cf. Turkish *Altin*, 'gold') which aroused the interest of the Greeks in the Black Sea area. The Scythian hordes had been moving from the Central-Asian steppe to the west at an early stage, but India nor China nor Persia had been much affected by their movements before the 3rd century B.C. The Shāka invaders of India, however, do not appear to have come from Central Asia directly but, after an interval, from Persia and, again, the Persian periphery. The Puranic and Jain literature is misleading here, as it wants us to believe that the Shāka conquerors preceded the Greeks in India; it is even suggested, on the same basis, that the Shākas entered India before Alexander. This is an unsubstantiated claim. The earliest reference to the Shākas is found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of about 150 B.C., where the commentator Patañjali mentions them as 'pure Sūdras... who need not be excluded from the dish'.[12] This seems to indicate that by that time they had settled in India, albeit possibly in the periphery of *Āryāvarta*. Buddhist authors and the Epics show an early awareness of the people of the area beyond the northern and northwestern frontier which they call 'Shākadvīpa'. But it is exceedingly difficult to sift out the basic ethnic units here. If the Indians referred to the tribal confederations of this area as 'Shākas' it is sometimes because this was the oldest known name which was applied to them. They are in fact often mentioned together with the 'Pahlavas' (i.e. Persians) or 'Yavanas' (i.e. Greeks). The names 'Tuṣāras' and 'Tukhāras' occur as well.[13] The latter were sometimes identified as the 'Yueh-chih' in Chinese and came to be known as the 'Kushāṇas' somewhat later, but there seems to be very little difference between them and they appear to have been intermingled before they invaded India.

The movements of these tribes further to the west and south began with the building of the Great Wall by the Chinese Chin emperors in the second half of the 3rd century B.C., which was intended to check the Hiung-nu, Wusun and Yueh-chih (all of which are sometimes identified with the Huns). The ousting of the Hiung-nu from Inner Mongolia set in motion all the other tribes in the west, while causing the dispersal of some of the sedentary people of Central Asia as well. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) the Hiung-nu extended their power from Lake Baikal to Jehol and southward to the cities of Kansu and Shamsi, pushing out the Wusun in Lop-nar and the Yueh-chih in western Kansu. The latter then pressed hard upon the Shākas in the south who moved into Bactria and Parthia, destroying the Greek kingdom. But shortly afterwards a Wusun-Hiung-nu confederation forced the Yueh-chih to move still further south, while the Shākas are then seen moving across the Bolan Pass into the lower Indus valley, western India, Kathiawar and Ujjaynī, and as far as Mathura. The bulk of the Yueh-chih remained in the Oxus valley. But the Periplus speaks about the port of Barbarikon at the mouth of the Indus as being in 'Skythia', while Ptolemy speaks of Sind as 'Indoskythia'.[14]

The Shāka invasion of India, apparently, happened as the product of the Parthian conflict with the tribes of outer Iran. Like the Parthians themselves, the Shākas who came to India belonged to the Iranian frontier rather than 'Tūrān'. The Parthians, founding the Arsacidan dynasty in 247 B.C., remained under the bondage of their nomadic background but were *Philhellenic*, with Greek remaining for long one of the official languages of the state, while later they were instrumental in the revival of the Zoroastrian religion. The Shākas had helped in the foundation of the Arsacidan dynasty and underwent a powerful Parthian influence, adopting an eastern Iranian dialect. Possibly a Parthian invasion of the Panjab by the King of Kings Mithradates I (173-138 B.C.) brought the earliest Shākas across the Kabul valley, to the Panjab. Mithradates II (123-87 B.C.) settled large numbers of Shākas in Sistan. And he was not the first to do so. Already the inscriptions of Darius mention Sistan as 'Sakastāna'.[15] From here, as the Sanskrit-Prakrit *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka* confirms, they eventually passed on to India, via the Bolan Pass, together with some Parthian detachments.[16] Now the Indo-Greek kingdoms to the south of the Hindu Kush were also overrun. But this final move was due to the further southward migration of the Yueh-chih and their subordinates, the later Kushāṇas.

Having come to India, the Shākas gradually vanished after the fourth century A.D., becoming an indistinguishable element in Indian society, leaving but traces of their Central-Asiatic background. 'Scythian' costumes, and the pointed cap or helmet, are found in the Ajanta frescoes, and many such elements survive among the peoples of western India. A part of the Shākas may have merged with clans that were later constituted as 'Rajputs'; but this should not induce us to postulate a Central-Asian origin for India's medieval Hindu rulers.[17] The Mahabharata still mentions the Shākas, like the Yavanas, as *mlecchas* who have a ruinous effect on law, religion and society. The Puranas refer to their 'strange customs'. Soon however they were suitably accommodated in brahman mythology, and the Shākas, Pahlavas and Yavanas were said to have been created by Vasishtha's cow, Kāmadhenu.[18] Patañjali, as we have seen, mentions them as Sūdras, but not as outcasts; and Manu includes all these groups among the *kshatriya* tribes that are said to have sunk to Sūdra status due to their non-observance of the sacred rites and their indifference to brahmans.[19] The Shākas were also in a peculiar way idealized; we read, in the Mahabharata again, that the *varnāshramadharma* is fully observed in *Shākadvīpa*.[20] The latter view, presumably, could only develop after the Shākas had been completely assimilated within brahmanical society. It is quite possible that this happened because they took to Brahmanism. 'The Shāka brahmanas who are called Magas', says the Govindpur inscription of the Shāka year 1059, 'were from Shākadvīpa and originated from the Sun-god'.[21]

The remnants of the Shāka-Parthian satrapies and the Indo-Greek kingdoms were destroyed by the Kushāṇa royal horde, an off-shoot of the Yueh-chih of Kansu (which however headed a heterogeneous assortment of tribes). This happened in the 1st century A.D., when the Kushāṇas set up an empire which for the first time crossed the mountainous divide between Central Asia and India - extending from the Oxus to the Ganges, and to Kashmir in the north - and which lasted for about five generations. Indian sources, the Puranas, Epics and Buddhist texts, do not mention the name 'Kushāṇas' but speak of the same people as 'Tuṣāras' or 'Tukhāras'. In effect, all sources, whether Sanskrit, Chinese, Greek or Latin, from about the 2nd century B.C. to about the middle of the 7th century, identify a people called the 'Ṭukhāras' in the country which was later to become known as *Ṭukhāristān* and embraced both banks of the Oxus and was dependent on Balkh. An earlier seat of the Ṭukhāras had been the Upper Oxus valley, in the region of Badakhshan. Ṭukhāristān was the country of Central Asia where, on the threshold of India, various nomadic groups coming from the north underwent their first sedentarization. In Ṭukhāristān, Buddhism was the prevalent religion from the 2nd century B.C. up to the early 8th century A.D., when the area was conquered by the Arabs. The Kushāṇas first established their power here in the old cities of the Shākas. And what happened was that in India the regional name simply occluded the dynastic. But the Ṭukhāras or Kushāṇas are also bracketed with the Shākas and Pahlavas in numerous texts. Kushāṇa administrative models appear to have been derived from the Achaemenid Persians and their successors. The names of the Kushāṇa kings also evidence prolonged Iranian contacts. In the later Sanskrit literature the names 'Ṭukhārā' and 'Turushka' or 'Turk' are often confused; this is probably due to the fact that Ṭukhāristān passed into the hands of the Western Turks in the 7th century. Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, for instance, tells us that some of the Kushāṇa kings - amongst which Kanishka - had a 'Turushka' origin.[22] Nowadays, no historian considers them to be Turkish-Mongoloid or 'Huns', although there is no doubt about their Central-Asian origin. The Kushāṇa kings became known in particular for their promotion of Buddhism and of Buddhist and Jain iconography. Buddhism prospered more than any other religion under the Kushanas and, with the extension of trading contacts, it was transmitted by them farther into Central Asia. Their capital was at Purushapura, near modern Peshawar; but Mathura achieved an almost equally important status. When, after 226 A.D., Ardashir established the Sasanid dynasty in Persia, Purushapura was conquered in the mid-3rd century and the Kushāṇas became subordinate to the Sasanids and their power dwindled rapidly while in India the Guptas established their dominion.

Various petty Kushāṇa dynasties held on to a portion of the Indus basin and the Kabul valley or maintained themselves in Sistan under the Sasanids for some time, but generally the Central-Asian Buddhist impulse receded behind the Gupta attempt to restore a more brahmanically oriented Hindu orthodoxy. By the 5th century however the Guptas in turn were challenged by the (Chionite-) Hephthalites, i.e. the *Śveta Hūṇas* or 'White Huns', another people from Central Asia which eventually destroyed the Guptas' power.[23] The Hephthalites were an offshoot of the later Kushāṇas and they were allied with the Huns who conquered most of Kashgaria, Turkestan and Bactria in the 4th century. It was only the Hephthalites who broke into Northern India in the later 5th century (probably around 465), after occupying the countries south of the Hindu Kush, including Gandhara and Zabulistan as far as the Indus. By the end of the 5th century the Panjab was subjected, together with areas of Rajasthan and Kashmir, where they caused considerable dislocations. For a time they became a great power in Northern India. It extended at the same time over Soghdiana, the Oxus basin and to the north and south of the Hindu Kush, which gave them control over the major trade routes. They continued to rule as viceroys of the Huns, at least in the 5th century, even in the areas across the Hindu Kush. Toramāṇa, a White Hun leader, assumed the title of *mahārāja* while ruling from Bamiyan. After bringing Gupta rule to an end, Toramāṇa became the paramount ruler of all of Northern and Central India. His successor Mihirakula is depicted as a great iconoclast, especially hostile to Buddhism, and responsible for the destruction of Bamiyan, but with Shaivite leanings, and not hostile to icons as such. A contemporary author, Procopius, writes that 'the Hephthalites are of Hunnish stock (ounnikon men ethnos) and bear the Hunnish name; however they do not mingle with any of the Huns known to us... They are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies and countenances which are not ugly'.[24] And, in fact, their leadership does appear to have been speakers of an Indo-European language, while they may have absorbed certain Turkish elements in the 6th century. The Chinese carefully distinguished the two, but not so the Arabs, who misleadingly referred to the Hephthalites (Ar. *Hayāṭila*) as 'Turks'.[25] By the time they came to India they had clearly been exposed to powerful religious stimuli from Iran.

Mihirakula was finally driven from the plains into Kashmir by an Indian ruler named Yashodharma. There he died in 542 A.D. Hephthalite power, and that of the Huns backing them in Bactria, was defeated in 563-8 A.D. by the Sasanids in alliance with the rising power of the Western Turks. The northern Hephthalite dominions were then divided up between the two of these. But the Turks encroached further, to incorporate all Hephthalite lands to the north of the Hindu Kush. The result was that the Hephthalites retained power only in the south of Ṭukhāristān, in north-west Afghanistan, and in Zamīndāwar, Zābulistān and Kābul. In the latter regions they were not dislodged by the Muslims until as late as the 9th century.

The Turks, as we can now see, were relative newcomers on the scene. The very word 'Turk' or 'Türk' appears as the name of a Central-Asian nomad people only from the 6th century onwards, when in 552 the 'Türk' Qaghanate was founded on the Orkhon River in Mongolia.[26] The Chinese name for the Turks was *Tu-kueh*, which was apparently derived from *Türküt*, the Mongol plural of *Türk*. The Greeks called them *Tourkoi*, the Arabs *Atrāk* (sg. *Turk*), while in New Persian they became known as *Turkān* (sg. *Turk*). Originally, *Türk* was an ethnonym which was associated with a small tribe headed by the Ashina clan; it meant 'the strong one' and fell within the semantic range of a whole series of tribal names which connoted 'force', 'violence', 'ferociousness', and so on. These original Turks or Türkü had, in the first half of the 5th century, become vassals of the Juan-juan, a people which is possibly identical with the Avars. In the middle of the 6th century the Turks destroyed the Juan-juan empire while founding their own nomad state, which reached at its greatest extent from the Great Wall to the Oxus and even beyond, covering therefore not only the whole of Inner and Outer Mongolia but also settled areas far to the West. Intermittently it lasted up to the middle of the 8th century.

The origins of the Turks, as of other Central-Asian peoples, are obscure since the earliest tribal nomenclature is full of unresolved complexities, the evidence is scanty and fragmented and shrouded in legend.[27] Byzantine and Chinese records of the early stages of Turkish development are also exceedingly complicated and do not always supplement the earliest Turkish records in a sufficiently informative way. Just as the Greek and Roman sources use the name 'Scythian' for a variety of 'barbarian' tribes, and Byzantine sources use the name 'Turk' in the same loose way, so the Chinese use a word like *hu*, 'barbarian', or a 'tribal' name like *Hiung-nu*, for various ethnic groups (which were moreover in a constant flux). The idea prevails in the Chinese accounts that the Turkish-speaking tribes of the seventh century were all descended from the Hiung-nu, which in practice meant little more than that they were neither Chinese nor Iranian.[28] They were definitely non-Mongol, non-Indo-European, non-Tibetan, and, in a more positive vein, can be equated with the 'Huns' of the first five centuries A.D. It is probable that the Hiung-nu spoke an earlier form of Turkish, although it would be anachronistic to call them 'Turks' at that early date.[29] Even in the case that the Hiung-nu were not 'Turks' or 'Turkish-speaking' (evidence to which effect exists) in the 3rd century B.C., they were evidently in close contact with Turkish-speaking people from very early on and certainly by the 4th century A.D. the Huns included various 'Turkish' elements.[30] The earliest Hiung-nu or Huns are described by the Chinese as a tribe 'wandering about in search of pastures and water' in the steppes running between the Manchurian forests through Inner and Outer Mongolia, to Zungaria.[31] These may have had some contact with the Shakas in south-west Sinkiang in the early centuries A.D. It was to resist people like these that the Great Wall was built; but contact between China and the West already proceeded via the steppes and nomadic middlemen. At some stage the Indo-European-speaking nomadic population of the steppes must have made room for the Huns and their allies, or, as in Sinkiang, became subordinate to the Huns.[32] But as late as Hellenistic and Seleucid times, the Eurasian steppes were peopled by largely Indo-European-speaking tribes like the Scythians, Sarmatians, Massagetae, Issedones, and Arimaspi. These were Firdausi's *Tūrān* of heroic times, separated by the Oxus from the civilization of *Īrān*. Obviously, the Tūrān of the Shāhnāma are not the historic Turks with which Firdausi anachronistically equates them.[33] In the first century of Islam the Chionite-Hephthalites were the only Indo-European-speaking group still in power, offering resistance to the Arabs in northern and eastern Afghanistan. At that time most of the lands beyond the Goth settlements or the northern Black Sea coast and beyond Khwārazm, Transoxania and Farghana were occupied by Turkish nomads, and most of this milieu was Turkish-speaking.

Not surprisingly the ethnonym 'Turk' soon became politicized and began to comprise tribes who were under the political and military dominance of the Qaghanate as well, while the name 'Turk' and the 'Turkish' language spread through conquest and gradual assimilation. The Qarluqs, the Oghuz, the Qaraqanids and others over a wide area all claim historic and genetic ties with the peoples of the Turk Qaghanate. Other peoples, who may not have had or even claimed such ties to the 'original' Turk tribe, could still use the name as a political statement. All this means, in fact, that the word had an indepedent tradition in the

Turkic world which was not necessarily associated with Islamic usage. But the Muslims greatly aided the spread of the term 'Turk' to the non-Turkic world.

The people from whom the Turks asserted their independence, the Juan-juan, had themselves risen in the second half of the 4th century and it had been their ruler who proclaimed himself *qaghan* in 402 A.D.- apparently the first use of the title which the Turks took over.[34] The Juan-juan empire covered the territory between the watersheds of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers, the northern edge of the Tien Shan mountains, and the Ordos steppe.[35] Soon they were fighting the Wei for the control of Sinkiang. Their ethnic and linguistic affiliation is doubtful. The Turks, by contrast, living primarily in the Altai mountain range, in the 5th and early 6th century are known to have been tributary to the Juan-juan and to have served as their 'blacksmith slaves' and ironworkers.[36] Chinese as well as Greek records emphasize the importance of the early Turks' metallurgical industry. 'Iron gates' were to mark the borders of the Turkish empire, and swords passed as currency. Connected with the belief in the magical power of fire, the association with smithing clearly had shamanic connotations, with the smith ranking immediately below the shaman himself. From the year 545 A.D. the Turks began to rid themselves of Juan-juan overlordship. A year later their leader was in a position to demand a Juan-juan princess in marriage. Ten years later the Turks had defeated the Juan-juan decisively. Recognition by the Western Wei followed soon. Bumin became the Turks' first emperor, ruling from the Great Wall to the borders of Iran, as well as in the far north. A victory over the Hephthalites followed, and control over the entire steppe was now in the hands of a single ethnic group for the first time. The Turks were, apart from blacksmiths, pastoral nomads, with each household having definite grazing rights, armed with bows, singing arrows, coats of chain-mail and the long sword, the latter indicating Sasanid rather than Chinese influence. With their victory over the Juan-juan, the Turks obtained control over the Central-Asian trade as well, including the silk trade between China and Byzantium. Due to the Turkish unification of the steppe, Central-Asian trade received a great impulse as the region became again more closely attached to the peripheral civilizations.[37] But as far as can be made out the Turks had already been traders in the silk fabrics and floss-silk for wadding at an earlier stage; Turkish society apparently has never been purely nomadic and included an urban element - the first in the history of the steppe.[38] Turkish relations with the Chinese on one side and with the Byzantines on the other had always been determined by their commercial interests. While it is not clear yet how the Turks operated the silk trade, it may be concluded that their empire was the outcome of the cooperation between the charismatic nomadic clans and capital-providing international merchants.[39] Beyond doubt the early Turks were clothed in silk, unlike the skin- and wool-wearing barbarians which the Chinese annals point out.

Furthermore, if Turkish society was nomadic and mercantile it was not held together by territory but rather by kinship relations and religio-shamanic cult elements. The political and social structure, generated by common residence in a winter quarter, was that of a precarious tribal union headed by the charismatic Ashina clan. The tribes, composed of clans, were organized into *boduns*; political power over the *bodun* was expressed by the term *el/il*, a 'polity' mandated by heaven. At the top of the tribal union stood the Qaghan, the leader who established the *törü*, the tribal law. Of the greatest importance was the biological association of the charismatic ruling clan with the tribal totem.[40] The ruling clan's charisma was heavenly ordained and as such would override election. The belief in the celestial origin of authority linked up with an ideal of world domination that acquired a prominent and historical form among the sixth-century Turks but existed before as part of the shamanic creed.[41] The related idea that domination was an exclusive right of the Turks was later passed on to the Uyghurs and Mongols, and it seemed to receive confirmation by Islam.[42] Much of this political and cultural apparatus the Turks inherited from their predecessors in Mongolia rather than from China. In fact, the Chinese cult may have Altaic origins, rather than the reverse.[43] But the cult of heavenly ordained rule was not peculiar to the Altaic world; even less were the principle of legitimation by descent and of charisma residing in royal blood which allowed individual members of the clan to be elevated to the Qaghanate. What is peculiar about the Turkish ceremony of qaghanal investiture is that, like blacksmithing, it had a specific shamanic context.[44] The first Chinese account of the origins of the Turks (itself derived from Turkish materials) is already full of shamanic symbolism, relating to the totem ancestor and the wolf ethnogenetic legend. The wolf re-appeared in the military standards of the Turks. Ancestor worship was practiced too, and the principal deities - the objects of cults presided over by the Qaghan - were heaven and sun.[45] Being shamanic, however, did not preclude the Turks from being literate. With the creation of the Turkish empire, in effect, the steppe people began to write their own history. Early eighth-century stone inscriptions survived, in 'Runic Turkic', from the Orkhon region, the seat of Turkish imperial power; these are the so-called 'Orkhon inscriptions'. The Turks were also susceptible to Buddhist propaganda.[46] Initially this meant Buddhism in its Chinese form; later, when the Turks expanded into the Tarim basin, Buddhism in a form closer to the Indian variety was assimilated.

The main difference between the Turkish empire and earlier nomadic empires undoubtedly lay in its more structured and complex political system. While the ultimate leadership was in the hands of the *qaghan* founder of the empire (residing near the Otuken mountain in the Altai chain, the place of ancestor-worship), there was a plethora of administrative-military posts with titles of diverse origins associated with the Qaghanate.[47] Another feature of Turkish administration, elements of which were taken over by most later nomadic states, was the bipartite principle of rule or a form of dual kingship. There was a secondary leader, the *yabghu*, who can be traced to ancient times among the Hiung-nu. The *yabghu*'s domains were always the western parts of the empire, and in theory he was always the brother of the *qaghan*. But the spheres of action between the *qaghan* and the *yabghu* were not clearly demarcated. Both positions were in principle hereditary but needed confirmation by the tribal aristocracy. There was, however, no clearly defined command structure, even though the arrangement of Turkish military forces in multiples of ten is already in evidence in these earliest phases of recorded Turkish history.

Following the conquests in central and western Eurasia and as a result of the bipartite principle of rule, the First Turkish empire broke in two in the year 583 A.D.: the Western and Eastern (or Northern) Turks. Of these the former dominated politically and militarily under the Yabghu Qaghan, while the latter formally held the higher position under the supreme Qaghan. For the next half century the Chinese exploited their rivalry as much as possible, until in 629-30 the Eastern Turks suffered a major defeat from the Tang, and the Qaghan, together with some of the most prominent members of the Ashina clan, was taken to the imperial capital. The Chinese now became the supreme sovereigns of the Turks, of whom a great number became officers in the Imperial Guards. Rising to the top of the military institution, Turks were instrumental in conquering East Turkestan for the Tang.[48] The Ashina clan is found among the Chinese military and governing bodies until as late as the second half of the 8th century. But the Eastern dynasty was again set free from direct Chinese control in 682 until its final collapse in 742, the latter being the period which produced the Orkhon inscriptions. The Western Qaghanate lingered on until 766, after suffering several setbacks resulting in the establishment of Chinese control in the Turfan area and across Turkestan and the Oxus valley to the south of the Hindu Kush.[49] Power in these areas was then also beginning to be challenged by the Arabs and the Tibetans. Hiuen Tsang passed through the domains of the Khan, the 'Sheh-hu Khan' (probably a relative of the Yabghu), of the Western Turks in 630; making little mention of Turkish Buddhism, he calls the Turks 'fire-worshippers' and remarks on the fine bearing of the Khan 'although he was a frontier ruler'.[50] This account reminds one of Persian satraps, or seems to point at strong Persian influence in Turkish society. The Second Turkish Empire, in effect, was deeply rooted in urban civilization, the joint enterprise of the Ashina clan and the Soghdians, with large numbers of Chinese bureaucrats being involved too.[51] The Western Turks, ruling through scions of the royal clan or older Hephthalite, Kushana and

Iranian subregimes, controlled the territory between the Syr and the Amu with the caravansarais of the Chinese trade, Samarqand, Bukhara and others.[52]

This symbiosis with Soghdian and other trading communities along the silk route was perpetuated by another Turkic tribe, the Uyghurs, those 'professors of culture' (as Grousset called them) at the crossroads of the Chinese and Persian worlds, who crushed the Türkü in 742 A.D.[53] Uyghur hegemony over the eastern steppe was recognized by the Chinese in 745, a series of Uyghur states under a Qaghan lasted until 840 (in some cases surviving into the 13th century). The claim to dominion over large parts or the whole of the Turko-nomadic world continued to rest on descent from or connection with the Ashina clan. The Uyghur state too had a mixed nomadic-sedentary structure, and in course of time became increasingly more sedentarized while adopting Manichaeism, Syrian Christianity and, later, Buddhism. They were the first Central-Asian people to erect walled cities. Otherwise they maintained the structural forms of the Turk Qaghanate (including the system of decimal military-administrative divisions which they passsed on to the Mongols).

Iran and Transoxania had thus been familiar with the Turks - and even more with other peoples of Central Asian origin - long before the appearence of the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs. In the Persianized parts of Central Asia, in Transoxania, Farghāna and Khwārazm, and across the Dihistān steppe towards the Caspian coastlands, the penetration of Turks had begun earlier than in the Indianized parts of Afghanistan. The Iranian rulers of Soghdiana who opposed the Arabs in the 7th and early 8th century were aided by Turks - who were probably mercenaries and guards from the steppes rather than indigenized settlers.[54] The most crucial date in the Turkish encounter with Islam is perhaps 751 A.D., the year of the battle of the Talas river, when an alliance of Arabs, Tibetans and Qarluq Turks achieved a victory over the Tang Chinese. From that date onwards Turkish peoples began to assimilate within the sedentary Muslim world in considerable numbers. The Qarluq Turks or 'Qaraqanids' (still claiming Ashina descent) were the first to undergo almost complete sedentarization, after moving into Farghana, an area which in the 9th century was gradually becoming Islamized. The Qarluqs established capitals at Kashgar in Sinkiang and Balasaghun in the valley of the River Chu. Their rulers converted to Islam after the middle of the 10th century, and in 961 A.D. this was followed by the conversion of some 100.000 Turkish 'tents' in the area.

The extent of Turkish infiltration into the Muslim world in the first three centuries is however disputed, partly due to a peculiarity of the source material in Arabic. We have references in Arabic to the 'land of the Turks' from the late Jāhiliya, where it signifies the end of the known world. More precise and reliable knowledge emerged among the Muslims by the 9th century, when the Samanids expanded the frontier along the Syr Darya and Turks began to enter the caliphate as military slaves. But the use of the word 'Turk' still remained vague. For instance, the Hephthalite rulers of Kabul, Bādghīs, Ṭukhāristān, and Bactria were referred to as 'Turks' even though they were in fact of Indo-European origin and merely accommodated some Turkish elements.[55] The Arabs, at times, applied the term to all their opponents on the eastern frontier. By the second half of the 9th and the 10th century, Muslim authors began to mention specific groups among the Turks: the Turgish, Kīmāk, Qarluq, Qipchaq, Toghuzghuzz, Ghuzz, Pecheneg, Khīrkhīz, Khallukh and others, with the 'Uyghurkhān' holding a supreme position among them.[56] Turks who maintained a nomadic existence solely, outside the borders of Islam, prominent among which were the Oghuz and later the Qipchaq, were also often described in Persian as *Turk-mān*, 'Turk-like'. Even then, the term 'Turk' was still applied in a loose sense, and we find for instance the Magyars (Majgharī) or the Rūs described as Turks by the same Muslim writers.[57] And this is a fact which cannot be explained by assuming that these were people who were under the rule of the Turks, or, in other words, by assuming that the word is always used as a political-territorial ethnonym.[58] Tibetans are also frequently confused with Turks, for instance by al-Bīrūnī, who speaks of 'Turks from Tibet' and 'Turks of Tibetan origin'[59]; or by al-Mas'ūdī who speaks of settled and nomad 'Tubbat Turks' near Badakhshan, south of Farghana, and north of Kabul.[60]

Poorly documented as it is, such loose application of the term makes the early infiltration of the Turks into the Gurgān-Dihistān area, Khurasan, Khwarazm, Transoxania and the frontier areas of *al-Hind*, difficult to analyse. Generally the Turcization of these areas was not yet profound. Some Turkish settlers in Khurasan, as al-Jāḥiẓ points out, may have become very much 'like' the original inhabitants.[61] There already were non-nomadic Turks in Khurasan and Transoxania at the time of the Arab conquest. A variety of sources points at groups of Turks on both sides of the Oxus before the 7th century. There were 'Turkish towns' in Soghd and there were, by the 10th century, Turks in the valleys of Ṭukharistān, Badakhshan, south of Farghana and in Farghana, to the north of Kabul, and in Shash and vicinity; 'Khalaj' and Ghuzz Turks were found in the regions of Balkh, Sistan, Bust, and Bistam. It can be made out, then, that Turks were an important but not predominant element, often as town- and village-dwellers, between the mountains of Khurasan, the Jaxartes river and India, in pre-Seljuq and pre-Ghaznavid times.

The Islamic geographical literature of the 10th century also points to the pastoral nomads of the Indianized areas of eastern Afghanistan, the plateaux of Kabul and Bust, as 'Khalaj Turks'.[62] There again, it is by no means sure that we are dealing with Turks, but more likely with the remnants of earlier Shāka, Kushāṇa and Hephthalite invasions. Such

'Khalaj Turks' from Ghazna are found in the Ghaznavid armies. The Arab governors of Khurasan stipulated an annual tribute of '2000 Ghuzz Turk' slaves from the Kābul Shāh. But this too does not prove much about the actual presence of Turks in Kābul or Zābul. The 'Khalaj' or 'Khaljī' are often mentioned in the early histories of Ghazna. Their name derives from *Khalj*, which is the land on both sides of the river Helmand in Afghanistan. A variety of nomadic tribes had occupied *Khalj* from very remote times. The Arab geographers call them 'Turks' or say that their 'customs and dress' are like those of Turks.[63] But a 14th-century author, Barani, again distinguishes them from Turks.[64] And, under such circumstances, it is perhaps best to leave the question open.

A second, better documented, process through which Turks entered Islam was the recruitment of military slaves.[65] It has been suggested by David Ayalon that the early recruitment of *mamlūks* from Central Asia was crucial in that it prepared the way for the later Turkish non-mamlūk tribesmen which followed them, the Seljuqs in particular, but also the Mongols.[66] As the *mamlūks* penetrated very deep into the societies of the Middle East several centuries before the Seljuqs and the nomadic tribes, the latter found, as the sources stress again and again, people 'of the same stock' (*min jins wāḥid*) with whom key positions of power were to be shared. The Mongols were also regarded in numerous Muslim texts as 'Turks' (*Atrāk*), or as belonging to the same race (*jins*) or as having close relations with the Turks, and these bonds were regarded as generating strong feelings of ethnic affinity, solidarity or sympathy. All Turks moreover - whether *mamlūks*, Seljuqs, Turkmāns or, soon enough, Mongols - could easily be Islamized, as it turned out, more easily in general than people from the other areas beyond the Islamic frontier (Africa, Christendom, India). In this way the arrival of the *mamlūks*, the Seljuq Turks and the Mongols may be studied as three separate stages or aspects of a single process, even without denying that the nomad invasions could be accompanied with great devastation. Meanwhile, we should stress the uniquely Islamic background of the *mamlūk* institution and the complex set of socio-political, economic, and military factors of early Islam which led to its rise in the Middle East rather than being imported from Central Asia ready-made.[67] If the institution became fully-fledged in the ninth century, the trade in Turkish *mamlūks* (building on raiding but more commonly on peaceful exchange with tribes engaging in internecine warfare themselves) reached a peak under the Samanids in the tenth century and then assumed its central position across the length and breadth of Islamdom in the eleventh century. The migration of Turkish people southward thus became a constant and disproportionately important factor, even though the numbers of mamlūks may have been relatively small.

Not before the eleventh century, with the establishment of the Qaraqanids in Transoxania and the Seljuqs in Persia, Anatolia and the Fertile Crescent (1038-1157), do the movements of nomadic Turks into the Islamic Middle East become truly significant. It was the collapse of the Samanids under pressure of the Turkish Ghaznavids and Qaraqanids which ultimately opened the gates to pastoral Turkish penetration. By origin the Ghaznavids were a slave dynasty which began as governors of the Samanid territories in the eastern and southern parts of Afghanistan in the last quarter of the tenth century.[68] The establishment and expansion of the Ghaznavid Sultanate in Afghanistan, eastern Persia and parts of northwestern India from the end of the same century onwards signified the first major breakthrough of Turkish power in Islam, and it helped, again, to prepare the way for the Seljuqs. Under the latter dynasty, Turkish horsemen, fully exploiting the advantage of mobility, extended their hegemony with great ease. Their conquests were, moreover, largely invited. But even now the incoming groups of pastoralists could not have been very large.[69] Rather it must have been the cumulative effect of more than two centuries of Turkish immigration, both as military slaves, settlers and pastoralists, which changed the ethnic composition in the Middle East, or the northern part of it.[70] Perso-Islamic traditions quickly re-imposed themselves on the new Turkish 'tribal' formations while generally the Turks became staunch defenders of Sunnism - as it was the Sunnī establishment which solicited their intervention - and the Ḥanafī legal system. The Turks liberated the Abbasid caliphs from the Shī'ī Buyids and started a wholesale attack on Ismā'īlism. And in the eyes of the Sunnī orthodox this was the ideological justification for the almost universal dominance which the Turks achieved in the eleventh-century Muslim world. Long after 1157 junior members of the Seljuq family were still establishing dynasties of their own. Other Turkish ruling groups of a variety of origins followed. In the twelfth century most of Muslim Asia was under Turkish rule. The Ghaznavid centre of power became Afghanistan; this dynasty ceased to have any influence on the steppe and focused entirely on India. The late twelfth century also saw the beginnings of the formation of the Mongol confederacy. The Mongol conquests brought the Turkish horse nomads to even greater power, as the bulk of their armies was Turkish. The nomad horsemen, like the military slaves, remained the ideal detached military élite. And culturally as well as ethnically Turks and Mongols (both were known as 'Tatars') were interchangeable. Even as late as the sixteenth century, the Mughals of India confounded the Turkish and Mongol pedigrees.

If religious zeal and the defense of Sunnī orthodoxy provided the ideological justification for the Turkish pre-eminence in the Islamic state, countless Muslim authors have left us graphic descriptions of what they considered the essential attributes of the Turks as an ethnic group and the reasons for their excellence. These accounts are counterbalanced, often, by descriptions of the all too obvious limitations of the Turkish character and mental make-up.

All authors of *adab* works, manuals of war and mirrors for princes, agree on the military superiority of the Turks, their hardiness, their skill with horses and the bow and arrow, and their 'lion-like' qualities and pride.[71] Ibn Khaldun considered the Turkish mamlūks to be, thanks to these virile virtues, the saviours of Islam.[72] Nizām al-Mulk recalls that al-Mu'taṣim, the caliph who first introduced a *mamlūk* army, 'always said that there was none for service (*khidmatkār*) like the Turk'.[73] 'I can tell that al-Mu'taṣim knew very well what he was about when he made them into a corps and took them into his service', writes al-Jāḥiz, for ... 'nothing can withstand [the Turks], and none desires to oppose them'.[74] Mobile as they are, they are never pursued for 'the Turk does not need to escape'.[75] Turkish prowess in arms not only buttressed the caliphs' power in the *dār al-Islām*, but was also especially effective against the infidel kings of Hindustān.[76] 'Arrow-shooting Turks' are a favorite topos of Persian poetry, where they are compared with the bubbles in a glass of wine.[77] No other army could charge as well, and Turkish horsemen were taught to carry two or three bows and strings to match them.[78] From ethnological parallels it is known that a skilled archer can shoot around twenty arrows a minute.

The image of the Turk in Persian poetry soon developed into an ideal of manliness, the ideal beloved, white and beautiful, albeit cruel. 'Turk' came to relate to 'Hindu' like 'ruler' to 'slave', 'angel' to 'devil', while for Rūmī, for instance, Turkestān became the heavenly world of light (from which the beloved appeared) and Hindustān the dark world of matter.[79] Often enough the word 'Turk' was turned into the equivalent of 'Muslim', at least in India. Ultimately the 'macho' Turk, with his disdain for menial household tasks, was linked to the climate of his country of origin which predisposed him to a certain robustness and military valour (cf. p. 747-748). The nomadic Turks had a strongly developed 'love of homeland' (*maḥabbat al-waṭan*) or 'longing for homeland' (*al-ḥanīn 'ilā-l-waṭan*). 'They are more strongly attached to their country than the camels'.[80] This attachment reinforced the mutual similarity and homogeneity of the Turks, the result of which was an absolutely single-minded desire to achieve military command. The very single-mindedness of the Turks was praised by Muslim writers as 'the only way to achieve anything'. Only the Dailamites are at times regarded as more warlike. But the Turks were more uniformly the same. 'Differences among them are reduced to a minimum'.[81] 'Turks you can tell'.[82] 'Their women are as unmistakable as their men'.[83] The dark side of their character - equally universal - was an insatiable love of plunder and violence. In their own country, 'the Turks do not fight for religion nor for interpretation of Scripture nor for sovereignty nor for taxes nor for patriotism nor for jealousy - unless their women are concerned - nor for defense of their home, nor for wealth, but only for plunder'.[84] Given to violent appropriation, they were however free from unnatural vice, they treated prisoners well, kept their promises, and were not given to hyprocrisy or intrigue, while being impervious to flattery, and not addicted to 'rivalry in poetic display'.[85] 'The Turks know not how to flatter or coax, they know not how to practice hypocrisy or backbiting, pretence or slander, dishonesty or haughtiness on their acquaintance, or mischief on those that associate with them. They are strangers to heresy and not spoiled by caprice; and they do not make property lawful by quibbles. Their fault which makes them most unpopular is their love of land and love of moving freely up and down the country and propensity for raiding and preoccupation with plunder...'.[86]

Such, in short, were the characteristics of a people which had mastered 'the art of war' to the same degree of perfection 'as the Chinese have attained in art, and the Greeks in philosophy and literature and the Sasanids in empire'.[87] By the time, however, that the Turks had become sedentary Muslims in the Middle East, inhabiting towns, they often came to be seen as rivals of the Arabs and Persians and their relative lack of cultural sophistication began to receive more emphasis due to a developing anti-Turkish undercurrent.[88] Popular detestation was expressed in poetry, and an hadith of as early as the ninth century speaks of 'the small-eyed, redfaced, flat-nosed Turks'. Their alleged slow-wittedness is expressed in the frequently occurring phrase *Turk-i-ablah*. By the thirteenth century we find that descriptions divide the Turks, as a people, in two sections: the civilized town-dwellers and the backward migrating tribes. It was said, moreover, that Turkish converts to Islam went through a change of heart which made them zealous in their faith and oblivious of their Central-Asian pagan past.[89] And, unlike other races, the Turks were bound to obscurity if they did not leave Turkestān; they achieved fame and fortune only if they left their homeland. 'Since the creation of the world until today no slave (*banda*) bought for money achieved the position of king (*Pādshāh*) except the Turk'.[90] A former, legendary, king of the Turks is supposed to have said: 'The Turk is like a pearl (*durr*) in its shell at the bottom of the sea, when it is worth nothing; but when it comes out of its shell, and out of the sea, it becomes valuable and adorns the crown of kings and the neck and ears of brides'.[91]

What do we know, finally, about the presence and the role of Turks in pre-Ghaznavid India? There do not appear to have been any Turkish incursions on the north-western frontier or elsewhere, and we do not hear at all of Muslim Turks in *al-Hind* before the late tenth and eleventh centuries. From an early date, as we have seen, there were various groups from Central Asia crossing into the subcontinent, but these were not Turkish or Mongoloid. Only from the seventh century had there been Tibetan and other Mongoloid invaders coming from the north, threatening Kanauj.[92] And in the early eighth century the Kashmir king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍā was repeatedly confronted with Tibetan military intrusion. Between the eighth and eleventh centuries the Tibetans successfully encroached upon the countries to the north of Kashmir, reducing the Indo-Iranian zone of cultural and political dominion, while incorporating Baltistan, Ladakh and parts of Gilgit into the Tibetan-speaking area. The Tibetans also obtained hegemony over Nepal from the early seventh to almost the end of the ninth century. Mongoloid people that we can't clearly identify had been present in Assam (*Kāmarūpa*, *Prāgjyotisha*), and two dynasties of Mongoloid origin had successively ruled here from the fourth to the ninth century, while Mongoloid incursions occurred even later than that. None of those however were Turks, even though al-Bīrūnī repeatedly refers to Tibetans on the northern frontier of *al-Hind* as 'Turks'.[93]

The first evidence of Turks in *al-Hind* comes from Kashmir during Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍā's reign. This king extended his power into Central Asia and is recorded to have recruited soldiers from the Western Central-Asian highlands and Ṭukhāristān.[94] Again, in 747 a Tibetan invasion of Kashmir caused Lalitāditya to return to the Himalayas and then enter the Tarim basin, cross the Takla Makan, and conquer Kuchā and Turfān. Ṭukhāristān, including Badakhshan and the Upper Oxus tracts which were inhabited by Turkish tribes, were also invaded again.[95] Al-Bīrūnī has recorded that the people of Kashmir celebrated an annual festival to commemorate the victory of their king Muttai (Muktāpīḍā) over the Turks.[96] The Rājataranginī seems to locate these Turks between the Tukhāras and Bhauṭṭas.[97] Lalitāditya made the conquered rulers, to indicate their defeat, adopt various characteristic marks, and the *Turushkās*, by his command, had to carry their arms at their back and shave half their head.[98]

The *Rājataranginī* also mentions the *Tuhkhārāḥ* (sic) as a people of the northern region, defeated by Muktāpīḍā.[99] These are the *Tukhārās* of other Sanskrit authors, the *Tocharoi* or *Tochari* of the Greeks and Romans, considered to be a branch of the Yueh-chih which gave its name to the Upper Oxus valley, including Balkh and Badakhshan (cf. pp. 753-754). Lalitāditya's minister Cankuna (probably Chinese *Tsiang-kiun*, 'general') came from the Tukhāra country - the Ṭukhāristān of the early Muslim authors - and this establishes the likelihood that he was Turkish, as by this time the region was inhabited by Turks. A stūpa is attributed to Cankuna, at Parihāsapura,[100] and the foundation of two vihāras with gold statues and a caitya, one of which was observed by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Ou-k'ong in the period 759-63 A.D.[101] In payment for his services, Cankuna merely asked for a Buddha statue to be carried from Magadha on the back of an elephant, to be placed in one of his vihāras - where Kalhaṇa could still observe it four centuries later.

Ou-k'ong noted numerous other Turkish pious endowments in Kashmir (Kia-che-mi-lo) which point at an entire Turkish dominion in the bordering regions: *vihāras* (wei-houo-lo) or 'monasteries' founded by the son of the king of the *Tu-kueh* or the wife of the Turkish Khan. The same situation prevailed in Gandhāra (K'ien-t'o-lo), where the pilgrim also points at monasteries founded by Kanishka or his descendants.[102] Probably the Turkish dynasty which endowed the monasteries in Kashmir and Gandhara ruled in Ṭukhāristān and the valleys leading up to the Kābul valley and the Upper Indus. The endowments appear to have been of recent date - most likely of Lalitāditya's period - and the titles and names of the *Tu-kueh* family correspond with those of the Chinese annals and the Orkhon inscriptions. In Kashmir we do not hear of Turks or Turushkās again until the period of the Ghaznavids, the 11th-12th centuries. The kings of Kashmir opposed these latter Turks but also employed them in their service, as soldiers (horsemen) and artists.[103] By that time the Turks however were Muslims and Kalhana comments on certain *mleccha* customs that the kings of Kashmir supposedly adopted from the Turks: the iconoclasm of 'Harsharājaturushka' (1089-1101) (who however continued to eat 'domesticated pigs'),[104] and the keeping of excessively large seraglios of women, Turushka and otherwise, bought or kidnapped, and the concomitant daily use of fish-broth and other aphrodisiacs by Harsha's predecessor.[105]

Ou-k'ong, finally, introduces us to the dynasty which ruled over *Kipin*, i.e. Gandhāra and neighbouring countries, as 'descendants from Kanishka' bearing names and titles which were Turkish and sometimes can be identified in the Tang annals.[106] Ou-k'ong makes them out to be Buddhists, while Bīrūnī refers to them as kings of the Hindus who were themselves 'Turks... of Tibetan origin - who wore Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, boots (*khaff*) and arms and bore the title of "Kābulshāhs"'.[107] These Kābulshāhs - subordinates of the Kashmir kings for part of the first half of the 8th century - are the dynasty which became known as the 'Turk-Shāhi' kings of *al-Hind* and were identified as 'Turks' in the Arab conquest literature as well, but as we have already seen, like the Zunbīls of Zābul they were not Turks but descendants of a branch of the Chionite-Hephthalites or 'White Huns', successors of the Kushāṇas which absorbed some Turkish groups but maintained a predominantly non-Turkish leadership.[108] Their employment of Turkish soldiers was also quite limited although 'local Turks' are said to have contributed their personal guard corps (cf. pp. 761-762). This 'Turkish' Shāhi dynasty continued up to the late 9th century when it was replaced by a brahman dynasty of the same title. Names of apparent Turkish origin, e.g. Toramāṇa, survived even among these Hindu 'Shāhi' kings.[109]

From the foregoing we may now draw some tentative conclusions. Firstly, that even though Turkish expansion into South Asia was a rather abrupt phenomenon beginning in the eleventh and late tenth centuries, the Turks arrived by no means as newcomers, in the sense that other Central-Asian invaders had preceded them in pushing their conquests beyond the Hindu Kush and beyond Kābul and the Indus valley.

Moreover, none of these Central-Asian conquerors had been 'barbarians', in the sense that they had been exposed to enduring influences from the neighbouring civilizations. Thus the *Shākas* are mentioned in Sanskrit sources of the second century B.C. As horse-archers and nomads, of Central-Asian origin, the Shākas had been thoroughly Persianized by the time they reached India and were accommodated as Sūdras or 'fallen kshatriyas', or as brahmans who 'originated from the Sun-god'. Similarly, the *Kushāṇas*, entering India in the first century A.D., had already undergone their first sedentarization in the Oxus region, while adopting Buddhism and Achaemenid administrative models. The *Hephthalites* or 'White Huns', who followed in the 5th century, had also been exposed to Persian influence, and, while hostile to Buddhism, adopted Indian titles and elements of a renascent Shaivism. In all three cases, the power of the nomadic clans appears to have been built on a symbiosis with mercantile elements and the intensification of commercial exchange between Central Asia and the surrounding sedentary civilizations.

The same can be said about the Turks, the first Mongoloid-Altaic people to enter the subcontinent. We first hear of the Turks in the sixth century, when they established control over the entire steppe. By the time the Turks came to India, they already had a long history of state-formation and commercial involvement, through the Soghdian intermediary, behind them. At various stages they had also been allies or subordinates of the Sasanids and the Tang Chinese. From the eighth century the Turks had begun to assimilate within Islam and had begun to adopt a sedentary lifestyle in Khurasan. And, at about the same time, we find important traces of a Turkish-Buddhist culture extending into Kashmir and the Kābul region (Gandhāra).

What ultimately set the Turkish invasions of the eleventh century apart from the earlier nomadic or post-nomadic movements from Central Asia is the association with Islam. While all earlier Central-Asian conquerors had simply vanished among the Hindu mass, from the eleventh century on successive Central-Asian ruling élites succeeded in maintaining a separate identity in the name of the universal religion of Islam. In the predominance of a constantly replenished slave aristocracy, the adoption of a Persian idiom of rule, and in its profound iconoclasm and insatiable appetite for precious metals, the Turkish state of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries introduced an Islamic pattern, familiar in the Middle East, but alien in India.

NOTES

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2. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb fī Tahqīqī mā li-l-Hind* (Hyderabad, 1958), p. 16.
3. Cf. B. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam* (London, 1984), pp. 108-9; A.R. Lewis, *Nomads and Crusaders, A.D. 1000-1368* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988), pp. 33-34, 88-89; W.H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society Since A.D. 1000* (Oxford, 1983), p. 58; J.J. Saunders, *A History of Medieval Islam* (London, etc., 1982), p. 141.
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5. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-dhahab*, IV (Paris, 1964), p. 32ff; J. Schacht & E. Meyerhof, *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn-an-Nafīs* (Oxford, 1968), p. 80.
6. Cf. G. Hambly, *Central Asia* (New York, London, 1969), pp. 2-3.
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10. Cf. M. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1974), II, pp. 396-7, 400-3; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 19; Codrington, 'Geographical Introduction', pp. 28-30.
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17. Cf. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 200 ff.
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19. *Manusmṛti*, X, 43-44.
20. *Mhb*. VI, 21, 28.
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28. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, 11.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11, 15-16.
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31. Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian Studies*, pp. 26, 28.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
33. T. Kowalski, 'Les Turcs dans le Sāh-nāme', *Rocznik Orientalistycny* (Cracow, 1939-49), Vol. XV, pp. 84-99.
34. Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian Studies*, pp. 26, 28.
35. L. Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads: A History of Central Asia, 500-1500* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), p. 18.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 32; C.I. Beckwith, 'Aspects of the Early History of the Central Asian Guard Corps in Islam', *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, IV (1984), p. 32; Golden, 'Imperial Ideology', pp. 42-43; Codrington, 'Geographical Introduction', p. 86.
37. Cf. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 43.
38. Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads*, pp. 32, 39-40; Codrington, 'Geographical Introduction', p. 86.
39. Cf. O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass. 1981), pp. 15-16.
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41. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-45; Ecsedy, 'Tribe and Tribal Society'.
42. O. Turan, 'The Ideal of World Domination among the medieval Turks', *Studia Islamica*, IV, pp. 76-90.
43. Golden, 'Imperial Ideology', p. 48.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
45. Ecsedy, 'Tribe and Tribal Society'.
46. H.J. Klimkeit, 'Buddhism in Turkish Central Asia', *Numen*, Vol. XXXVII, 1 (1990), pp. 53-69.
47. Golden, 'Imperial Ideology', p. 52.
48. Beckwith, 'Central Asian Guard Corps', pp. 32-33.
49. Cf. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 115.
50. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.*, 2 vols. (London, 1904-5), I, p. 74 ff.
51. Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, p. 16.
52. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 43.
53. *Enzyklopaedia des Islams*, IV (Leiden & Leipzig, 1934), p. 971; Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads*,, pp. 49-56; Golden, 'Imperial Ideology', pp. 53-56.
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57. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 456, note 2.
58. As does Beckwith, 'Central Asian Guard Corps', pp. 31-32.
59. *Kitāb al-Hind*, pp. 165, 348; Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 234.
60. Frye and Sayili, 'Turks in the Middle East', p. 199.
61. Cf. Bosworth, 'Coming of the Turks', p. 3; Frye and Sayili, 'Turks in the Middle East', pp. 194-207.
62. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, pp. 115-6.
63. See for instance E. Denison Ross (ed.), *Tārīkh-i-Fakhruddīn Mubārakshāh* (London, 1927), p. 47.
64. S.A. Khan (ed.), *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī of Ziā ad-Dīn Baranī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 175-6.
65. Cf. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, pp. 13-16.
66. D. Ayalon, 'The European-Asiatic Steppe: A Major Reservoir of Power for the Islamic World', *Variorum*, VIII, pp. 48-51; idem, 'Aspects of the Mamlūk Phenomenon', *Var.*, Xa, pp. 204-12; idem, 'Preliminary Remarks on the *Mamlūk* Military Institution in Islam', *Var.*, IX, p. 57.

67. Cf. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 14. I regard Beckwith’s attempt to derive the institution from Central Asia as a failure for lack of evidence (’Central Asian Guard Corps’). Thus note 6 (p. 31) does *not* give the source for Al-Ma’mūn’s acquisition of a Turkish personal guard corps. Marw *was* part of eastern Iran in this period, and not a thoroughly Turkicized part of Central Asia as B. suggests. And, lastly, the phenomenon which B. describes as the Central-Asian prototype of the *mamlūk* institution is the familiar one of private ties of dependence, while the essential fact of the mamlūks is that it was *not* such a system. I am indebted to P. Crone and A. Khazanov for clarification of these points.
68. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 21.
69. Cf. Bosworth, ’Barbarian Incursions’, p. 10.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
71. Cf. E. Mainz, ’Die Türken in der klassischen arabischen Literatur’, *Der Islam*, XXI (1933), pp. 278-85; C.E. Bosworth, ’Ghaznevid Military Organisation’, *Der Islam* (1960), pp. 37-77; Ayalon, *Var.*, Xa, p. 206, note 18.
72. *Kitāb al-’Ibar* (Būlāq, 1284), v. 37.
73. *Siyāsatnāma* (Tehrān, 1334), p. 52.
74. Harley Walker, ’Jahiz of Basra’, pp. 677, 672.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 669.
76. Denison Ross, *Tārīkh-i-Fakhruddīn Mabārakshāh*, p. 48.
77. A. Schimmel, ’Turk and Hindu: A Poetical Image and its Application to Historical Fact’, in: S. Vryonis Jr. (ed.), *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages* (Wiesbaden, 1973), (pp. 107-26), p. 110, note 17.
78. Harley Walker, ’Jahiz of Basra’, pp. 666-7.
79. Schimmel, ’Turk and Hindu’.
80. Harley Walker, ’Jahiz of Basra’, p. 679.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 673.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 678.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 679.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 670.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 672.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 678.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 682-5.
88. Mainz, ’Die Türken’, pp. 278-83; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols (Halle, 1897), I, pp. 270-1; Bosworth, ’Ghaznevid Military Organization’, p. 52.
89. Denison Ross, *Tārīkh-i-Fakhruddin Mubārakshāh*, pp. 35-36.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
92. Cf. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, pp. 234, 241, 258-9.
93. Cf. p. 761.
94. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 131-64; Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, pp. 239, 243.

95. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 244.
96. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, p. 486.
97. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 167.
98. *Ibid.*, IV, 178-9.
99. *Ibid.*, IV, 166, 211.
100. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 250.
101. S. Lévi and E. Chavannes, 'L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong (751-790)', *Journal Asiatique*, 9e séries, VI (1895), p. 352.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 354-7.
103. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 544, 1149, 1158; VIII, 919, 923, 885-7, 2843.
104. *Ibid.*, VII, 1095, 1149; Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, p. 249.
105. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 519-22.
106. Lévi and Chavannes, 'Ou-k'ong', pp. 377-8.
107. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, p. 348.
108. Wink, *Al-Hind*, I, pp. 114-6.
109. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, III, 103; V, 233.

MEANINGFUL RITUAL
Vedic, Medieval, and Contemporary Concepts in the Nepalese Agnihotra Ritual

Michael Witzel

A casual visitor to the southern outskirts of the town of Patan, which is situated south of Kathmandu on the other side of the Bāgmati River, may come across one of the many two-storeyed and house-like temples, which are home to such deities as the *Navadurgā* or *Aṣṭamātṛkā*. They are known as *dyaḥcheṁ* (vulgo: *dyochem*) or *dyaḥga* (*dyoga*) in the Newārī language, a word which ultimately derives from Sanskrit *devagṛha*, "god's house". This temple, however, is known as *Agiṁmaṭh, Agnisālā* or *Agnisthal*, or by its Sanskrit equivalents as *agnimaṭha, agniśālā, agniṣṭhala*. The farmer families (*jyāpu*) who live around the temple in this quarter of the town called Thambu can point out that it is Agni, the God of Fire, who resides here, and that, indeed, women come here every morning to pay homage to this god. One can always meet a few of them, clad in the traditional Newār dress, a black sari with red hem, who come carrying brass plates with the usual *pūjā* offerings. At this temple, however, these offerings are often supplemented by small pieces of wood.

Indeed, if one looks through the door of the temple one can see three fire altars which are about a three or four feet high. A fire is burning on them or smoldering on a huge heap of ash, and a priest, often assisted by his wife, burns wood, ghee or various sorts of grains on them. An Indologist or a Vedic specialist, however, who might visit this temple will be struck by the pictures of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā that are painted on the fire altars, something unknown in ancient, Vedic or medieval, Purāṇic sacrifice. The *vedisant* will ask himself why all these women are coming and offering. Is this a Vedic ritual or is it one of the everyday *pūjās* for which women usually come and bring offerings early in the morning?

The priest takes these offerings, separates the grains which he throws, handful by handful, into the fire while mumbling prayers. The visitors then receive the *prasād* of the god, some flowers, they bow and leave. Sometimes an old woman might just come and bow to the fire and go away again. Others have a brief chat or, less frequently, an extended conversation with the priest's wife. In such cases, they retire to an antichamber of the temple to talk in private. All of this does not seem to present anything unusual: a priest offering, though not in front of a statue of some god but directly into a fire, and women (hardly ever men) who come to make their *pūjā*.

Yet, as we will discover, this temple, its ritual and the priestly traditions underlying them are something very special: actually, they are unique in the whole of the subcontinent, and even in those parts of Asia which exhibit cultutral influences from India.

An anthropologist who strays by the temple may observe that women do not pray to a figure of a god, as is usual in South Asia. For example, they do not touch the door posts of the temple where there are some four figures of gods on the *toraṇa* crowning the entrance, though the lowermost one even is one of Agni, the main deity of this temple. Inside, however, one finds only the aniconic, physically present God Fire. The anthropologist may also note the frequent and lively interaction, between the visitors and the priest, and especially those involving the wife of the priest. This is something that is not common at the *pūjās* of temples or small shrines. The very participation of the priest's wife strikes the observer: usually men offer, but here, one can also see the priest's wife offer grains into the fire. On the other hand, one will notice that it is the usual gods of Nepal who surround the temple: a Bhairava who gets a bali[1] offering, a Gaṇeśa, a Nāga, and Lakṣmī.

The temple, therefore, just seems to specialize in the worship of the otherwise hardly prominent Purāṇic deity Agni, the Fire God. Asking why local people come to the Agnimaṭh, the anthropologist gets something like a standard answer: to ward off evil, or to offer something to counter the bad effects of the planets. He may be told that a local astrologer, a *jośi*, has sent the visitors to the Agniśālā to worship and to offer. He is told this happens especially on birthdays, and in this way, people insure themselves against the bad influences of planets in the year to come, or they do so for another member of the family. One may conclude that this yearly visit seems to be one of the many rituals and *pūjās* performed to insure one's future. It seems to be a Nepalese development as people otherwise do not flock to Agni temples, - there are not any of them one would know about in India. Yet Nepal differs from India in so many respects - why not in this one as well?

If our imagined anthropologist knows something about Tantra, he might also speculate that this ritual may have something to do with the commonly found male/female opposition. The god Fire, just as the 'element' Fire is quite generally imagined as male, and the women visiting the temple may represent the female element. This seems to be echoed inside the temple by the priest and his wife. Perhaps there are more correspondences, but, unfortunately, the shape of the altars (square, round, half-circle) does not offer a clue. In the Tantric systems, the half-circle may represent an inverted triangle and therefore the female element, the male counterpart is missing here; the round fire represents heaven or the underworld, stored energy, the use of which permits one to supersede the natural world and to reach salvation or emancipation, and the square fire is a symbol of extension, of a surface, and of the earth.[2] Unless earth is regarded as a representation of the female element, this aspect would be missing in the Agniśālā design. But then, the round fire would repeat the male aspect, having the form of heaven.[3] However, an identification with the three famous gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā (round fire), Viṣṇu (square), and Śiva (Rudra, semi-circular) is habitually made by the priest, and the pictures of these gods are found on the respective altars. This identification certainly does not fit the characters of the gods and the interpretation of their forms in Tantra. While Brahmā is the creator, his fire has a shape which would indicate stored energy, Viṣṇu is the preserver, but his fire indicates extended energy, and finally, the half-circle of Śiva would rather represent the female aspect, which certainly does not agree with the nature of this god. The anthropologist therefore is left with many unanswered questions and whatever he may ask, the priest and the visitors will not lead him much further in an understanding of this ritual. For example, another common answer offered by the priest is that it is performed for his own benefit and for that of the King and the country.

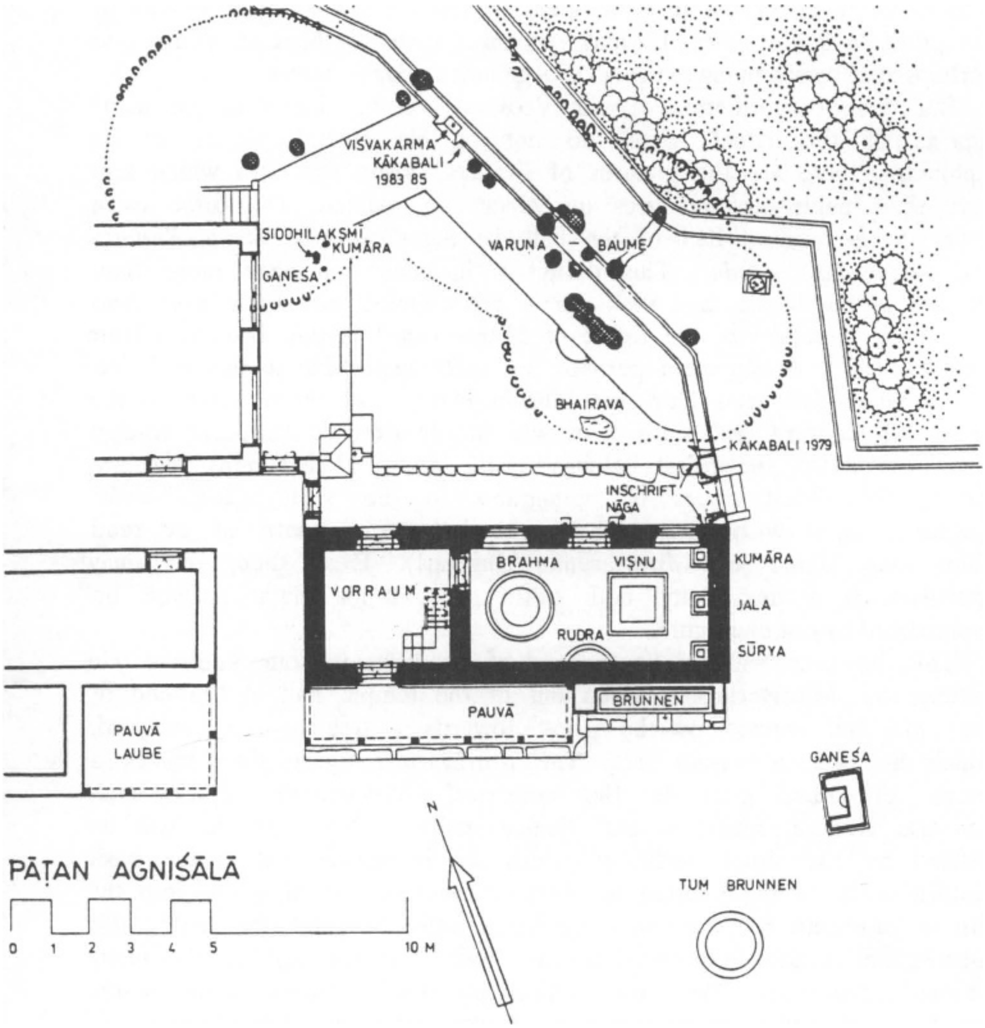
Another type of visitor, an Indologist (or as one prefers to say in Nepal, a Sanskritist) may recognize the basic features of a *homa* sacrifice. There are several fires into which an offering of *ghee*, grasses, or grains is made. If one leans into the temple without being reprimanded just as the children are, one can barely discern three more altars in front of the dark eastern wall of the temple. All of this might fit one's general knowledge about various types of fire rituals in the Epics and Purāṇas. For example, the indologist may know of a Bhāgavata Purāṇa recitation lasting seven days which is accompanied by offerings into five fires, or he may have read about the elaborate *lakṣahoma* ritual which requires an offering of grain made 100,000 times. He must be puzzled, however, by the pictures of the Hindu trinity on the three fires. He may also wonder what the priest's wife is doing in such a *homa* ritual.

When the priest is asked for details, he turns out to be a Brahmin (and not, for example, a *karmācārya* priest of the farmer caste, an *ācājyu* Jyāpu) who knows some Sanskrit, but our Indologist will certainly be surprised to hear that this ritual is called an *agnihotra*. He begins to wonder: an Agnihotra with fires representing Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva? After all, these gods are not prominent in the Veda, and they are not found at all in Vedic texts which describe and interpret the Agnihotra offering. They only gained prominence well after the end of the Vedic period, and they were never part and parcel of a Vedic ritual such as the Agnihotra. On the other hand, one is then immediately projected back into a Vedic framework when one learns that a small figure covered by red *sindura* dust, which is placed at the foot of the large Viṣṇukuṇḍa fire altar, is called *Mitrāvaruṇa* [sic!]. The gods Mitra and Varuṇa, Vedic dual deities, are not prominent after the Vedic period, Varuṇa feebly survives as the god of the ocean and Mitra is virtually unknown. So the Indologist may wonder what kind of Vedic survival he is witnessing or what kind of mixture with post-Vedic ritual elements this may be.

If our visitor happens to be a Vedic specialist, he will at first be pleasantly surprised. At one glance, he will recognize the three holy fires prescribed for a Vedic Agnihotra ritual; the left one[4], situated in the east, is the square *āhavanīya* fire, the right (western) one is round, having the typical shape of the *gārhapatya* fire, and the middle one has the form of a half-circle, the shape prescribed for a *dakṣiṇāgni*. A Vedic specialist will also recognize the peculiar ancient shape of the offering ladle used by the priest. Even the presence of the priest's wife does not astonish him; she must take part in the Agnihotra, as prescribed by the Veda. If he happens to catch a few Mantras spoken by the priest in a low voice, he may recognize some of them as Vedic, and perhaps even as belonging to the set of Agnihotra *yajuṣ* formulae.

But then, the attention of our Vedisant will be drawn to the many aspects of this ritual which do not fit his mental picture of an Agnihotra; there are the pictures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva which also gave their names to the fires on which are painted. The three extra altars in the eastern half of the hall, he hears, are the *Sūrya, Kumāra* and *Maṇi*(*nāga*) *kuṇḍas*. This definitely includes one altar more than allowed in the Vedas, and their names are a-typical and again new. And what must he make of the figure of Mitrāvaruṇa? Is this a survival from Vedic times, a development perhaps not quite impossible in this secluded Valley which has seen only one Muslim invasion of three weeks in the fourteenth century and since then was hardly exposed to other foreign influences? Also, the priest belongs to the group of Brahmins who are among the oldest layers of immigrants to the Valley, the Newārī speaking *Rājopādhyāyas*. But then, one has never heard of or read about any figure of Mitrāvaruṇa (singular!). Even then, one may speculate, as a dual deity, both Mitra and Varuṇa might perhaps be represented by just one figure...

This, however, will not be the end of questions for our Vedisant. He notices that Mitrāvaruṇa is taken out of the temple hall at the end of the *pūjā* and carried by the priest towards a tree in the courtyard, which he calls a *varuṇa* tree. The Mitrāvaruṇa figure then makes a round of other gods in the courtyard, Viśvakarmā, Siddhilakṣmī, Kumāra, Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, and Nāga. Finally, a Vedic scholar will be baffled by the ritual itself, of which he recognizes only some basic features such as the pouring of ghee or the throwing of grains into the fire, a substitute for the usual Agnihotra milk. However, he knows, this substitution is already allowed in the Veda. But the rest of the many actions escapes him. Why are multiple offerings of grain made by the priest or his wice from plates of leaves, why are metal spoons of strange shapes used instead of the well known wooden *agnihotrahavaṇī* ladle? Why is Mitrāvaruṇa worshipped in an Agnihotra ritual at all? What does the priest do at the sixth altar, where he sits for an extended period of time, at the end of the ritual, reciting long passages of Mantras of which one can occasionally grasp a few lines dedicated to ancestors and the King... One notices on closer inspection that the sixth altar does not contain a fire, but is a structure covered with dry leaves, flowers, and strings. He learns that this is a *kalaśa*, the *(Maṇi)Nāga-Kalaśa*; this is certainly something post-Vedic as well.[5] Of the offerings made outside of the temple, one portion is thrown on the Bhairava stone in front of the door, another portion is put on the wall of the courtyard; this is the *śvabali* and the *kākabali*, he learns.


VIŚVAKARMA
KĀKABALI
1983 85
SIDDHILAKṢMĪ
KUMĀRA
GAṆEŚA
VARUṆA
BAUME
BHAIRAVA
KĀKABALI 1979
INSCHRIFT
NĀGA
BRAHMA
VIṢṆU
VORRAUM
RUDRA
KUMĀRA
JALA
SŪRYA
BRUNNEN
PAUVĀ
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PĀṬAN AGNIŚĀLĀ
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TUṂ BRUNNEN

Even to the Vedic specialist, then, this ritual does not make sense. At best, it represents to him a curious mixture of old and new, a Vedic pattern interspersed with later traits, and a curious survival of a Mitrāvaruṇa worship. Why, finally, is this Agni venerated at all, while the three other Agnihotras in the Kathmandu Valley are not visited by the populace, and why is their Agni not worshipped by the local people, as it indeed should be the case? A Vedic ritual, one knows, basically is a private ritual not intended for public participation or for daily worship of outsiders.

The three specialists, whom we imagined in the preceding paragraphs, even taken together cannot provide a cogent and tenable explanation of this ritual. As we shall see, important aspects for an understanding of the rite have been noted, but it will be necessary not only to put these observations and conclusions together but to add many other, more hidden facets. Only then can we arrive at an understanding of this particular Agnihotra ritual;[6] gauge its importance for the people of present-day Patan, evaluate the legends told about the temple and its priests, can we understand the functions of the many, too many, small ritual details involved, and correctly describe and comprehend the historical trends which are underlying the development from a 3000 year old Vedic ritual to the contemporary Agnihotra as performed at Patan.[7]

1. *The Vedic and the Tantric Agnihotra.*

First, I will try to put some order into these impressions and give some answers to the questions posed; I will commence with the oldest form of this ritual, the Vedic Agnihotra.

In its barest form the Vedic Agnihotra consists of an offering of milk or, optionally, of ghee into the three sacred fires. This takes place in the evening and is accompanied by a few mumbled prose sentences, the central ones of which are the mantras: "the light is Agni, Agni is the light" (*agnir jyotir, jyotir agniḥ*, VS 3.9a, KŚS 4.14.6). They establish an identification of *agni* and *jyotiṣ*, i.e. the heavenly light (the sun) and the light here on earth (Agni, the fire). This magical identification, which can also be seen in the old Iranian fire ritual,[8] assures the survival of the sun through the dangers of the night and secures its rise next morning when the fire is made to blaze again from its embers. After offering into the fires, they are venerated and then the coals are shoved together and covered with ash so that they can be kept glowing until the next morning. Then, they are rekindled before sunrise, with the same ritual and the same mantras, except that the central yajus formula is changed to: "The light is the sun, the sun is the light" (*sūryo jyotir, jyotiḥ sūryaḥ* VS 4.15.9-10), a magically effective inversion of the Mantra used in the evening.

While this ritual dates from Vedic times and is at least 3000 years old, it has survived at Patan in a peculiar form apparently not found anywhere else in the Indian subcontinent. Furthermore, the secluded nature of the Kathmandu Valley has allowed the preservation of an unusual amount of historical and literary documents on the Agnihotra. This lucky coincidence allows us to follow its development, its interpretation, and its diversification in this outlying region of the subcontinent through several millenia.

Actually, the Agnihotra is still one of the simpler Vedic rituals, yet it contains about 100 separate actions. As space does not permit me to detail all these actions - they have been described well by Dumont[9] - I refer to the diagram (below) in order to provide an idea of the old and the "new" Agnihotra. Obviously the main parts, such as the offerings (of ghee) into the fire, the three (plus two) sacred fires into which offerings are made, have been retained. As in Vedic times, both the priest and his wife, the Agnihotriṇī, take part. The basic structure of the Vedic and contemporary Agnihotra is similar, both in text and in actual performance today. To use P. Thieme's description of the available oldest Indian ritual, as alluded to in the Ṛgveda, these rituals are forms of guest worship.

guests/gods	*ritual*
	preparation of the offering ground preparation of the fires, *vedi*
- the guests/gods are invited (to the offering ground),	*āvāhana* of gods...
- they are washed, refreshed, feasted, and praised with hymns,	- offerings of milk, etc. - with several subframes
- they are sent off (to be invited again another time).	*visarjana* of gods
	final rites (covering thefires, their worship: *agnyupasthāna*)

Actually, there is a great similarity in Ṛgvedic, 'classical' Vedic and in modern *pūjā* ritual which has not been noticed sufficiently so far.[10] Again, for want of space I can only summarize the comparison of all the details which could be compared when a detailed study of the Vedic and the modern Agnihotra at Patan is made:

1. The order of some of the actions has been changed.
2. There are a few intrusions in the old ritual: Varuṇa, the Nāga, the long *śrāddha* at the end... (and, incidentally, to take refuge with the by now standard terminology of Great/Little Tradition, does not explain everything here).
3. There is an elaborate Tantristic framework into which the ritual is set.

I begin with the last item, the Tantric influences and its framework.

The Vedic ritual starts with the cleaning of the offering ground, strewing of grass etc., that is, with 'household' preparations for receiving guests in a still rather simple society. The Tantric Agnihotra of Patan, however, strsses the mental preparation as well; not only is the offering ground cleaned and cleansed but so is the body and the mind of the offerer. This is easily observable in the meditation of both the priest and his wife, and their breathing exercises. Producing the god mentally (*bhāvanā*) and identifying him with parts of one's own body (*nyāsa*) follows.[11] This is new and Tantric; all limbs or parts of the body are identified with those of the god. Only then do the actual practical preparations take place, such as rekindling the fire.

It is within these Tantric and "practical" frames[12] that the actual ritual begins with the Vrata, the taking up of the observance governing the sacrifice. The structure of these frames both in their Vedic and Tantric forms is similar.[13]

Vedic ritual	Tantric ritual
preparation of the offering ground	preparation of the offering ground and of the mind, body of priest (*ātmaśuddhi*)
	calling into his body of the god (*nyāsa*)
preparation of the fires, *vedi*	preparation of the fires, *vedi*
	vratagrahaṇa (taking up of ritual observance)
āvāhana of gods...	*āvāhana* of gods...
	- unifying god with one mentally produced earlier
- offerings of milk etc.	- offerings of ghee etc.
- with several subframes	- with several subframes
visarjana of gods	*visarjana* of gods
	vratavimokṣaṇa (giving up the *vrata*)
final rites (covering the fires, their worship: *agnyupasthāna*)	final rites (covering the fires, *pūjā* of the fires)
	finalizing the *nyāsa* state[14]

Here, we can perceive a system of frames within frames within frames so typical of Indian (and some other) rituals. Ritual does not have, as Staal will have it, a structure similar to an inverted tree, so well known from modern grammarians, but rather a complicated frame structure.[15] This model (whether one prefers to call it - with P. Hacker - 'inclusivism' or not) helps significantly to understand not only Vedic ritual but even some of the main features and structures of Indian thought. In the same way as the various ancient and more recent subsections and parts of the Vedic rituals are assembled, old and new are often found next to each other in other contexts as well, the older version having been "envelopped" and superseded, and yet often left unchanged by the new forms. This is the case, on a larger scale, also with the Vedic rituals of the Kathmandu Valley, where the Agnihotra is found in a separate, ancient form next to the 'reformed' Patan Agnihotra.[16]

Now to return to the ritual itself. Space does not allow to compare the Gṛhya and Śrauta fire rituals in detail, and I also cannot take a longer look at the worship of Mitrāvaruṇa which is, as we shall see, a medieval addition. An extra altar for a deity *Maṇināga*[17] is also unknown to the Vedic texts. It is Varuṇa, who in post-Vedic texts is not much more than a god of the Ocean and the waters, who is represented here as the snake god (or Nāga) Vāsuki by/in a water pitcher, a *kalaśa*, put on the sixth altar, the *maṇikuṇḍa*. In post-Vedic Hindu (and Buddhist) worship, gods frequently are called into such *kalaśas*, where they are represented by nuts.

The order of worship at the five fires, however, is important. Notably, the fifth, the *kumārakuṇḍa* (Ved. *avasathya*), is not used at all. The Vedic evening Agnihotra starts with the taking out of embers from *the gārhapatya* (*brahmakuṇḍa*) and continues with taking them to the *āhavanīya* (*viṣṇukuṇḍa*), while the *dakṣiṇāgni* (*rudrakuṇḍa*) either may burn permanently or may be kindled every time again, also with coals from the *gārhapatya*. However, this description applies to the evening Agnihotra, while the Patan ritual is more elaborate in the morning, both in its actual performance and the description in the MS. In the morning, the fires are rekindled with libations of ghee from the embers of the *āhavanīya* fire. This means that the sun receives power from the fire altar; the ritual was mostly performed before daybreak, and the sun was thus strenghthened enough to start is course again. The embers are taken out from the *āhavanīya* (representing the Sky) and moved towards the *gārhapatya* (Earth) and the *dakṣiṇāgni* (Moon).

One set of offerings deserves special mention and a more detailed investigation, the *desapāta*[18] offerings which are a medieval addition. They are interesting as they can give us an idea of which deities or places of worship were regarded as essential by the author of the new Agnihotra ritual. The following list is given according to two MSS; the unnumbered deities coming from only one of the two MSS used.

	Agniśālā gods	Location/interpretation
0	Sūrya	Sūryakuṇḍa
1	Gaṇeśa	
	Nārāyaṇa	
	Śiva	Rudrakuṇḍa
2	Maṇikumara	Manikuṇḍa
3	Allima	Brahmakuṇḍa?
4	Keśava	
5	Viṣṇu	Viṣṇukuṇḍa

Gods of Patan and its surroundings

		Patan circle	Valley circles
6	Dhanaṃjeśvara	NE: Paśupatināth? Dhanes Bazar?	
7	Bhīmasena	C: Patan	
	Tārāya		
8	Mānabhāirava	Mannibhairava, <S: Tangal Hospital>	
9	Māneśvarī	*ditto* (Śakti of Bhairava)	
10	Kumāra	? Agniśālā	
11	Gaṇeśa	? Agniśālā	
12	Śikhanārāyaṇa	C: W. of Agniśālā	<or SW: Parphing>
13	Āryāvalokiteśvara	S: Patan	
14	Mīnanātha	S: Patan	

Agniśālā gods

	Nīlagrīva		
15	Triliṅgeśvara	N. of Agniśālā, or:	W: near Balkhu River
16	Nāga	? Agniśālā	
17	Lakṣmī	? Agniśālā, or:	S: Mahālakṣmī
18	Dhvaka-Bhīmasena	<C. Patan?>	NE: Dolakha!
19	Vārāhī	N: (Dhaṃtila)	<S: Bajravārāhī>
20	Śikho-Bhairava	S: Bungamati (vārāhī)	
21	Mahālakṣmī	S: Patan Īndustrial DIstrict	
22	Dathulacche Ināya Kūpa	Vinayaka-Gaṇeśa: Agniśālā	N: Dhatukacheṃ? (= near Teku)
23	Gaṇeśa	? Agniśālā	
24	Kūpa	Agniśālā; well	
26	Gaṇeśa	? Agniśālā; near the well	
27	Vaiṣṇavī	SW: Nakhu River, near the jail	
28	Cori		S: Amlekhganj

29 Taḍāga "pond"	SW: Nakhu?	
30 Nāṭeśvara		
31 Cāmuṇḍa?		
32 Vaṭuka-Bhairava	S: Baṭuki-Bh. near the Stūpa	
33 Kumbheśvara	N: Patan	
34 Bhāga-Bairava	W: Kirtipur (= Vyāghra-Bh.)	
35 Ratneśvara		
36 Sveṣṭadevatā	= Devatā of the priest?	
37 Paśupati	C: Paśupatināth Temple	
38 Guhyeśvarī	C: *ditto*, near Paśupatināth	
39 Vacchalādevī	C: *ditto*, near Paśupatināth	
40 Valasuki-Nāga	C: *ditto*, near Paśupatināth? (Vāsuki-Nāga?)	
41 Jayarājeśvarī	C: *ditto*, near Paśupatināth	
42 Rājarājeśvarī	C: *ditto*, near Paśupatināth	
43 ..]ilasvarī	C: *ditto*, Maṅgaleśvarī?	
44 ..]vanī		
45 Dolaśikha Nārāyaṇa	E: Changu Nar.	E: Changu Nar.
46 ..]ti/Bhūniśa		
47 ..]dyanam		
48 ..]ajimā		

Agniśālā

49 Pañcāgni	5 fires	
50 Balithāvali	*bali* places, northern courtyard	
51 Thaṃtu	"well", south of Agniśālā	
52 Gaṇeśa	NW courtyard	
53 Nasuvalī/Laṣu	*bali* place?	
54 Balkhusayavi	Balkhu cremation ground?	
55 Dvāra	door god(s): Brahma, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Agni	
56 Nāga	Nāga at E. doorpost of Agniśālā	
57 Vajrayoginī		NE: Sankhu/ SW Parphing
59 Koṭeśvara	NE: Patan: Manohara River	
60 Vāgmatī	N: Patan, Bagmati River	
61 Tīrthas	N: Patan: *ghāṭs*	
62 Vajravārāhī		S: near Capagaon
63 Nārāyaṇa		
64 Kvathu	N: Patan, near Bagmati R. or pond on the way from Jalavinayaka	
65 Chāso		
66 Hanuman	NE: Patan: river, or at the Palace gate?	
67 Varuṇa		
68 Gṛhalakṣmī	Siddhilakṣmī of the Agniśālā courtyard?	
69 *sarve devāḥ*	All the gods of the town and the Valley	

We will have to retun to this list, which even includes the two Buddhist gods Āryāvalokiteśvara[19] and Mīnanātha,[20] and also many gods surrounding Patan inside the Kathmandu Valley; at first sight they are arranged in two or three concentric circles.

Summing up this brief comparison of the old and the medieval ritual it can be stated:

- The outward form of the Vedic Agnihotra has been retained (3/5 fires, preserving and rekindling the fire, etc.).
- A new (Tantristic) frame has been created to include the Vedic actions (albeit in a changed order and simplified).
- This framework also includes many post-Vedic, and notably, Tantric additions: worship of new deities as found in medieval Hinduism as well as some very special deities and entities encountered only here, at the Patan Agnihotra, such as Mitrāvaruṇa, Maṇināga or the Varuṇa tree.

In short, the elements of the great Brahmaṇical (and Vedic) tradition of Northern India are clearly in evidence, but there are quite a number of later and notably local developments as well. The influence of the Little Tradition, the local one of the Newār of this Himalayan Valley, makes itself felt. Consequently we do not just witness a simple survival of old Vedic forms (as for instance in the repeated re-introduction at Paśupatiṇath[21] and two other places[22] in the Valley of a Vedic form of the Agnihotra during the last two centuries).

Therefore the question arising here, is not the simple one of change and continuity[23] in Indian religion and thought, but, as we can deduce even from the quick comparison of ancient Vedic, medieval, and modern ritual presented so far, what must be explained here is a special development, an amalgamation which involved various strands of tradition, both ancient and medieval, and both local and supraregional.[24]

2. *Conditions of Change*

This leads to the second topic which I should like to address here: the actual conditions of change. As always in the Indian subcontinent, these are somewhat difficult to fathom due to the perceived, almost complete lack of genuine historical writing in Indian civilization, and often, the actual lack of documents pertaining to the question.[25] In Nepal, however, we are somewhat more fortunate in this respect, and a brief look into history is useful to establish a background against which the changes can be projected which took place in the development of this ritual.

Ever since the earliest inscription of Nepal found so far, i.e. the Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ stele of Mānadeva of 464 A.D., Nepal has been a Hindu kingdom, with Hindu kings and courtiers, whatever the religion of the mass of the people had been throughout the ages. The coronation inscription of Aṁśuvarman, put up in 605 A.D. at Harigaon, already refers to an Agni temple or ritual. Here, a little to the south-west of the probable site of his palace,[26] one of the few scientific excavations carried out in the Valley until recently[27] had produced a platform of large bricks with a fire altar, an *agnikuṇḍa*, most probably the Agni mentioned in Aṁśuvarman's inscription.

Among the circa three thousand, mostly unpublished medieval inscriptions, there is, luckily, one of King Ānandadeva (1127-1167 A.D.), which even mentions the *agnimaṭha*. The princes Yaśomalla and Someśvara serve as *dīkṣitas* of the ritual in c. 1140 A.D. The next inscription, one by prince Dharmamalla of 1401 A.D., which was found next to the present Agni temple, already mentions a restoration of the Agnimaṭha at its location at Thambu in south-west Patan. And a slightly damaged inscription in the courtyard of the Agniśālā, dated 1572 A.D.[28], reports certain *guṭhi* regulations in connection with the Agniśālā.

Now it could be asked, in the context of medieval Nepal: why is the Agniśālā located at Patan, which was situated some five miles away from the medieval capitals of Gvala (Deopatan at Paśupatināth) and some ten miles from Tripura (Bhaktapur)? And why is it not found, for example, at the center of Patan?

The reason for this position of the Agniśālā is a surprising one: the division into two moieties of the Kathmandu Valley, perhaps in force since times immemorial: a male north-eastern one and a female south-western one. Two pilgrimage sites and bathing places (*tīrtha*) represent these two halves of the Valley. The ancestor worship for one's mother (*śrāddha*) is to be performed at the south-western location of Mātātīrtha (near Thānkoṭ), and that of one's father at a north-eastern location, at Gokarṇa. Even the kitchens on the top floor of houses are divided in this way. The south-western corner is the one reserved for women and it is here that they cook. The north-eastern corner is reserved for the gods and their pūjā. The same division into male and female moieties is also found in the town of Kīrtipur.[29] As far as the Agniśālā and the Agnihotra ritual are concerned, the division of the Valley into two halves is reconfirmed by the legendary opposition of an origin of Fire at the Maṇicūṛ Mountain in the north-east and its establishment in the south-western corner of the Valley, near the water of the Triveṇi at Cobhar, and near the Campādevī Mountain, a fact to which we will have to return.

In the early Middle Ages, the selection of Patan as the location for the Agnihotra temple therefore may have been influenced, apart from political reasons, by this mythical division of the Valley. As for possible political reasons, the installation of the Agnihotra ritual and temple can be understood as a deliberate action by a monarch, probably[30] Śivadeva (1098-1126 A.D.), who wanted to create a new center. He chose a typical Brahmanical ritual when re-establishing his new Hindu Kingdom. In fact, he even had a very good motive: he needed ideological support against the strong (probably predominantly Buddhist) gentry of the *pradhānas* of Patan. Consequently, he used the well-known 'trick' of a new king or dynasty, that is to settle Brahmins with rich endowments around the central core area,[31] and he founded the temple of an important god which these Brahmins had to worship; in short, we see the establishment of a *cordon sanitaire*.[32]

Even the actual performance of the ritual can be detailed on the basis of some historical documents. From the time of Jayasthiti's and Dharmamalla's restoration of a strong Hindu kingdom at the end of the 14th century comes a manuscript[33] (dated 1433 A.D.) which deals in detail with the fortnightly Dārśapaurṇamāsa ritual and their variants, as well as with the daily Agnihotra, although in a very abbreviated form. After this early written testimony, there are detailed MSS. from 1601 A.D. onwards to this day.[34]

Therefore, four periods can be distinguished in the development of the Patan Agnihotra:

- Vedic texts (Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra),
- medieval Purāṇic evidence (especially in the Agnipurāṇa),
- the MSS. of 1433 A.D. onwards,
- modern performance and the present day MSS.

The MS of 1433 A.D. already deals with the new Tantristic ritual in a form that is only marginally different from the ritual of today. The change from a Vedic Agnihotra, and perhaps from an early Paurāṇic ritual (of *homa* type, as described in Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 30-31), to a '*miśra*', Tantristic one must have taken place in Nepal between 605 A.D. (the single fire altar of Aṁsuvarman) and 1433 A.D. (three / five sacred fires of the Agniśālā). Taking into account the inscription[35] of 1403 A.D., which already mentions a 'restoration' of the temple, and evaluating the date of the foundation, according to the later chronicles of the turn of the 19th century (*vaṁśāvalīs*), of the Agnimaṭha by Śaṅkaradeva (1060-82),[36] we may justifiably assume that the Tantric ritual, as preserved in the MS of 1433 A.D., is more or less the same as that used by Ānandadeva's son Yaśomalla and prince Someśvara, mentioned at c. 1140 A.D. in the earliest inscription found so far that clearly refers to the Agnimaṭha.[37]

The Tantric form of Fire Ritual

If this represents the establishment of a Tantristic Agnihotra in the 11th century, the question to be asked now is: What is typical for its form? What is the Tantric form of a fire ritual? The answer to these questions would, of course, fill volumes. Let me summarize them here in a few, very general sentences. In Tantra, the idea that the universe is constituted by two entities, male and female, the God and his female partner, his śakti, plays a great role. All forms are constituted by the interactions and emanations of these two entities. The male element is the active one here;[38] it is Fire, flaming upwards, and represented in diagrams (important in the present context, as we shall see) and in general symbolism by a triangle pointed upwards. The female element is passive, watery, trying to reach an equal level, and is represented by a triangle pointing downwards. These two triangles combined may form a star of David. In that case they are in productive union. Or they may form a rhombus[39]; in that case both are in a state of celibacy. One can easily note that the identification as fire and water of the two basic entities lends itself to a new interpretation of the fire ritual of Vedic times. Whatever is done with a fire can represent an activity of the god.

Originally Tantric religion was private (and, in that sense, similar to the private Vedic ritual) and usually challenged traditional religion and caste structure, but it has undergone a change. For example, originally, the private meditation on fire was a form of *sādhana*, a very personal meditation, by which the adept tried to create (*bhāvanā*) a divinity from his mind, e.g. in the present case the god Agni, and inserted him into the fire. This *samaya* or "conventional" god is then unified with another one, the *lokottaradeva* Agni, called from "the other world". Both are united in the fire.[40]

Yet fire is, of course, not united with water, neither in ritual nor in the mind of the adept; water is sprinkled around Agni, a Vedic practice, but it is not poured into him. Water is also present at the Agniśālā in various other forms, as *samudra*,[41] Maṇināga, *kalaśa*, perhaps also as the *varuṇa* tree, and the Mitrāvaruṇa figure made from it. Thus, it surrounds Agni everywhere but does not enter him. Instead the male God Fire is envisioned as burning in the womb of the female Goddess Earth, represented either by a pit dug into the offering ground, or, as in the Patan Agniśālā, by the fire altars which, in turn, are constructed with clay bricks (*iṣṭikā*, fem.). What is poured into the fire altar, is *ghee*, a symbol of semen, and this is poured from a *yoni*-shaped offering ladle. This male/female dichotomy, which of course reminds one of innumerable Vedic examples, is repeated many times in the ritual.

If the *sādhana* of Agni originally was a strictly private affair, it became a public one at the moment it became a royal Agnihotra in the Middle Ages. Already the oldest inscription mentions princes as *yajamānas* or *dīkṣitas*. Some other priests in addition to the Agnihotrī always took part in the Dārśapaurṇamāsa and other fortnightly and monthly rites, and they still do so today, albeit rather erratically. This transformation is another case of Brahmanization or, perhaps, to employ the nowadays overused term, of Sanskritization (Srinivasan). While the early Tantric rituals were performed by any initiated adept for himself or his group, the Patan Agnihotra is a typical Brahmanical ritual with Mantras in (Vedic) Sanskrit, and with an elaborate ritualistic system which only learned priests can understand. *The wheel has turned again*, and, as in so many cases, whatever had originated as a 'reformed' or popular ritual, was sooner or later taken over by the Brahmins and inserted into their framework of a highly specialized, difficult and Sanskritized ritual which is open only to members of the higher castes and which can only be performed by the priests themselves.

Developments after 1600

By the time the Malla kingdom of Patan became independent[42] from Kathmandu (1619 A.D.), the famous *tāntrika* Viṣvanātha, who is believed to have been able to fly from Patan to Benares in a few moments, turned the Patan Agnihotra into a kind of state ritual. This was related to and performed for the King, who sometimes had to perform certain tasks, for example at the time of the introduction of a new Agnihotrī. Actually, he is referred to in the ritual, and indeed is mentioned to this very day, though the present dynasty has not supported the Patan Agnihotra.

Our earliest source for the ritual after the creation of the Patan kingdom in 1619 is an authograph of the Dārśapaurṇamāsa ritual written by the Tāntrika Viśvanātha himself some eighteen years earlier. This MS contains many notes on the ritual in Newārī language. However, the MS of 1433 was composed completely in Sanskrit. At that time, the ritual was still a strictly priestly affair, but things changed. The MS of 1601 mentions the King, the country and its well-being, the wish for rain, etc. While the introduction of a Tantristic Agnihotra in the Middle Ages seems to constitute a clear case of the Sanskritization that persisted until at least 1433, this is then counterbalanced by regionalization which is already clearly visible in Viṣvanātha's MS of 1601 A.D.

Still later, the populace seems to have been allowed to take part. So far, this is only attested in a few nineteenth century documents, but I assume that this happened as a result of the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley by the Gorkhas in 1768/69. Though rarely, the Agnihotrī mentioned in interviews that the Patan Brahmins had to conform to the new situation in which they no longer received land and other grants from the new dynasty and had to appeal to the Patan people to take part in the rites. The effects of regionalization then grew. Gradually, the Rājopadhyāyas involved in the ritual lost much of their learning. They were new restricted to Patan proper. The new rulers of the Śāha dynasty had turned to other rituals, such as a Vedic revival, the Agnihotra of Paśupatināth, which was apparently instituted at the time of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ by the king of the neighboring state of Makwanpur.

These developments naturally increased the trend to regionalization, one may even say, to communalism or tribalism... Both the last Agnihotrī as well as the present one had learnt the rite from a written text, a manuscript in Newāri viz. Devanāgarī script. "The book is my *guru*," the last Agnihotrī used to tell me, and therefore, in spite of his general patience and friendliness, did not allow its filming.[43]

Two main discernable causes which shaped the Patan Agnihotra are therefore: first, a general development of religion from the Vedic and early Paurāṇic forms to the Tantric stage, accompanied by strong royal interest in the Middle Ages, and secondly, a socio-economic situation in which the priests wanted to continue their ritual. I will attempt to answer below why this took place.

That this evaluation is basically correct is noticeable from a comparison with the "official", traditional Vedic Agnihotra at Paśupatināth.[44] This has been performed, at least since the Gorkhā conquest of the Valley in 1769 A.D., twice daily, in half-secrecy. No one comes to watch it, and only the priest offers into the fires. He was quite nervous when I asked him anything about the ritual in the presence of others. When he was alone, he was more open-minded and he once even told me (a *rara avis* indeed) how much money he received from the palace for the daily execution of the ritual.

3. *Reasons for the preservation of the Agnihotra.*

But why has the Patan Agnihotra ritual survived until now, in spite of the lack of royal assistance for more than two hundred years? One may argue that given the tenacity with which customs and rites are transmitted in South Asia to this very day,[45] this is not too surprising. But why exactly this Patan Agnihotra in its particular mixed (*miśra*) Vedic-Tantric form? Other older forms of rituals, whether Vedic or not, have vanished without trace. If other answers were not forthcoming, one could at least state that the Agniśālā and the God Agni, installed in aniconic form (something very rare indeed these days!) play a lively, and even a very important role in the contemporary religious thought and in the beliefs of the inhabitants of Patan.

For example, local people tell stories of how one of the later Rāṇa prime ministers, early in this century, wanted to cut down the Varuṇa tree in the courtyard of the temple, and how the gods prevented this. They punished the carpenter who had attempted to do so with immediate death, caused by vomiting blood. Even recently, they say, snakes lived there and they vanished only (a bad omen) just before the last Agnihotrī died.[46] Or, whenever there is a big fire, this means that God Agni has left his house and burns outside.[47] At such times, as in 1973 when the Singha Durbar Government Secretariat was burnt down in a big fire that lasted for a week, the fire in the Agni temple is believed to burn with very small flames.[48] There is, apparently, much more to the Agnihotra than meets the eye of the casual observer.

Aside from the Patan Brahmins, in Nepal only the "royal" Agnihotrins of Paśupatināth have performed the ritual continuously until today. This is understandable. The king wanted to protect himself and his country, and for the last 200 years the priests had easy access to a steady income just by performing the Agnihotra twice daily.[49] The case of Patan, however, is different. After the conquest, and with the shift of the Agnihotra to the 'National Shrine' of Paśupatināth, the Patan Agnihotrins were left to their own devices, successfully, as we already have seen. They were able to have the people of Patan visit their Fire Temple. Even then, it is not readily understandable that they continued the ritual. They could have argued that this function was now taken over by the new Agnihotra at Paśupatināth. Why bother to undergo the difficult, tedious and arduous observances of their own Agnihotra?[50] Would it disappearance leave a big gap? There is much evidence which indicates that it indeed would.

The Maṇḍala of Gods

We have already seen that this ritual invokes all the gods of Patan and its hinterland, even the Buddhist god Āryāvalokiteśvara, who is celebrated each year in the big Macchendranāth chariot festival.[51] This general invocation seems to effect the all-round protection of Patan. However, the gods surrounding a certain place are invoked in normal *homas* as well.[52] In the case of the Agnihotra they are named in what turns out to be a particularly interesting arrangement, the reason for which will be interesting to discover.

A look at the legends concerning the Agnihotra may help to discern the cause. The First Agnihotrī is believed to have come from the north-eastern mountain of Maṇicūṛ and to have taken his bath at the confluence of the Rivers Bāgmatī and the Nakhu (Prabhāvatī) at Cobhar, near the mountain Campādevī in the south-west of the Valley. Another legend, too, associates two corners of the Valley, the (north-)west and the south-east, i.e. the village of Jhūl[53] near Thānkoṭ/Mātātīrtha in the west of the Valley where, according to the early 19th century chronicle (*vaṁśāvalī*)[54] the Agnihotrins are said to have begun the original ritual, and, in the extreme south-east, at Gaur (Bengal) where they temporarily were exiled before returning to Nepal.The intersection of both lines is either the Patan Agniśālā itself or the confluence of the Nakhu and Bāgmatī rivers near Cobhar, west of Patan.

Still, the very confluence of the two rivers of Bāgmatī and Nakhu constitutes a center as well. Actually, any confluence is not only just one of two rivers but, mythologically, one of three, a Triveṇī of the streams of heaven and earth. The heavenly Gaṅgā (the Milky Way) is supposed to flow underground as well and join any important confluence of rivers; this confluence is, as it were, the center of the world.[55]

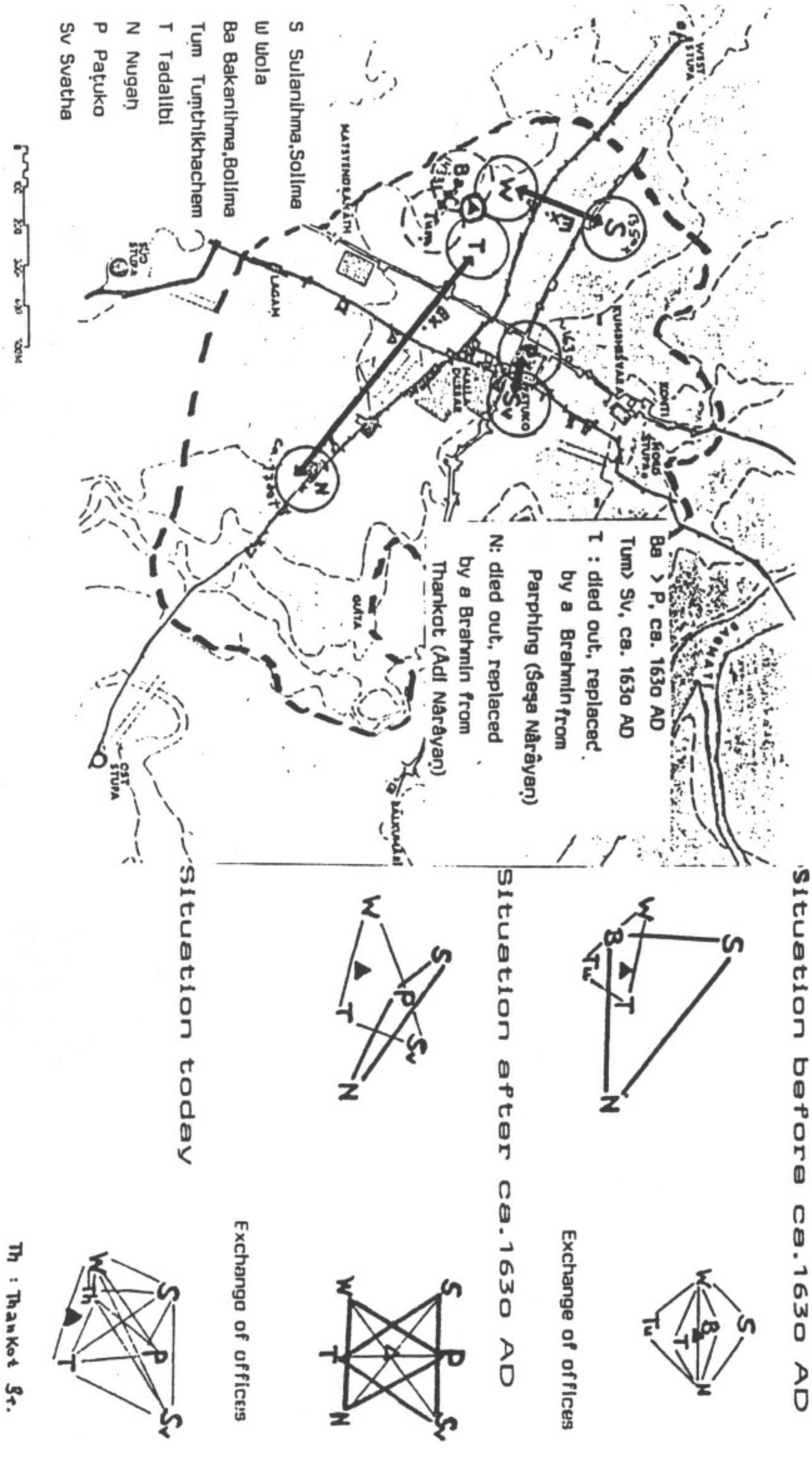
Then, there is a legend about the Bāgh Bhairav (*Vyāghra Bhairava*) of the town of Kirtipur, situated only three miles west of Patan. This Bhairava, represented in the form of a tiger made of clay,[56] always tried to extinguish the sacred fires of the Agnimaṭha; Vyāghra Bhairava looks eastwards and faces the Agniśālā. He put out the fires so many times that finally the people of Kīrtipur built a wall in front of him so that he could not see the Agniśālā any more.[57]

Bhairava is, as is well known, a demonic form of Śiva while the main deity of the Agniśālā is, except Agni himself, Viṣṇu, who is present in the Viṣṇukuṇḍa (Āhavanīya fire). However, in his more pacific aspect Bhairava lies, as a slab of stone, in front of the entrance of the Agniśālā, and he receives his share of the offerings each time the priest comes out from the temple at the end of the daily Agnihotra and places offerings in front of the tree and the other gods in the courtyard. He also receives part of the *śrāddha* food and the *bali* for the dogs (*śvabali*). Even at surface level this legend establishes a relationship between one of the most prominent gods of the neighboring town of Kīrtipur and the Agniśālā.[58] Apparently the fire ritual is so important that even the inhabitants of Kīrtipur took care to preserve it.

Pattern of exchange of priestly offices

The same is also indicated by the complicated pattern of exchange of offices which the clans of the Patan Brahmins undertake upon the death of an Agnihotrī. There are five, originally six, clans (*kawal*) with various ritual duties. Only one clan can supply the Agnihotrī, but the others send their oldest member (*thakāli*) to the Agniśālā on the days of the New and Full Moon so that he may take part in the Dārśapaurṇamāsa ritual as *hotar, udgātar, adhvaryu, brahman*, and as the (nominal) *yajamāna*. References to the exchange of offices can be found in some priests' diaries which are about 300 years old, among personal notes entered into ritual handbooks (*thyāsaphu*),[59] and in interviews with the present-day Agnihotrī and his clan.

According to this information the various quarters of Patan where Brahmins live are involved in the exchange, and to this scheme, the role of the Agniśālā is central though the temple is not located at the geographical core of Patan. Yet, the exchange of the offices of the Brahmins associated with the Agnimaṭha crosses the two main intersecting streets which roughly run north-south and west-east[60] with the four well-known "Aśoka" Stūpas at their ends. Consequently, should the Agnihotra be discontinued, this ritual interchange between the five clans of the Patan Brahmins could no longer function. Also, one must not forget that the Newārī speaking Brahmins of Patan, the Rājopādhyāya, can only intermarry with the circa 100 Rājopādhyāya families at Bhaktapur, Kathmandu and in a few minor towns. Therefore, in one way or another, the exchange of offices concerns most Newār Brahmin communities of the Valley.[61]


S Sulanihma,Sollma
W Wola
Ba Bakanihma,Bolima
Tum Tumṭhikhachem
T Tadalibi
N Nugaḥ
P Paṭuko
Sv Svatha
WEST STUPA
NORTH STUPA
S/O STUPA
EST STUPA
KUMBHEŚVARA
BAGMATI
LAGAN
MANGAL BAZAAR
PAṬUKO
Ba > P, ca. 1630 AD
Tum> Sv, ca. 1630 AD
T : died out, replaced by a Brahmin from Parphing (Śeṣa Nârâyan)
N: died out, replaced by a Brahmin from Thankot (Âdi Nârâyan)
Situation before ca.1630 AD
Exchange of offices
Situation after ca.1630 AD
Exchange of offices
Situation today
Th : Thankot Br.
S
W
B
Tu
T
N
P
Sv
Th

Exchange of offices at the Agniśālā by the Patan Brahmins

Another important aspect which helps to evaluate the importance of the Patan Agnihotra is the restriction of movement of the priest. Once a Rājopādhyāya Brahmin has become an Agnihotrī he is no longer allowed to cross rivers. The idea, again, can be traced back to Vedic times.[62] The rule means, in fact, that he is restricted to Patan itself.[63] In other words, the Agnihotrī priest seems to have been so important to the well-being of the medieval realm of Patan that he was not allowed out of it.

Importance of the Ritual

Even nowadays, this feeling still persists; the Agnihotrins usually claim that the Agnihotra sustains the country. This is why the last priest in talks with me always stressed that his work is unselfish. He said: "What is being done here, that is done for the whole country; what one person does here, that is done for all; when someone sits here [and offers], he sits everywhere; when we pour water here, then all parts [of the country] get wet..."[64]

Therefore the Agnihotra ritual of Patan was and is of vital importance to the well-being of the town of Patan, its surrounding hinterland, and also for the whole kingdom of Nepal. It was and is one of the few spiritual strongholds of the Newārī speaking Brahmins and the population of a Newar capital that was left without the traditional ritual and ceremonial center after its conquest in 1768/9, with its royal court deserted and its royal rituals discontinued.[65]

This role of the Agnihotra is observable to this very day. The last Agnihotrī, for example, said: "A Brahmin's work is prescribed; we cannot only do what we wish... This ritual has to be continued... My father sat here and his father..." When he died in 1980 and a successor could not be found immediately, the people, including even the Buddhist goldsmiths (and occasional priests, the *Śākya*) and the farmers (*Jyāpu*), interfered and proposed to start their own Agnihotra if the Brahins did not agree to continue the ritual. This much was even related to me by one of the leading Patan Brahmins[66] who otherwise had not much good to say about the Patan Buddhists; the same story was also told by some of the Buddhist priests (Bajrāchārya) who are occasional visitors to the temple.[67] Eventually, the Brahmins found a replacement from among their midst, though obviously not the *thakāli* of the clan who should have taken over the office.

With the small revenue acquired from the visitors, and apparently also with some unspecified income from land that was not confiscated by the national religious trust, the *Guṭhī Saṃstān*, the Agniśālā temple and the Agnihotra could be sustained until this very day, and a small income could be given to the Agnihotrī. This is really not very much, and the reward must be rather a spiritual than a mundane one; which spiritual reward may now be shown by an integral interpretation of the ritual.

4. *Interpretation.*

The Vedic Agnihotra

Before coming to the interpretation of the medieval and the present day Agnihotra, a few facts must be repeated about the Vedic form of this ritual. The original intention of the priests who conceived the Agnihotra, as it is alluded to in the Ṛgveda and as it must have existed even much earlier,* was apparently that of a sun charm. In other words, it was a rite that helped the sun through one of its critical points of "turning".[68] As is well known, the sun is thought to disappear in the west below the earth in the evening, to travel underground eastwards, and to re-appear next morning from its underground passage at the eastern horizon; this is similar to Old Egyptian myth, where the sun has to fight 'the dragon of the deep' each night.[69] Or, the sun is believed to have two sides, a dark and a bright one; at night, the sun travels eastwards with its dark side turned downwards, towards the earth; in the morning, it reverses its course, now with its bright, shining side turned downwards.[70] In both concepts of the nocturnal path of the sun danger looms up, either of no return, or of not turning back towards the earth, and therewith prospect of continuous darkness, which has to be warded off, for example by performing Agnihotra-like rites.

But there are other elements, such as making milk flow, which is in the heavenly river, the Vedic Sarasvatī and the later 'heavenly Gaṅgā'.[71] This river goddess brings fertility to men and easy childbirth to women. In the Veda and to this very day, it is a man's duty to beget a son to insure the survival of the line of progeny (*prajātantu*),[72] symbols of which are the *moj* string, the *mekhalā* cloth,[73] and the *yajñopavīta* cord of the initiated.[74] This connection of human beings with the gods is effected by means of the *tantu* of Agni, the 'string' extended from earth to heaven with the help of the fire and its smoke, as has been expressed since Ṛgvedic times in a stereotype fashion.[75] In addition, the relationship of men with their ancestors is stressed by the Agnihotra offerings to the *pitṛs*; their 'spiritual' ancestors, the *Ṛṣis*, are similarly 'fed' by the recitation of poetry and by the offering of food. All of this indicates that the 'classical' Vedic Agnihotra, like most of Vedic Śrauta rituals, is a combination of several older, (pre-)Ṛgvedic rituals.[76] This can also be seen through a more formalistic approach. The classical Agnihotra is a combination of a Ṛgvedic, *homa* type fire ritual (keeping the fires alive overnight) and an old milk offering to the Aśvins, made in a metal kettle. This rite has been preserved independently, in an artificial but archaic form, as the Pravargya ritual, in which the metal kettle of Ṛgvedic times has been exchanged for one of clay, made by the priest himself in an extremely primitive and

* See **ERRATUM** at the end of the article.

intentionally archaic fashion without a potter's wheel. Both the ancient fire and milk offering rites are joined in the Agnihotra, just as the Pravargya is later on (optionally) inserted into the Soma ritual.

The Tantric Agnihotra

Against this historical background, the medieval Tantristic Agnihotra of Patan emerges as being of similarly multi-valent meaning. Quite obviously, the protective role of Agni within a complicated *maṇḍala* of Tantric gods surrounding the Agniśālā, the town of Patan, and the Kathmandu Valley is of great importance. Agni provides protection against the intrusion of all kinds of demons,[77] unregulated powers that threaten persons and society, and the state, as well as a similar state of mind of the individual. One of these forces is Bāgh Bhairav from Kīrtipur. Bhairava is a member of the host (*gaṇa*) of Śiva or even one of his aspects. As was seen earlier, he is very much present right in front of the gate to the Agniśālā and he is regularly appeased there by a *bali* offering. In his more terrible aspect of a tiger he threatens the sacred fires, even at a distance, from his shrine at Kīrtipur. Such forces are kept at bay.

The Agnihotra and the Valley of Kathmandu

As we have already seen, God Agni at his Agniśālā of Patan is located at the center of a larger set of deities that surround him. These gods, all of whom occur, with their appropriate and often Vedic mantras, in the *deśapāta* (*deśabali*) offerings can be located on the map in three concentric circles, each of them divided into two semi-circles, the dividing line of which runs from north-west to south-east through the Agniśālā. They represent the two old opposing halves of the world, that of the gods and that of the fathers in Vedic times[78], or here rather the male and the female halves of the Valley, which we also find represented in the town of Kīrtipur,[79] in the Agniśālā temple itself, or in the two halves of a Newār kitchen. Such an interpretation agrees with the late medieval legends[80] about the origin of the Patan Agnihotra, which indicate a connection of the north-east and the south-west of the Valley. If stress is put on the concept of two moieties, then (N)E[81] opposes (S)W.[82]

The origin of the fire in the north-east is not surprising. Not only is this the direction of the gods, and the (south)east generally the direction of Agni, but the concept is also found in the comparatively late, medieval Agni Purāṇa, which often can be seen to be close to the ideas found in the Patan Agnihotra, including the identification of Agni with Viṣṇu in ch. 271, while ch. 34 deals with the *homa* ritual at some length.[83]

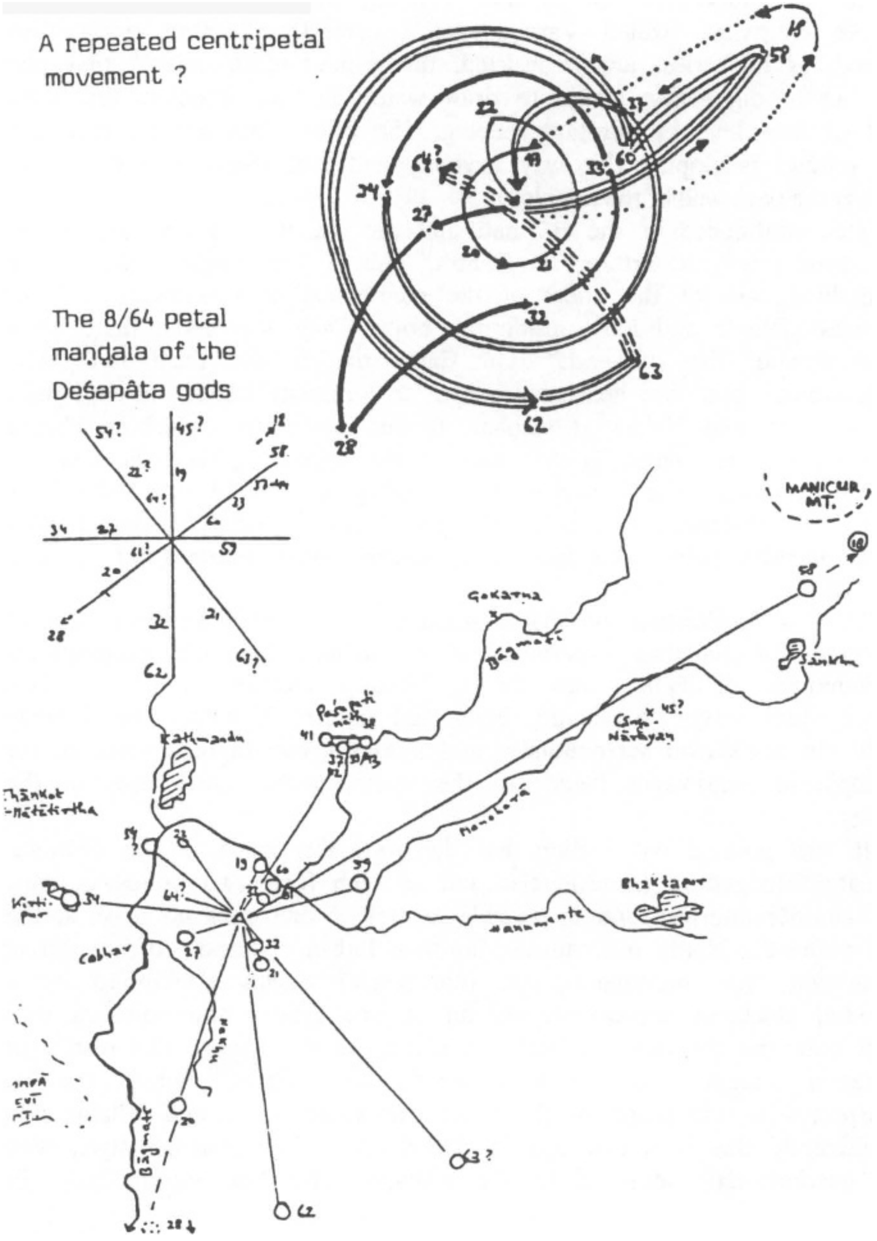
Uttaravāhinī and the human body

Within this scheme, the position in myth of the Agnihotra temple near an *uttaravāhinī*, a river flowing north, is necessary. This was consistently stressed by the late Agnihotrī. It is provided here by the Nakhu (Skt. Prabhāvatī), one of the few rivers of the Valley flowing northwards.[84] In the foundation myth of the Agnihotra ritual, the Agniśālā is situated at the confluence of this river with the southernbound Bāgmatī. The staff of the Agnihotrī, who took his bath at this confluence, persists to this very day as the Varuṇa tree in the temple courtyard (called Varuṇa-Nāga,[85] correctly: **varaṇa* tree). And indeed, as the priest always insisted, the ground is so damp[86] that one has but to dig a few inches to draw water; in fact, it colors the lower part of the altars by constant seeping. The priest does not mention that the ground is sloping this way anyhow, and that there is a big water tank at the back wall of the temple.

This confluence of the Bāgmatī and the Nakhu, a *triveṇī*, symbolizes the three 'mystical' arteries in Tantra. This is the Yogic feature of a symbolical bath of the adept at the confluence of two rivers, i.e. the 'arteries' *piṅgalā* and *iḍā*[87] inside the body. They are joined there by a third stream, the *suṣumnā*.[88] On Earth this is the third river, the underground one viz. heavenly Gaṅgā or Sarasvatī which, unseen, joins the Bāgmatī and Nakhu at Cobhar. If this confluence, which in Tantra is situated at the navel, is the place of the Agnihotra, then the head of the Vāstupuruṣa, who underlies the sacred geography of the Valley,[89] is in the (north-)east, his feet in the (south/north-)west, cf. Agni Purāṇa 34.36 *prācyāṃ śiraḥ samākhyātaṃ ... jaṅghe vāyavyanairṛte* (and cf. also ch. 40.2).

Thus a localization of inner, somatic and psychic features and of processes of religious experience is transmitted into the geographical surroundings of Patan, into the well-known localities of the Valley. Here, ritual serves to identify body and nature, it makes this identity visible in one's own surroundings, and it allows one to experience it, for example in pilgrimages (*yātrā*) to the various *tīrthas* and *pīṭhas* of the Valley.

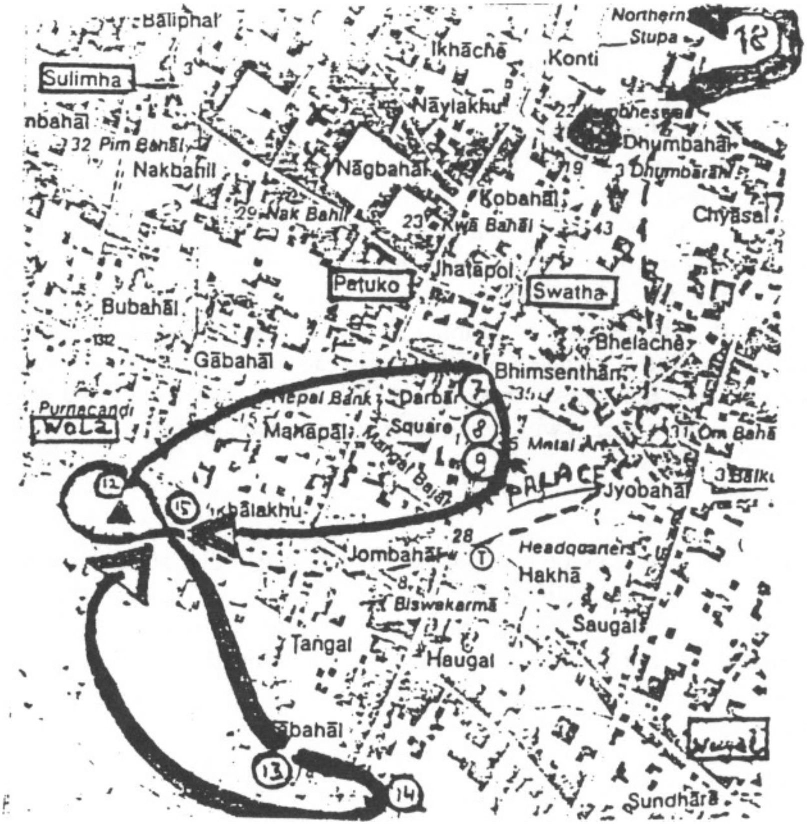
It was pointed out earlier that the gods mentioned in the *deśapāta* list are arranged in (semi-)circles and as such form two opposing units. Yet another interpretation is possible as well if one does not look at the list with the bias so natural in the Indian context, of expecting *pradakṣinā* type movements, i.e. (concentric) circles established by a sunwise, clockwise movement. Instead, if one locates and connects with each other all the *deśapāta* gods on a map of the Valley, this results in a rather strange and completely unexpected pattern[90] which can be interpreted as the shape of the letter expressing the sacred syllable *oṁ*. Significantly this is not traced in the North Indian (Nāgarī) style, with the *candrabindu*[91] attached to the *u*-shape letter but appropriately, in the usual Nepalese fashion, and placed on the map far away towards the right upper (i.e. north-eastern) corner, at Dolakhā, in a province east of the Valley. From here onwards, as required by the shape of the letter in Nepal, the enumeration of the gods describes a counter-clockwise movement (*a-pradakṣiṇa, prasavya*), resulting in several circles around the letter *oṁ*, with an obvious back and forth movement. The enumeration returns several times to the center of the ritual, the Agniśālā. If one draws a map of these movements it will be discovered that they form an 8-petal or perhaps even a 64-petal lotos, a feature typical of a *maṇḍala*.[92]



A repeated centripetal movement ?

The 8/64 petal maṇḍala of the Deśapâta gods

18
58
17
22
64?
19
33
60
34
27
20
21
32
63
62
28
54?
45?
57
23
41!
31
MANICUR MT.
Gokarna
Bāgmati
Paśupati nātha
Kathmandu
Thānkot Mātātīrtha
Kīrti-pur
Cobhar
Sānkhu
Cangu Nārāyan
Manoharā
Bhaktapur
Hanumante
Bāgmati
63?
62


Bāliphal
Ikhāchē
Konti
Northern Stupa
18
Sulimha
Nāylakhu
Dhumbahāl
32 Pim Bahāl
Nakbahil
Nāgbahāl
9
Kobahāl
29 Nak Bahil
23 Kwā Bahāl
43
Chyāsal
Jhatāpol
Patuko
Swatha
Bubahāl
Bhelāchē
Gābahāl
Bhimsenthān
Nepal Bank
Darbār
7
Purnacandi
WoLa
Mahāpāl
Square
8
9
Om Bahā
11
Mangal Bazar
Palace
Jyobahāl
12
15
Ikhālakhu
28
Jombahāl
T
Headquarters
Hakhā
Biswakarma
Saugal
Tangal
Haugal
Bahāl
13
14
Sundhāra

Innermost section of gods (1-18) constituting the letter *oṁ*: ॐ.
Note the reversal of movement clockwise > counter-clockwise with no. 18

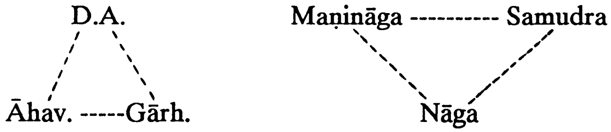
The Town

If the Agnihotra of Patan thus becomes the center of the whole Valley, the focal point of a complicated maṇḍala, then the same principle can be expected to exist in the town of Patan as well. The relations established at the time of the death of an Agnihotrī through the exchange of offices by the Brahmin clans involved (see above) create two triangles which intersect in *ṣatkoṇa* form (a star of David). This figure symbolizes the male god and his female *śakti* in productive union, in creation, as is befitting in the representation of Viṣṇu / Lakṣmī that is found in the Agnimaṭh (see below). Agni in his temple constitutes the center of the diagram. This conforms with the position of the *bīja-mantra* in Tantra, where the Mantra from which all develops is found at the center and is surrounded by the various geometrical designs and concentric circles of gods forming a *maṇḍala*. The pattern involving the Agnimaṭh is datable at circa 1630 A.D. It is obvious that it does no longer fit the modern location of the six Brahmanical clans, but their movements and relocations within the city since then are well documented in the *thyāsaphus*. The older pattern used here is based on these sources and the descriptions of the present day Rājopādhyāyas.[93]

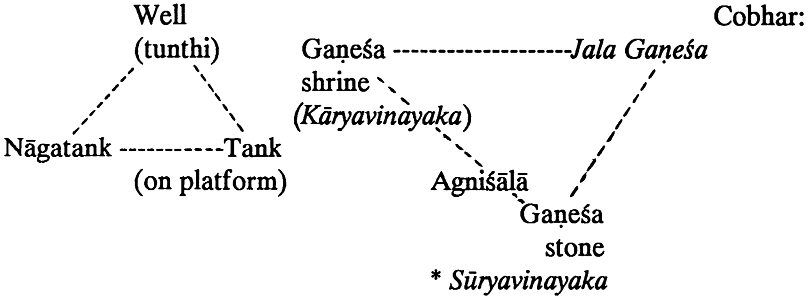
We have seen that the pattern of exchange of the offices symbolically unites the town of Patan, and especially their Brahmanical community. The general population naturally also takes note of the exchange and in this way is also involved; after all, it is the oldest Brahmin (*thakāli*) from their quarter of town who has become Agnihotrī. If this pattern is compared to the one created by the gods mentioned in the *deśapāta* offerings, it can be observed to form an overlay of the innermost sections of the letter *oṁ*; the new pattern circumscribes the diagram with *oṁ* at its center yet once again.

The Agniśālā

Similar patterns can be recognized if one now looks at the layout and the rituals of the Agniśālā itself. Though basically a Vedic setup of the three plus two sacred fires, there are a few additions, such as the Maṇināgakuṇḍa, the Mitrāvaruṇa, etc. More important in this context is their relative position. Again, they form overlapping triangles, of fire and water:



If re-interpreted in a Tantric fashion, the three most important Vedic fires thus form such a triangle, representing Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra (Śiva). One cannot be sure, yet there might also be a water triangle constituted by three wells and tanks. And, if one wishes to continue along these lines, it can be noted that there are three Gaṇeśa shrines, too, which are closely related to the Agniśālā.



At any rate, we can safely establish an innermost triangle of Fire (the three main fires, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra Kuṇḍa) which is intersected by the one connected with Water (Maṇināga, Samudra, Nāga). These two designs, in turn, might perhaps be regarded as being surrounded by a triangle of the three Gaṇeśas, intersected by a watertriangle, constituted by the well and the two tanks. Such diagrams can be found to magically constitute the "plans" for many Nepalese (or Indian) towns.[94] The sacred geography of Patan itself is based on a diagram involving the ten Mahāvidyās, eight Gaṇeśas, four Bhīmasenas, four Nārāyaṇas, and the eight Aṣṭamātṛkās beyond the rim of the settlement.[95] It should be noted that a simple male/female opposition, as apparent at the innermost location of the Agnimaṭha diagram, is not always in evidence in the "ground plans" of the towns of the Valley: there are, for example, three Gaṇeśas in the diagram underlying the city of Bhaktapur.[96]

To sum up: the Fires and other altars or figures of gods in the Agniśālā constitute Tantric triangles which intersect and represent the powers which, in concert, are active in the universe. The resulting Tantric diagram represents the gods and powers which constitute and sustain the town of Patan and the kingdom of Nepal.

The ritual

Turning now to an interpretation of the ritual and its various aspects, it can be observed that the Agnihotra which is based on this maṇḍala and takes place at its center, the Agniśālā temple, provides stability. Of the three gods of the Hindu trinity, it is its sustaining aspect, represented by Viṣṇu, which is stressed by its identification with the main fire, the square Āhavanīya/Viṣṇukuṇḍa. Most offerings, and especially all those of the visitors to the temple, are made into this fire. As indicated above, it is often the Agni Purāṇa which seems to be closest in its concepts to the Tantric Agnihotra of Patan. The fire in the (Viṣṇu)*kuṇḍa* is identified with Viṣṇu himself by this Purāṇa:[97]

> "The mighty, victorious Viṣṇu is manifest in the fire and in the sun. As fire, he is the mouth of the gods... As manifest in the form of the sacrifice, he is praised in the Vedas and Purāṇas."

Other passages confirm this interpretation, notably Agni Purāṇa, ch. 34.32-35:

> "Having meditated on Lakṣmī in her menses, (who is situated) in the midst of the *kuṇḍa*, he should offer an oblation. Prakṛti (of the three *guṇas* or qualities) is called the Lakṣmī of the *kuṇḍa* (32-34). Viṣṇu is the origin of all creatures... Fire is the instrument of emancipation...(35)."[98]

The central act of this Tantristic sacrifice therefore consists of a secret, mental identification of the priest with the fire in front of him, and with Viṣṇu who is the Fire and the Sun.[99] Fire is male, the *kuṇḍa* is female, with a *yoni*-shaped 'mouth'. Into this altar made of bricks (*iṣṭakā*, again a female element), some ghee (= sperm) is offered wirh the *yoni*-shaped ladle (female). Through these multiple male/female unions, Agni is then conceived and born from the womb of the earth, and has to undergo the various rituals of passage (*saṃskāras*).[100]

When the two forces of Agni and his *śakti* are brought into productive union, e.g. by pouring ghee with the *yoni*-shaped ladle (symbolized by the diagram in the form of a star of David), the world is sustained. Here, at this level, perhaps the one with the deepest meaning for this Tantric Agnihotra, lies its efficacy. It is now understandable that the Patan Brahmins, whether they remember these concepts (cf. n. 88) or not, never wanted to give it up; this ritual stabilizes their families, the caste, the town and the entire kingdom.

The Priest and his Wife

The central role of the Agnihotra and the Agniśālā within the geographical context of the Valley, or in other words, within the Tantric *maṇḍala* surrounding it, can again be observed with the actors of the ritual as well. One case in point is the restriction of movements of the Agnihotrī, as already referred to above, to which the priest, and to some extent also his wife, have to conform.

They are not allowed to cross the *samudra* situated between the Dakṣiṇāgni (Rudrakuṇḍa) and the Āhavanīya (Viṣṇukuṇḍa) but must, as they indeed complain, always take the long clockwise route around the Āhavanīya and the Gārhapatya fires.[101] As the Āhavanīya or Viṣṇukuṇḍa is the most important fire of the ritual, one can again detect an opposition between this Fire and the Water of the *samudra*. The two elements are represented, better, they are personified by the priest and his wife. And their movements are restricted accordingly.

Outside the Agniśālā, the priest, now *Fire Incarnated*, cannot cross *Water* as well; he must not be exposed to the danger of "extinction" posed by rivers. This again brings to mind a Vedic prescription.[102] Apparently, the rule concerning the Patan Agnihotrī is based on the fear of a loss of magic power, of heat (*tapas*), similar to that which could occur when crossing a river. The strict rule of celibacy, which is to be kept by the husband and wife[103] who perform the service of Agnihotrī and Agnihotriṇī, is reinforced because the two elements must not unite outside the ritual but must be kept in a state of suspension. This is clear, as far as the two humans are concerned, even during the performance of the ritual. How far it was the case in the Middle Ages or whether it is a late development remains unclear; there is no overt *kaula* Tantra left in the Kathmandu Valley.[104] The gods, however, do unite in the ritual. And both the priest and his wife help to do so when they churn the first fire, the baby Agni, of the newly established Agnihotra. Indeed, the last Agnihotrī, in an interview taken in 1979, overtly described himself as Agni.

Agastya and Arundhatī

Yet, while he is Agni, his wife is called Arundhatī. According to the Brahmins' explanation, Arundhatī is the *śakti* of Mitrāvaruṇa. She carries a *moj* (*mauñja*) grass belt around her waist, as a reminder of the string of the fire drill (*mithāsi*). Indeed, she and the Agnihotrī start the first fire of their tenure in the ancient way by using a fire drill. Consequently, she is said to carry fire in or on her belly.

According to old Ṛgvedic mythology, Mitra and Varuṇa procreate as *Mitrāvaruṇā*(*u*) their pot-born son *Maitravaruṇa*, i.e. Agastya.[105] In the Agniśālā he is represented, however, by a single male figure visible as the Mītrāvaruṇa figure, emerging from a vessel (note the grammatically wrong form, instead of **Maitrāvaruṇa*).[106] He is clad in a red cloth, and always positioned in front of the Āhavanīya fire (Viṣṇukuṇḍa).

Arundhatī actually is the wife of Vasiṣṭha, another 'pot-born' *Ṛṣi*, who is born at the same time as Agastya (= Māna), already according to RV 7.33.13. Obviously, there is a confusion between the two Ṛṣis.[107] Note that the Mantra adressed to Mitrāvaruṇa during the Patan Agnihotra speaks of the seven Ṛṣis indeed. If Arundhatī is Mitrāvaruṇa's female partner, his *śakti*, then the Mitrāvaruṇa statue must represent Agastya. The Agnihotrī is, as we shall see, his descendant, i.e. another *Maitravaruṇa / Mitrāvaruṇa. This outcome is also reflected in the identification of the Agnihotrī with Agastya and Mitrāvaruṇa on one hand, and of his wife with Arundhatī on the other:

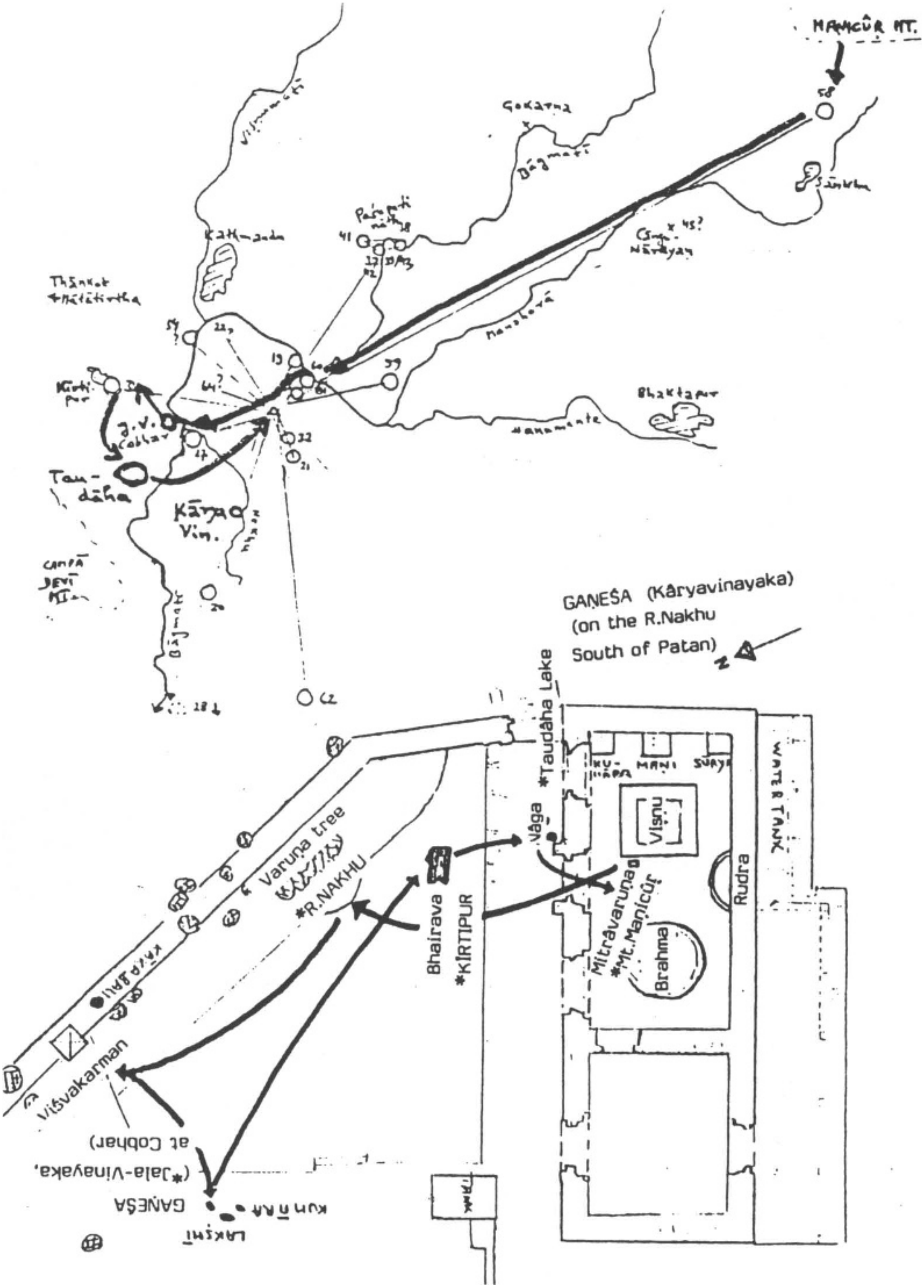
*Maitrāvaruṇa (Agastya) = Mitrāvaruṇa statue/fire drill = Agnihotrī
Arundhatī (*Lopāmudrā) = *moj* string around the waist[108] and the plate of the fire drill = wife of the Agnihotrī

Mitrāvaruṇa

According to the last Agnihotrī, the statue of Mitrāvaruṇa is made from the wood of the Varuṇa (correctly: **varaṇa*) tree which grows in the temple courtyard. Legend tells that this particular tree had sprung up from the staff (*daṇḍa*)[109] of the "First Agnihotrī", who had descended from the Maṇicūṛ Mountain in the north-east of the Valley to take his bath at the confluence of the Nakhu and Bagmati rivers (Skt. *Prabhāvatī, Vāgmatī*). The First Agnihotrī necessarily has to be the clan ancestor of the present day Patan Agnihotrins. The staff became his only remnant after his death and cremation because by that time it had already become the Varuṇa tree which remains at the Agniśālā to this day. The Mitrāvaruṇa figure made from it therefore represents the ancestor and the lineage god of the Agnihotrī clan of Patan.[110]

In this way, ritual produces a repetition of actions in 'primordial time',[111] which in the present case, however, means only circa 1630 A.D. The God Fire and the Agnihotrī, coming from north-east[112] (Mt. Maṇicūṛ) are represented by the Viṣṇukuṇḍa and the Mitrāvaruṇa figure in front of it. All of this is still visible even today in the setup of the Agniśālā and in its relation to the Valley surrounding it.

It can now be understood why Mitrāvaruṇa leaves the temple towards the end of the ritual. The figure, representing the first Agnihotrī and being carried by the present one, repeats the 'walk' of the first Agnihotrī. He begins[113] at the confluence of the two rivers Bāgmati (*Vāgmatī*) and Nakhu (*Prabhāvatī*) at Cobhar. First, he 'greets' the Varuṇa tree, which is the staff he put into the sands at the confluence while taking his bath at the Nakhu/Bagmatī confluence near Cobhar. He then proceeds to the Gaṇeśa which represents the Jalavinayaka of Cobhar, and then to the Bhairava slab in the courtyard, which is the Bāgh Bhairav of Kīrtipur, and Siddhilakṣmī, Kumāra. Finally he approaches the Nāga next to the door of the Agniśālā, which is the famous Karkoṭaka Nāga who lives in the small pond of Taudāha. This is situated just next to Cobhar and is regarded, in myth, as the last remnant of the beings in the lake that once filled the Kathmandu Valley.[114]


MAṆICŪR MT.
58
Gokarna
Bāgmati
Viṣṇumati
Sānkhu
Paśupatinātha
Kathmandu
Thānkot
Māṭātīrtha
Cangu Nārāyaṇ
Manohara
Bhaktapur
Hanumante
Kirtipur
J.V. Cobhar
Tau-dāha
Kārya Vin.
Campā Devī
Bāgmati
GAṆEŚA (Kâryavinayaka)
(on the R.Nakhu
South of Patan)
N
*Taudāha Lake
KU-MĀRA
MAṆI
SŪRYA
WATER TANK
Viṣṇu
Nāga
Rudra
Mitrāvaruṇa
*Mt.Maṇicūr
Brahma
Bhairava
*KĪRTIPUR
Varuṇa tree
*R.NAKHU
Viśvakarman
(*Jala-Vinayaka,
at Cobhar)
GAṆEŚA
KUMĀRA
LAKṢMĪ
TANK

The walk of the first Agnihotrin from Mt. Maṇicur to the Triveni of Bagmati and Nakhu, and its repetition in the Agniśālā courtyard

The Agnihotrī

In spite of his identification with Agni, with the Sun, and with Viṣṇu, the Agnihotrī, on an everyday level still has very personal wishes. They are voiced at the beginning of the ritual, before the *gurumaṇḍala* rite.[115]

> "*Oṁ*, homage to Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Maheśa (Śiva) ... and to the Maṇika-King of Nāgas (snakes)[116] in the form of sacrifice. *Oṁ*, may there be success at the beginning of the ritual. May there be growth and increase of crops. May there be well-being in (my) body, and peace in my house. (May there be) abolishment of all hindrances and (may there be) good luck which creates complete tranquility (*śānti*). (May there be) a son of long life and desire (*kāma*), and increase of incessant (*santati*) riches."[117]

It is obvious that the usual wishes of an average Hindu are also those of this priest: prosperity, peace or tranquility, a son, and more surprisingly, gaining entry into Heaven. Heaven, it is true, is not mentioned in the *saṃkalpa*-like text quoted just now, but is it stated to be the Agnihotrī's aim even today, just as it had been in the Middle Ages. In fact, there is a fragment from the Śatapatha-Brāmaṇa, which is inserted into the Agnihotra MS of 1433 A.D., after a short description of the daily Agnihotra, which refers to the identification of the (*agnicayana*) sacrifice and the sun.[118] In the 15th century, this statement apparently was important enough to be dug out from a, by then, quite obscure ritual, the Vedic Agnicayana, and from a bulky ancient Vedic text, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, which was no longer studied to any degree in medieval Northern India and Nepal.

Offerings and ash

If the Agnihotrī himself exhibits personal wishes and goals in this ritual which are intended for the benefit of king and country, other mundane goals can be expected to be observable as well. Taking even a brief look at the materials offered during the ritual, such aims are visible indeed. During the Agnihotra it is not just ghee which is offered. In most cases it is also grain, a product of the earth which rather unexpectedly also is a symbol of seed.[119] Ghee is offered as well, and this has always been a clear symbol of human sperm.[120] These offerings to the gods are transformed during the ritual by being offered into the God Fire, the āhavanīya/Viṣṇukuṇḍa fire, with the help of a mediator, often a god such as Agni, but in this case Agni personified, the Agnihotrī. One can compare this with the old Ṛgvedic 'paradox' *yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāḥ* (RV 1.164.40).

But what do the Patan people and the priests receive as the remnants of the gods' food, as *ucchiṣṭa*, or in modern Hindu terms, as *prasāda*? Is it rain as spittle of the gods who have touched and eaten part of the offerings? Rain, next to children, would be most important to them as most of them are rice farmers. Rather, rain comes from *megha*, the clouds, and these are holding their urine/sperm, falling (*devo mehati*) down to earth as *varṣa*.[121] Do the people also receive sperm from the gods? We have already seen that this was one of the possible interpretations of the Vedic Agnihotra, in which they send down milk and sperm. And this may be another reason why women throng at the temple daily. Indeed, "ghee = sperm" is already an old Vedic equation.

The gods also leave other remnants of their food for mankind, especially the Agnihotra ash. This ash is so very 'sacred' and, certainly, auspicious, that it is not thrown away but given to the visitors as *tilaka* mark on the forehead or, in small portions, as medicine. (Note the character of the *tilaka* as the return of a gift, to the gods, of grain (*tila*), as a kind of *prasāda*.)[122]

Otherwise, the ash is stored upstairs in the temple, to be immersed into the river only at the cremation of the Agnihotrī, which takes place, not at the Patan *ghāṭs*, but at the confluence of the Bāgmati and Nākhu near Cobhar. The ash, or rather the transformed rice offerings, touched and tasted by the gods, are thus returned to their own heavenly realm by the means of the Triveṇī confluence through the medium of rain, i.e. they go to the place from whence they came .[123] It is apparently because of this reason that the *samudra* (representing the Vedic *vedi*) is actually filled by rice grains during the *Dārśapaurṇamāsa* ritual at the Agnimaṭh.[124]

Will they become the new body of the Agnihotrī in the next world? Both the ash of the cremated body and that of the rice offerings are immersed into the river together at the Triveṇī of the Nakhu, Bāgmatī, and the heavenly subterranean Gaṅgā/Sarasvatī. The probability of this interpretation can be supported by other evidence. The cremated bodies of other people, however, are reconstituted by immersing their ashes into various Tīrthas at confluences of rivers, which perhaps may be regarded as having been arranged roughly in the form of a body.[125]

At the Agnihotrī's cremation both his ashes and those of the grains which had been offered in the Agniśālā are united again to form a new body for him. This new, divine body is, as it should indeed be the case for a representative of Agni on earth, superior to the one of normal people, the ashes of whose bodies are only 'offered' into the rivers. In this way, by joining the sacred Agnihotra ashes with his own cremation ashes, the Agnihotrī will receive a new body for his life in heaven.[126] He symbolically also receives sperm because of the ghee that is offered into the fire (and has reached heaven as smoke and smell).[127] This will ensure his getting offspring even after death, through his son and his grandchildren.[128]

On a personal level, therefore, the Agnihotrī effects a continuation of his line through his grandchildren, and the acquisition of a place in heaven with a new superior body. This is, incidentally, exactly the same aim as that of a Vedic sacrificer. For, contrary to what we regard as the common attitude to life after death in the Indian subcontinent, many, if not most people, whether Buddhist or Hindu, believe that they can go to Heaven[129] and they wish to stay there as long as possible. Rebirth is their 'second choice' only. It is precisely for this reason that the yearly ancestor rituals (*śrāddha*) still are performed for one's deceased parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents.

The Body and ritual topography

If life in the Valley of Kathmandu ends with the return of the ashes of the cremated to the rivers, and thus, to the gods, and if this is done at various locations in the Valley, arranged according to the old ritual *vāstupuruṣa* pattern,[130] this again indicates an identification of the natural surroundings with one's own body.[131]

Ritual stresses this in several ways: through the Agnihotra by identification of the Agniśālā and its mystical origin with several locations of the Valley. Likewise, for the Agnihotrī: his origin is the north-east, his final dissolution will take place in the south-west, at the *ghāṭ* of Cobhar.

The identification of the rivers with the 'arteries' of the body (in Yoga and Tantra) lead to the same conclusion. The external topography is identical with the internal structure of one's body. Ritual makes all of this visible, very visible in case of the immersion of the cremation ash into various confluences, less visible in the Agnihotra ritual itself, yet obvious in the legends about its origin, and very visible if not immediately obvious, in the corresponding walk of the Agnihotrī through the courtyard.

Ritual, in this way, not only identifies man and his surroundings, it also makes both manageable (and in so far is, again, similar to Vedic ritual). It serves as *mesocosm* to connect the microcosmic aspect of man with the macrocosmic one of the deities. The Patan Agnihotra thus produces wealth, children, rain, and general well-being for king and country. Gurujvālānand, the last Agnihotrī, confirmed this by a sentence which was, at the time, still incomprehensible if not nonsensical to me: "If we pour water here, it wets everything in Nepal... What is being done here, is done everywhere".

Both the Vedic Agnihotra and the Tantric Agnihotra of Patan therefore are *multivocal*. They have not just one but many meanings, depending on the various levels of understanding and religious experience; these are quite different for its performers, local participants, onlookers and the foreign observer.[132]

But the Tantric ritual includes all of the following: psychic and religious experience, projection of it in terms of the priest's body, and transportation of it outside his body in terms of the geographical surroundings, the Kathmandu Valley. At the same time the "coming of the first Agnihotrī", i.e. the Yogic experience of the "original" Tantric who installed the ritual, is repeated daily by taking his representation and the present lineage god, the Mitrāvaruṇa figure, on a tour of the courtyard of the temple. Performing the Tantric Agnihotra ritual every morning, the Agnihotrī identifies himself with God Fire, the Sun, and with Viṣṇu, the preserving aspect of the Hindu Trinity. By offering to Agni/Viṣṇu he sustains his own community, Patan and the Kingdom of Nepal. Yet all of this still takes place in the garb of the ancient Vedic, some 3000 year old Agnihotra sacrifice.

NOTES

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1. On the role of Bhairava who receives the remnants of the offerings, Ucchiṣṭa Bhairava, see Sanjukta Gupta, Dirk Jan Hoens, Teun Goudriaan, *Hindu Tantrism*, Leiden 1979, p. 156.
2. In Vedic thought, however, earth is round, and heaven is square (see below).
3. See the preceding note.
4. The door of the temple opens to the north, to a courtyard which is walled in by a cemented brick wall behind some trees.
5. On Maṇināga, see n. 85 on Varuṇanāga.
6. Indeed, many aspects only became clear in 1985 when I got access to the manuscript used by the priest for the daily Agnihotra; an older MS. of 1433, mainly treating the fortnightly New and Full Moon Sacrifice, had been available in a film made by the *Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project* in 1976 (see below).
7. The three other Vedic Agnihotras regularly performed in the Valley are not treated here in detail; for these, cf. my earlier article (Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, in *Formen kulturellen Wandels*

und andere Beiträge zur Erforschung des Himalaya, Nepalica 2, ed. B. Kölver u. S. Lienhard, St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftverlag 1986). Other fire rituals are not treated here either, e.g. Vedic rituals at weddings or at *nāmakaraṇas*, or non-Vedic rituals such as the common fire rituals at the reading of Purāṇas, the *lakṣahoma* (last performed at Bhaktapur in the summer of 1976 to avert an earthquake) and other *Śāntihomas*, the various other fire rituals connected with Bhairava, etc. (cf. in this volume, the article by A.W. van den Hoek), and finally, the various Buddhist *homas*. I will describe and interpret most of them in a separate work in much greater detail. For the Buddhist *homa*, see author, The Buddhist forms of fire ritual (*homa*) in Nepal and Japan. (Summary). 31st CISHAAN (Tokyo-Kyoto), *Proceedings*, ed. by T. Yamamoto, Tokyo 1984, p. 135.

8. Found in Yasna Haptanhāiti 36.3.6 where the offering fire and the Fire of Ahura Mazdā is identified with the Sun; see J. Narten, *Yasna Haptanhāiti*, Wiesbaden 1986; see also, below, n. 13. For the Vedic identification of the fire and the sun, note the following: Sun entering the fire: TB 2.1.2.9, KB 2.8, ŚB 2.3.1.3, 2.3.1.36, 11.6.2.2, JB 1.8, 1.9, 1.11, 1.23; Fire entering the rising sun: KB 2.8,, ŚB 2.3.1.36, 11.6.2.2, JB 1.23; Sun born (from fire): KS 6.3:51.9, ŚB 2.3.1.5, etc.
9. P.E. Dumont, *L'Agnihotra, Description de l'agnihotra dans le rituel védique d'après les Śrautasūtras...*, Baltimore 1939. I will describe and interpret this ritual along with the three other (Vedic) Agnihotras of the Kathmandu Valley, in a separate work in much greater detail.
10. See author, Die Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad und ihr Verhältnis zur Śīkṣāvallī der Taittirīya-Upaniṣad. *WZKS* XXIV (1980), p. 37 sq.
11. See for example the MS of 1433 A.D., fol. 38b (uncorrected): *śrāyaṃ-prātahunad agnau sarvvaḥ pāpapranāsanaṃ / sakalaṃm agnihotrasya tena nityam prahūyate // nyāso-sthānāgiviharaṇa-vratagrahaṇaṃ / pūrvvavat toyenāgnipradakṣaṇī kṛtya // arjavātana-lokapālārccaṇaḥ / sarvvatra pūrvvavat samidhahomaḥ //*
12. I stress the Vedic idea of *frames*, differently from Staal's procedure, as demonstrated again in his recent book *Jouer avec le Feu*, Paris 1990. To conceive the ritual as built up of frames or boxes is in concordance with Vedic practice. For example, Ved. *avāntaradīkṣā* means "the lower, inner consecration", i.e. the one which has been inserted into the normal consecration of the Soma ritual; on the framework structure of Vedic ritual, see already author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, p. 172, n. 34; 31st CISHAAN (Tokyo-Kyoto), *Proceedings*, ed. by T. Yamamoto, Tokyo 1984, p. 534, and On the origin of the literary device of the 'Frame Story' in Old Indian literature. *Hinduismus und Buddhismus, Festschrift*

für U. Schneider, ed. by H. Falk, Freiburg 1987, pp. 380-414.

13. Again, the structure of the Iranian ritual is similar:

Yasna		general, post-Zaraθuštrian worship
Gāθās Y. 28-23		hymns composed by Zaraθuštra
Yasna H. 35-36	35.2	welcoming
	35.9	voicing of mąθras
	35.10	worship of Ahura Mazdā
. central identification	36.3	fire = of Ahura Mazdā
	36.6	fire = Sun
Yasna H. 37-41	37	worship of AM, earth, water, etc.
	40-	prayer for all Zoroastrians
Gāθās Y 43-53		composed by Zaraθuštra, 53 for the marriage of his daughter (appended)
Yasna		general, post-Zaraθuštrian worship

For other, often quite specific similarities between Vedic and Iranian ritual, see Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 11.

14. There is a similar overlap in the Buddhist homa, see author, The Buddhist forms of fire ritual (*homa*) in Nepal and Japan.

15. Which is also found in Indian literature (Mahābhārata, Pāṇini, Purāṇas, etc.) and in religion. Buddha as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, Brahmā as 'enveloped' by or emanated from Brahman, etc.; cf. author in H. Falk (ed.) 1987.

16. See author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal.

17. Cf. below, section 4. A special *homa* ceremony for Varuṇa is described at Agni Purāṇa 64, which makes use of eight fires.

18. From Newārī *pāta* "offering plate"; the rite is otherwise called *deśabali* in SKt.

19. Who interestingly is not yet named Macchendranāth, as has been the usage of the last few centuries; for the names of Macchendranāth and the history of this ancient Newār rain god (of the village of Buṃga), see J. Locke, *Karunamaya*, Kathmandu 1980.

20. The 'brother' of Macchendranāth, see J. Locke, *Karunamaya*.

21. See author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal.

22. There even is a Commentary, written by one Nityānanda Parbatīya (thus, apparently, a Nepālī speaking Brahmin), Kātīyeṣṭidīpakaḥ, *samvat* 1981, *bhādra kṛṣṇa* 8, *śukre*, i.e. at the end of August 1924 A.D.

23. Cf. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, The Hague 1965.

24. For a general discussion of these terms in the framework of Brahmanical culture, see author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren in der Entwicklung vedischer Brahmanengruppen im Mittelalter, in *Regionale Tradition in Südasien*, ed. H. Kulke and D. Rothermund (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 104), Heidelberg 1986, pp. 37-76.
25. On this topic see now author, On Indian historical writing, *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies* (*JJASAS*) 2, 1990, 1-57.
26. See N. Gutschow, *Journal of the Nepal Research Center* 1 (1977), p. 89-92, and author, On the location of the Licchavi Capital of Nepal, in *Festschrift für P. Thieme* (= *StII* 5/6) 1980, pp. 311-337.
27. See the reports by S.B. Deo; now, there have been excavations at Satyanārāyaṇ (G. Verardi, Harigaon Satya Narayan, Kathmandu: a report in the excavations carried out in 1984-1988, Rome 1988), and in 1984/5, 1988/9 at Dhumakhal, a village west of Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ (Th. Riccardi, *forthc.*).
28. According to C. Pruscha (ed.), *Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley, The preservation of physical environment and cultural heritage - a protective inventory*, Wien 1975.
29. See R. Herdick, *Kīrtipur, Stadtgestalt, Prinzipien der Raumordnung und gesellschaftliche Funktion einer Newar-Stadt*, München 1988, p. 97, 100 sq., and: Neue Kulte in Kīrtipur, in *Formen kulturellen Wandels*, p. 255. Note that this type of division may be very old: there are two moieties (Deva [N]E: Asura/Varuṇa [S]W) in the Vedic texts, see Kuiper, *Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka*, Amsterdam 1979, p. 55 sqq., cf. p. 154 sq.; the Nepalese situation obviously is patterned by the later, Sāṅkhya and Tantric stress of male/female characteristics.
30. According to legend, it was his father Śaṅkaradeva (1060-82 A.D., see below, n. 36); but this statement is found only in Wright's *Vamśāvalī*, that is in a compilation based on older medieval chronicles and on legends of Patan current around 1820 A.D.; see Wright, *History*, p. 159.
31. I suspect, following the settlement pattern in the area, that NW Patan (Sulimā, Gābahā, Puñcalī), closer to the Pulcok Stūpa, was Śivadeva's center of government; this lies some 3000 ft. (2 km) from the older centers around Konti (near the N. Stūpa) and Guita. Note also the role of the Vyāghra Bhairava of Kīrtipur who opposes Patan; he does so just like Śivadeva himself, who is said, by the Vaṃśāvalī, to be an incarnation of the Bhairava of Kāmarūpa. (Guita is the medieval *Gusaṭalo* and the Licchavi time *Gullaṃtaṅga*).
32. H. Kulke, Die frühmittelalterlichen Regionalreiche, in *Regionale Tradition in Südasien*, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 104, Heidelberg 1986, pp. 77-114; cf. author, Regionale und

überregionale Faktoren in der Entwicklung vedischer Brahmanengruppen in Mittelalter, in *Regionale Tradition*, pp. 37-76.

33. Kesar Library, Kesar Mahal, Dept. of Archaeology, Kathmandu, no. 28; cf. author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, p. 186; the MS was filmed by the *Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project*, as film no. C 3/8.
34. See the description in: Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, p. 187 sq.
35. See D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Calcutta 1966, Pt. III, p. 40 no. XXXIX and cf. Aiśvaryadhar Śarmā, *Agiṃmaṭhaḥ.yā aitihāsik sāmagrī* ["The historical materials relating to Agnimath"; in Newārī], Kathmandu 1984, p. 26.
36. This is unlikely because of the detailed description given in the Gopālavaṃśāvalī, fol. 30b sq. (*māgha, kṛṣṇa āṣṭāmī mūla nakṣatra*, NS 219) about the dominant role of Pradhāna Varapāla Bhāro at Patan; however, Śaṅkaradeva's successor Śivadeva (who is called "the Bhairava of Assām" by the Vaṃś.) is much more likely, cf. on Bhairava, n. 31, n. 57.
37. D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, vol. III, p. 13, no. XXIV.
38. Normally, "Śakti is the active partner in the cosmic act of procreation while Śiva remains purely passive... In this process the chief place is allotted to Śiva by the Kashmir Śaiva texts. But in Tantrism very often no precedence is given to one of the two." (Sanjukta Gupta *et al., Hindu Tantrism*, Leiden 1979, p. 55 sq.). On fire and water see also S. Gupta, p. 55. She compares the combination Agni-Ṣoma of the Ṛgveda as well (but note that both these gods are male!). Cf. also E. Garzilli, *The Bhāvopahāra of Cakrapāṇinātha*, (thesis Rome 1991, publ. forth. 1992), comm. on *śloka* 9, on the Śakti-oriented Krama school and on the Kula, Pratyabhijña, Spanda sachools who stress Śiva as possessor of power.
39. Which is, among other things, also a symbol of Śiva.
40. Cf. Sanjukta Gupta *et al., Hindu Tantrism*, Leiden 1979, p. 152 (union of Vāgīśvara and Vāgīśvarī), J. Locke, *Karunamaya*.
41. An oval-shaped layer of grain, strewn on the ground between the Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fires, in front of the Dakṣiṇāgni, only during the Dārśapaurṇamāsa rituals. It apparently substitutes for the Vedi, which is sprinkled with water, in the Vedic version of the rite, in a line extended between these fires (in my interpretation, representing the Milky Way).
42. See P. Burleigh, A chronology of the later kings of Pāṭan, *Kailash* IV (1976), p. 21-71.
43. Which could be carried out only in 1985 and formed the ultimate basis for this study. In the meantime, also in 1985, I found an older and perfect film of the MS that is used by the present Agnihotrī, Gurujvālānānda, dating from the time when it still

was kept with his relatives at Bhaktapur, while it by now is *sindura*-smeared (and was partly burned, in 1985, by accident); in the colophon it is called *Paṃcāgninityahomavidhi*; containing 21 fol., written already in Devanāgarī, and dated in VS 1977 = A.D. 1820/1; filmed by the *Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project* on Nov. 27, 1977 (unfortunately unknown to me, then) in the project's station at Bhaktapur under the title *Agnihotrahomavidhi*, film no. G 152/5.

44. For details see author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal.
45. Cf. Gonda, *Continuity and Change in Indian Religion*, The Hague 1965.
46. Cf. Author, On Nāgas, in: Y. Ikari (ed.), *Proceedings of the Kyoto Colloquium on the Nīlamata Purāṇa*, Kyoto (forthc. 1992).
47. Note that this idea is already expressed by Ṛgveda 1.1.8, cf. Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, p. 182, n. 61.
48. One of my early friends and informants at Patan, Madan Rājopādhyāya, who had studied electronics at Bangkok, told me in 1975 that he had indeed checked the fires in the Agnimaṭh during the week the Secretariat kept burning (note the scientific frame of mind!), and indeed, the fire was very small then, just as expected. There are, of course, many more of such cases where present day experience re-enforces traditional beliefs. During the summer of 1976, a big earthquake was predicted by astrologers to occur in the Valley; consequently, various groups tried to avert it by rituals; virtually all the Hindus of Bhaktapur, led by the Rājopādhyāyas, tried to do so with a *lakṣahoma* which lasted a whole fortnight; the Bajracharyas of Kathmandu did so near the Kumārī abode at Vasantapur palace with a one day *śāntihoma*; the Purohitas of the king, secretively, at the old Vasantapur palace itself; and so did the Rājopādhyāyas at Patan (who had been asked by the Royal Palace to do something as well). As prophecied, the earthquake *did* occur during the astrologically determined night, but it was *deflected* to ritualless Northern China. Indeed, are all these rituals meaningless to the South Asian mind?
49. For details, see Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, p. 8 sq.
50. Nowadays some people indeed argue in this way. The present Agnihotrī and his wife took a lot of convincing before they took up their office. The wife once told me, secretively, that she had "auspicious" dreams that made them take up this hard office and that subsequently "many good things happened to us".
51. For details see J. Locke, *Karunamaya*, Kathmandu 1980.
52. Interestingly, including the local Buddhist gods as well, for example at one I witnessed and filmed at Kindol, Svayambhunath, in 1975, which included the local gods Ajimā (= Śītalā), Svayambhunātha, Sarasvatī (= Mañjuśrī), etc. These were included

only after the Pūrbe Brahmin, who lived at Harigaon east of Kathmandu, had inquired about "local gods" from our gardener...

53. There is another(?) Jhor [*jhūl*] in the northern corner of the Valley, north of Tokhā.
54. Wright's Vaṃśāvalī, p. 158-9.
55. For the origins of this concept see author, La voie au ciel, *Bulletin des Etudes indiennes*, 2 (1984), pp. 213-279.
56. Cf. R. Herdick, *Kirtipur*, München 1988, and in *Formen kulturellen Wandels*, 1986.
57. It would be interesting to begin an interpretation of this tale. It is well known that the king can be an incarnation of Bhairava, such as is the case, according to the Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī, with Śivadeva. (More about this interesting king, by Dhana Bajra Bajracharya, in *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.*). The violent Tantric god Bhairava who often has his own fire, is opposed (as Bhairava of Kīrtipur) to Patan in general and to the peaceful Tantric-Vedic fire at the Agniśālā which is identified with Viṣṇu and which he tries to extinguish; again it is the peaceful Bhairava who lies in front of the Agnimaṭh, as a big slab of stone (see above, n. 31, 36). Note that these Bhairavas can be regarded as an incarnation of Bhairava of Kāmarūpa (just like Śivadeva), and that the fire of the Agnimaṭh is supposed to have been brought from the same south-eastern direction, from Gaur (Bengal), at least according to the late Vaṃśāvalīs. We thus have a demonic Bhairava, identified with the king and outside of and opposing the (Buddhist) town of Patan, and a more peaceful Bhairava next to the peace-bringing fire of the Agnimaṭh, which is identical with Viṣṇu, the preserver, and situated at the rims of traditional Patan. One the other hand, the fire used at Kīrtipur's Indrāyaṇī temple has to be stolen from the fire ritual of Kathmandu (see A.W. van den Hoek, elsewhere in this volume).
58. It should be noted that a similar relationship also existed, at least since the early 17th century, between the Cilañco Stūpa of Kīrtipur and the one in western Patan, as the work of R. Herdick (in progress) will show. This echoes the relationship between the Kathesimbu Stūpa at Kathmandu and the Svayambhunāth Stūpa.
59. Some of them are published by the local Deo Bhaju (*Rājopādhyaāya*) Brahmins, notably Śriṣanāth Śarmā of Puñcalī, Patan, in the small journal *Rolamba, Journal of the Joshi Research Institute*, vol. 2, Oct.-Dec. 1982, no. 4, p. 24, and vol. 3, Jan.-March 1983, no. 1, p. 12-13.
60. Actually, the alignment is NW/SE, etc., see N. Gutschow, *Stadtraum u. Ritual*, p. 154, and U. Wiesner, Zur Frage der vier sogenannten Aśoka-Stūpas in Pāṭan, Nepal, in *Zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens*, ed. R. Goepper, Köln 1977, p. 189-198.

61. For example, Viṣṇujvālānanda, the present Agnihotrī, is from Kathmandu and his wife from Bhaktapur.
62. See the Agnyādhāna fragments of the Kaṭha Br., ed. Caland, Brāhmaṇa en Sūtra aanwinsten, *Verslagen en Meded. Akad. van Wetensch.*, Amsterdam 1920 p. 478 sqq; Surya Kanta, *Kāṭhaka-saṃkalanam*, p. 3 sqq; cf. also n. 102.
63. As the town is surrounded by rivers on all sides, except in the south, where the uplands of the old Patan kingdom are limited by the Mahābhārat mountain range. In recent years the rule has been relaxed somewhat. The last Agnihotrī had already made visits to his ill son at the tuberculosis hospital at Tokhā, north of Kathmandu.
64. Interviews with the last Agnihotrī, Gurujvālānand, in the summer of 1979.
65. This is felt strongly even today. The Brahmins, at least, tell that the Newār king, as a kind of irredentist Barbarossa, still can be seen, occasionally appearing at the window of his palace, waiting for his return.
66. They formed a committee which was to search for a new Agnihotrī, led by the Patan Rājopadhyāya Brahmins (Śrīśanāth, and others).
67. The reason for this again is historical. One of the sons of the famous Tāntrika Viśvanātha (attested between 1601-1666 A.D.) had become a Buddhist (cf. Wright, *History*, p. 159), and even nowadays both parts of the clan still are required, people say, to perform their yearly ancestor worship together as members of a single *guṭhi*.
68. Other such 'rites of passage' of the sun through the year are: New/Full Moon (for the moon), Cāturmāsyas (for the seasons), Soma ritual (New Year), Gavām Ayana, with its *viṣūvat* (summer solstice) and *mahāvrata* (winter solstice) days. The nucleus of these rites may well have been to follow the sun (= Vivasvant, Mārtāṇḍa, *asau āditya*) and moon (Somo Rājā, King Soma) through the year with all its vicissitudes. Notably, the 'turning around' of the fire which is represented by the sun at winter solstice is a myth that is found in many versions and rituals in various Eurasian civilizations, see author, *The myth of the Hidden Sun* (forthc.).
69. Cf. the Ṛgvedic *Ahi budhnya*, RV 1.186.5, 4.55.6, 5.41.16; 6.49.14 etc.
70. See E. Sieg, Der Nachtweg der Sonne, *Nachr. Ges. Wiss.* Göttingen, 1913.
71. This is a nightly but, ultimately, also a seasonal feature: note the seasonal progression of the Milky Way, for which see author, Le chemin au ciel. *Bulletin des Etudes indiennes* 2 (1984), pp. 213-279 and author, *forthc.* (in Japan). In my opinion, the Milky Way is

symbolized in the Agnihotra by the Vedi and especially by the pouring of a water line from the Āhavanīya (= heaven) to the Gārhapatya (= earth), e.g., at Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra 4.13.16. Note that this takes place in the evening when the heavenly river 'descends' down to earth (for details, see *BEI* 2) and that the ground between the fires is called *samudra* 'ocean'! (see below, n. 86).

72. Connecting a son with his father (see TU 1.11, Kaṭha Śikṣā Up. 11).

73. The *moj* (< *mauñja* girdle) is worn by the Agnihotriṇī, see below (on Agastya and Arundhatī, and A.W. van den Hoek, elsewhere in this volume), while wearing the *mekhalā* is a rather old Vedic custom (Kāṭhaka *GS*, etc.), substituting for the umbilical cord.

74. Establishing a sort of umbilical cord with the *Ṛṣis*, see author, in a forthcoming study. The *yajñopavīta*, of course, refers to the spiritual line of progeny connecting man to the *Ṛṣis*.

75. See for example, RV 10.57.2 *tantur deveṣv ātataḥ*; cf. also the primitive Mantra *tantur asi* VSK 6.2.9, TS 3.5.2.3, KS 17.7 etc.

76. This aspect has not been stressed sufficiently enough. For a possible methodology that has not been tested by students of Indian ritual, and which would include the detailed investigation, at each subsequent historical level, of Mantras, performance, procedural variants and their 'theological' discussion, in rituals that are attested early on (RV, AV, YV-Mantra collections) in order to arrive at the earlier stages of a particular ritual, see author, review of: J. Gonda, *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmaṇī*, Amsterdam 1980 in *Kratylos* XXVI (1981/2), pp. 80-85. Strangely, the earlier, i.e. Ṛgvedic stage usually is neglected in contemporary ritual studies, while it indeed represents the 'pre-classical' period and while many of the early verses (*mantra*, Avestan *ma0ra* 'thought') used in the rituals of the RV have been taken over into the later ritual. (The Mantras, incidentally, have, like most poetry, at least one and mostly more than just one meaning, on the various levels of everyday and poetical language; these are, again, just as in poetry, often dificult to trace by the modern philologist. Finally, we must not overlook the possibility and even the probability of several other developments or 'reforms' in the shaping of the pre-Vedic ritual. The prominence given to the Asura/Āditya cult by the Vedic Indians and the Iranians is one of these early features. Dualistic sets of gods are also known from other early Asian and European religions, but there is no group such as that of (mostly, personified) concepts like Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman (note the irregular, artificial formation with a primary suffix *-man* attached to an adjective or noun, see Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr. II* 2 p. 764 n. 607!), Bhaga, Aṁśa, Dakṣa, etc. This group includes, incidentally,

the gods who are crucial for the emergence of the world and of humankind, Vivasvant/Vīvahuuant or Mārtāṇḍa/Gayō Mar tan (and Indra, in some versions). Especially their social *function* must be taken into account when defining their role in early Aryan religion and society. There is the strong probability of a change taking place when the Indo-Iranians encountered the sedentary, agricultural people of the Bactro-Margiana Archaeological complex, in the late second millenium B..C. All of this is indicative of a long evolutionary process rather than of a single brief 'reform' of Aryan ritual, a snapshot of which we witness in the RV and in the (older) Avestan texts. However, a major step in the shaping of the 'classical' Vedic ritual took place in the little studied 'dark period' following the RV which can be investigated (which has not been done) on the basis of texts such as AV, RV Khilas, and the YV Mantras. This change was motivated, in my considered view, by political and social change, a process that will be described in more detail in a forthcoming paper (*Proceedings of the Toronto conference of Archaeologists and Linguists, October 1991*, ed. by George Erdosy).

77. See Robert Levy, How the Navadurgā protect Bhaktapur. The effective meaning of a symbolic enactment, in *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley*, p. 105-134, and now, in his new book, *Mesocosm,* Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press 1991.

78. Cf. Kuiper, *Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka*, p. 55 sqq.; cf. above, n. 29.

79. See R. Herdick, *Kirtipur*, München 1988, p. 97, 100 sq. and in: *Formen kulturellen Wandels*, p. 255.

80. Datable at c. 1630 A.D. and later, partly in connection with the famous Tāntrika Viśvanātha. Some of them are collected in Wright's Vaṃśāvalī, p. 158-9; see author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, p. 160.

81. Cf. Agnipurāṇa, ed. Pt.s. Śrīyukta-Pañcānana and Śrīyukta-Viṛasiṃha and Srīyukta-Dhīrānanda, Calcutta (Kalikāta), Śaka 1812, ch. 40.1-2 on the *Puruṣa*: *tad devair nihitam bhūmau sa vāstupuruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ / catuḥṣaṣṭipade kṣetre īśaṃ koṇārddha-saṃsthitam*...; 34.36 "his head is in the east... the feet in the north-west and south-west" (*prācyāṃ śiraḥ samākhyātaṃ* ... *jaṅghe vāyavyanairṛte*); Agni Pur. 58.1, about digging a fire pit in the north-east at the time of a *homa* accompanying the establishment of a Viṣṇu figure in the *maṇḍapa* of a temple (*aiśanyāṃ janayet kuṇḍaṃ gurur vahniḥ*).

82. Another line connects the (north-)western village of Jhul and Bengal in the south-east which can be interpreted, as has been done above, as a device aiming at making Patan and the Āgniśālā the center of two crossing lines.

83. Agni Purāṇa 270.15-16 (Calc. ed. 271.15 sqq., transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt, Calcutta 1899-1904, p. 998): "The mighty, victorious Viṣṇu is manifest in the fire and in the sun. As fire, he is the mouth of the gods..." (*Viṣṇur jiṣṇur bhaviṣṇuś ca agnisūryādi rūpavān / agnirūpeṇa devāder mukhaṃ Viṣṇuḥ parā gatiḥ // 15 // vedeṣu sapurāṇeṣu yajñamūrtiś ca gīyate / āgneyākhyaṃ purāṇan tu rūpaṃ Viṣṇor mahattaram / agneyākhya-purāṇasya karttā śrotā janārddhanaḥ*), Agni Purāṇa 34.35 sq.: "Fire is the instrument of emancipation... His head is described to be in the east..." (*vimukteḥ kāraṇam vanniḥ paramātmā ca muktidāḥ // 35 // prācyām śiraḥ samākhyātaṃ bāhū koṇe vyavasthitau / īśānāgneyakoṇe tu jaṅghe vāyavyanairṛte // 36 // udaraṃ kuṇḍam ity uktaṃ yonir-yonir vidhīyate.*) Note that Agni Pur., other than its name implies, mainly deals with Viṣṇu as its main deity (ch. 1.11, 271. 17 sqq., etc.) and with his worship, always stressing the use of (Tantric) *homa* ceremonies (almost always with one fire only; such a Tantric *homa*, adressed to Śiva in the Śaivaite part of the text, is found in the rather detailed ch. 75). Even in the *homas* addressed to various gods, Viṣṇu comes first (66.7). The text, as it stands now, proclaims to be one of the Madhyadeśa Brahmins following the Pañcarātra doctrine but excludes Brahmins from Kaccha, Kāverī, Koṅkaṇa, Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga, Kāñcī, Kāśmīra (ch. 39.6). On the problem of composition, see B.B. Mishra, *Polity in the Agni Purāṇa*, Calcutta 1965, p. 9, 24-26.

84. Note that the other one is Karmanāśā, the boundary between Buddhist Patan and Hindu Bhaktapur, just as the North Indian Karmanāśā is the boundary between Āryāvarta and polluted Magadha. The position of the river is, of course, the same as that in Northern India: a northwards flowing river that joins one flowing on a W/E axis; but the question to be answered is which territory in the Kathmandu Valley was regarded as homologous with Magadha? It must have been that of Bhaktapur, a much more Hindu oriented kingdom than that of Patan or even Kathmandu.

85. For Varuṇanāga see also Pott, *Yoga en Tantra*, p. 90 n. 24 (on the *Kalaṅka-śmaśāna*), and p. 120 sq., as head of a group of eight Nāgas and king of the Yakṣas (Engl. transl.: *Yoga and Tantra: their interpretation and their significance for Indian archaeology*, The Hague 1966); cf. author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, in *Formen kulturellen Wandels und andere Beiträge zur Erforschung des Himalaya*, ed. B. Kölver u. S. Lienhard, St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag 1986, pp. 157-187.

86. Note that the ground between the fires is called *samudra* "ocean"!

87. She also is regarded as the daughter of Mitrāvaruṇāu, cf. below on Mitrāvaruna; on *iḍā* and *piṅgalā*, see Sanjukta Gupta *et al., Hindu Tantrism*, Leiden 1979, p. 59.

88. Cf. Sanjukta Gupta *et al., Hindu Tantrism*, Leiden 1979, p. 145; p. 57: "The doctrine that the human body corresponds to, is even identical with, the universe is seldomly systematically expounded but clearly always selfunderstood." The author of the Newārī booklet on the Agnimaṭha, Aiśvayadhar Śarmā, stressed the same in a small, two page summary (in Nepālī), which he had prepared for me in 1985 when I asked him about his opinion on the Patan Agnihotra; the ritual is both an *antaryātra* and a *bahiryātra*.

89. Just as any offering ground; for a picture see M. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala. A cultural study of the Kathmandu Valley*, Princeton 1982, vol. II, pl. 108; cf. Kurukṣetra as a *devayajana* "sacred offering ground of the Gods" in Vedic texts, or in medieval Hinduism, the *Doāb* of the Yamunā and Gaṅgā as the *antarvedi*, and Allahabad as *Prayāga* "fore-offering" or perhaps rather "foreward / foremost offering (place)", where one could gain access to heaven by ritual suicide through drowning oneself at the confluence at Prayāga as the vulva of the earth goddess, and as a place where the three sacred fires are found. On inner (Tantric) and outer geography, see Sanjukta Gupta *et al., Hindu Tantrism*, Leiden 1979, p. 57, 60.

90. The same exercise results, for the first time, in an explanation of the 600 odd Nāga locations enumerated in the Nīlamata Purāṇa of Kashmir, vss. 881 sqq. (ed. de Vreese, Leiden 1936). They seem to be mentioned at random, quite famous Nāgas next to clearly insignificant ones. The enumeration, geographically arranged, results in a multiple clockwise listing of all Nāgas of the Kashmir Valley, see the *Proceedings of the Kyoto Seminar on the Nīlamata Purāṇa*, ed. Y. Ikari, forth. 1992.

91. The dot and halfcircle (*candra-bindu*) denoting the nasalization. For a representation of this symbol, in connection with the *candrabindu* (sun, moon) and the flame (which represent the three secret *cakras*), see Pott, *Yoga en Tantra*, p. 40, and cf. p. 36.

92. One may, of course, also interpret this simply as a continuous centrifugal/centripetal movement. But then, one would have to explain the repeated return to the Agniśālā. A centripetal/centrifugal movement as such is rare, but not unknown. A centrifugal one occurs, for example, in an enumeration of countries in the Milindapañhō, see author, Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda, *Persica* IX (1980), 86-128; in Nepal, there exists a centripetal enumeration of the major Śiva sanctuaries beginning and ending with Paśupathināth, see Nepālamahātmya, ch. 29 and *Himavatkhaṇḍa*, ed. Yogī Naraharināth, *pariśiṣṭa* 1, with a list of some 166 tīrthas and 64 liṅgas, arranged in this fashion, and cf. N. Gutschow, *Stadtraum*, p. 19 and n. 22 (p. 195), referring to the Bhāṣā Vaṁśāvalī and another Vaṁśāvalī from Sankhu as sources.

93. It is interesting to note that the present Agnihotrī still remembers the complicated pattern of exchange of offices, though he does not get it right every time he attempts an enumeration.
94. See N. Gutschow and B. Kölver, *Ordered space. Concepts and functions in a town of Nepal*, Wiesbaden 1975, and N. Gutschow, *Stadtraum und Ritual der newarischen Städte im Kathmandu-Tal. Eine architekturanthropologische Untersuchung*, Stuttgart 1982.
95. See Niels Gutschow, *Stadtraum und Ritual*, p. 165.
96. See B. Kölver, A ritual map from Nepal, in *Folia Rara, Festschrift W. Voigt*, ed. by H. Franke et a., Wiesbaden 1976, p. 67.
97. Agni Purāṇa 270.15-16 (Calc. ed. 271.15 sqq.) *viṣṇur jiṣṇur bhaviṣnuś ca agnisūryādi rūpavān / agnirūpena devāder mukhaṃ viṣṇuḥ parā gatiḥ // 15 // vedeṣu sapurāṇeṣu yajñamūrtiś ca gīyate. āgneyākhyaṃ purāṇan tu rūpaṃ viṣṇor mahattaram / āgneyākhyapurāṇasya karttā śrotā janārddanaḥ* / cf. transl. Dutt, p. 998.
98. Transl. Dutt, p. 136; *kuṇḍamadhye ṛtumatīṃ lakṣmīṃ sañcintya homayet / kuṇḍalakṣmīḥ samākhyātā prakṛtis triguṇātmikā* // 34 // *sā yoniḥ sarvabhūtāṇām vidyāmantragaṇasya ca / vimukteḥ kāraṇaṃ vahniḥ paramātmā ca muktidāḥ* // 35 // cf. Agni Purāṇa 270.15-16 in the preceding note. An even more detailed description of the actual process of identification of the adept with the god and the fire is given by Agni Purāṇa 74-75, especially at 75.46: *yāgāniśivayoḥ kṛtvā nāḍīsandhānam ātmanā*... This, however, deals with Śiva, not with Viṣṇu.
99. Note that this Tantristic identification recapitulates the old Vedic and Iranian one of Fire = Sun, which in fact can be traced much beyond the Indo-Iranian period and can be found in other Asian religions as well (see my work on Eurasian mythology, *forthc.*; and note Japanese *hi* "fire, sun, light").
100. This process is described in detail, for example in the old Pañcarātra Saṁhitās such as the Jayākhyā Saṁhitā, *paṭala* 15 or in the Śaivaite Somśambhu-Paddhati of Kashmir, ed. J.D. Zadoo, KSTS 73, Srinagar 1947, p. 29, vs. 261 = sect. IV, vs. 46 in H. Brunner, transl. p. 260; it is also found, for example, in the yearly re-consecration of the figure of the Patan god Macchendranāth, see J. Locke, *Karunamaya*, Kathmandu 1980, p. 208 sqq.
101. This reminds, of course, of the restriction put on the Agnihotrī, forbidding him to cross a river, see above n. 63-64 and below n. 103.
102. Kaṭha-Brāhmaṇa, as partially edited by W. Caland, 1920, p. 1, see above, n. 62.
103. Just as in the Vedic Agnihotra, the person offering the ritual must be married (but sexually abstinent, cf. above n. 101). When his wife dies, he has to give up the ritual.

104. The medieval MSS of the Āgnihotra do not mention overt sexual acts during the ritual. However, some quasi-*kaula* Tantra is said to be performed still by some Rājopadhyāyas, though only with their own wives. And some Tibetans, for example at Svayambhunath, were said to do so as well.
105. See RV 7.33.10,13; cf. Agastya = Maitrāvaruṇi, Kumbhayoni at Mbhār. 3.8776, 8797, 8807, 12.343 (13216), 13.4471, 4786.
106. The name of this "god", which at first is puzzling, thus is a simple grammatical mistake, a neglect in composing a proper vṛddhi form, **maitravaruṇa-* "belonging to Mitra and Varuṇa".
107. Note, however, that, according to Mbhār. 3.232, Agni who had fallen in love with the Pleiades (*kṛttikāḥ*, the wives of the seven *Ṛṣis*), entered their Gārhapatya fire and eventually cohabited with all of them, except Arundhatī (who creates another pot-born being, Skanda). Note that the rule of sexual abstinence of the Agnihotrī (= fire, the sun) and his wife (thought to be Arundhatī) agrees with this myth. Note also that *iḍā*, one of the "arteries" inside the body of the Yogin (Agnihotrī) is regarded as the daughter of Mitrāvaruṇau.
108. Apparently representing the string of the fire drill used, on the drill plate, during the first churning of the fire of a new Agnihotrī. The fire drill represents the Agnihotrī, in Vedic fashion; see the Purūravas and Urvaśī Mantras in YV rituals (VS 5.2, MS 1.27:16.7; KS 3.4, etc., and well described at ŚB 3.4.1.22: their son was Āyu); on this topic cf. also A.W. van den Hoek, elsewhere in this volume.
109. Note that the Varu/aṇa tree corresponds, in Tantric myth, to the tree at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga (see above, n. 89). The Agni temple is thus located at the center of the earth, where according to Agni Purāṇa 111.2 the three sacred fires are found. Cf. the similar legend about the founding of Patan (Wright, *History*, p. 135 sq., Hasrat, *History of Nepal*, p. 43 sq.): a thirsty grass cutter rammed his carrying pole into the ground, while looking for water. On his return, it had become immovable.
110. Note that the worship of lineage deities (*digudyaḥ*) and of the ancestors is firmly established among the Newārs of the Kathmandu Valley. Consequently, the worship of the Agnihotrī ancestor is one of the most solemn occasions in the course of the year. A special worship of this ancestor takes place on the *Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā* day (= *Gūṃla Punī, Ṛṣitarpaṇī, Kumbheśvaramelā, Rakṣabandhana*, Nep. *Janaī Pūrṇimā*) in August when all priests as well as the Mitrāvaruṇa figure, the Agnikuṇḍas, etc., receive, in the *pavitrārohaṇa* rite, a new *yajñopavīta*-like cord, made of many strands (apparently 27, 3 x 9; cf. Agni-Pur. 37); each strand again has 3 strings.

111. This is also indicated by Wright's Vaṃśāvali (p. 159) which mentions a Prajñāpāramitā MS. of 188 A.D. in this context.
112. Cf. above, Agni-Pūraṇa, ch. 34, 69.1 and 40.2: "Īśa (the Lokapāla of the north-east)" and above, notes 81, 83.
113. There are other parts that have already taken place before, at the initiation of the new Agnihotrī, where he repeats the walk "down from the north-east", from the *ghāṭ* at Śaṅkhamūla, on the Bāgmati north of Patan. The later part takes place at his death: from the Agniśālā towards the south-west, to Nakhu *ghāṭ* at Cobhar (followed later on by a return towards the north-east, to the *pitṛtīrtha* at Gokarṇa).
114. See the account by M. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, p. 353.
115. For the Buddhist version of this see J. Locke, *Karunamaya* and D. Gellner, *IIJ* (forthc. 1992); cf. also the booklet *Gurumaṇḍalācaṇa-pustakam*, ed. by Amoghavajra Vajrācārya, publ. by the Bajracāryya Saṅgha of Kathmandu (Saṃkoṭā Press, Ṭebahāḷ, Kathmandu, NS 1092), republished in NS 1101 by Naṃdakumāri Vajrācārya.
116. Cf. the foundation of a subterranean Nāga pond, *Maṇi-talāva*, according to Wright's Vaṁśāvalī, p. 135 sq. in the center of the town of Patan; cf. Gutschow, *Stadtraum*, p. 148.
117. *Oṁ Brahma-viṣṇu-maheśāya savitreṣaṇmuṣ(kh)āya ca / Maṇiko-nāgarājāya yajñarūpāya te namaḥ / oṃ siddhir astu kriyārambhe vṛddhir astu dhanāyaśe / puṣṭir astu śari(ī)re (')stu śāntir astu gṛhe mama / sarvavighnapra(ṇā)śanaṃ sarvaśāntikaraṃ śubham / āyu(h)-putraṃ ca kāmaṃ ca lakṣmī-santati-varddhanaṃ / tatra deva vidhātānāṃ śāntir bhavatu vāraṇaṃ /*
118. The MS reads (uncorrected!): oṃ namo pañcāgnaye namaḥ // pradakṣinā / (A) *athādhiyajñam: yad etan maṇḍalan tapati // ayaguṃ śa rugmā.* (B) *-tha yādatad arccidāyātmahāvratan nāni śāmāni sa śāmnālor* (C) *tha yeṣu ye tasmin maṇḍala śa vo yajñaṃ hiraṇmaya / puruṣan tatheti devetraguṃ saṃskṛtohopapadyate tad yajuṣevāna guṃsthām ati* (D) *evādhiyajñam //*
    This is a bad transcription of ŚB 10.5.2.6:
    (A) *athādhiyajñam / yad etaṃ maṇḍalan tapaty ayaṃ sa rukmo.* 'tha yad etad arcir dīpyata idam tat puṣkararaparṇam āpo hy etā āpaḥ puṣkaraparṇam (C) *atha ya eṣa maṇḍale puroṣo 'yam eva sa yo 'yaṁ hiraṇmayaḥ puruṣas tad etad evaitat trayaṁ saṃskṛtyehopapadhatte tad yajñasyaivānu saṁsthām ūrdhvam utkrāmati* tad etam apy eti ya eṣa tapati tasmād agniṃ nādriyeta parihantum amutra hy eṣa tadā bhavatīty u (D) *evādhiyajñam / 6*
    Cf. 10.5.2.1: (A) *yad etaṃ maṇḍalan tapati /* tanmahadukthaṃ tā ṛcaḥ sa ṛcāṃ loko (B) *'tha yad etad arcir dīpyata tan mahā-vratan tāni sāmāni sa sāmnāṃ loko 'tha ya eṣa etasmin maṇḍale puruṣaḥ so 'gnis tāni yajuṃṣi sa yajuṣāṃ lokaḥ / 1 /*
    Cf. also ŚB 4.1.1.25 *amuṣmin vā etaṃ maṇḍale 'hauṣīt / ya eṣa*

tapati tasya ye raśmayas, te devā marīcipās, tān evaitat prīṇāti, ta enaṃ devāḥ prītāḥ svargaṃ lokam abhivahanti // "Now (the explanation) with regard to the sacrifice: For he has offered this into that circle which burns up there, and the rays of the circle are the gods sipping light sparks: it is these gods that he hereby gratifies, and gratified in this way, the gods make him pass to the heavenly world."

119. Most clearly expressed already in the Yajurveda, e.g. KS 6.3:51.9: Sūrya and Agni were in same *yoni*. Sūrya rose upwards, lost his seed. Agni received it with a metal pan, made it stick to it, and transferred it to the cow where it became milk. "Rice grains are the milk of the bull; the bull is that sun. If one performs the Agnihotra with rice gruel, then one offers that sun alone." (... *anaḍuho vai payas taṇḍulā. asā āditya 'naḍvān. yad yavāgnihotraṃ jugoty, amum eva tad ādityaṃ juhoti.*) Cf. also the story about the origin of rice and barley, as stemming from the *asu* and *medha* of the offered Agni, *kimpuruṣa, aśva* etc. down to rice and barley (VādhB, ed. Caland, *AO* VI p. 116 sqq. = *Kleine Schriften* p. 416 sqq.); similarly AB 2.8. Compare also the Upaniṣadic cycles of water/food/seed ChU 5.10.6, cf. 6.8.3 sqq., Mait.Up. 6.10.

120. For example *reto ghṛtam* KS 26.7, KpS 41.5, *reto vai ghṛtam* ŚB 9.2.3.44, *retaḥ siktir vai ghṛtam* KB 16.5.

121. Cf. the co-existence of the words *vṛṣ* "to rain", *vṛṣan* "male, man, bull", *vṛṣabha* "manly, bull", *ṛṣabha* "bull".

122. Other varieties are the common one of red *sindūra* paste and, sometimes, of blood as well; note the substitution of *sindūra* for blood, and grains for the life-sustaining blood. For details, see a separate investigation (*forthc.*). This has no connection with the use of *sindūra* in *pūjā* and its supposed etymology (see Mayrhofer, *KEWA*).

123. This is an old Vedic idea as well, cf. the well-known cycle of water/rain found already at RV 1.164.51 and in the Yajurveda Saṁhitās (cf. E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*); for the origin of grain in VādhB (above, n. 119).

124. But not at other Agnihotra rituals in the Kathmandu Valley which always follow the Vedic norm of the Kātyāyana Śrautatasūtra. For details see author, Agnihotra-Rituale in Nepal, 1986, pp. 157-187 and a forthcoming monograph.

125. See R. Herdick, in *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley*, 235-275; cf. Pott, *Yoga en Tantra*.

126. Cf. the ŚB quotation (ŚB 4.1.1.25) mentioned above, n. 118. In medieval and modern Hinduism, the body of a deceased is re-created in heaven by offering the *śrāddha* rice balls during the first ten days after death (see P. Gaeffke, *JAOS* 105, 275). In my experience, in Nepal as elsewhere in the subcontinent people,

whether Hindu or Buddhist, usually wish for a life in heaven and worry little or not at all about rebirth.

127. On these terms, see author, on rebirth (*forthc.*).

128. Note that the Agnihotrī, in the above *saṃkalpa*-like text, wishes his son a long life.

129. Often not understood, as how can rebirth agree with *śrāddha* offerings, cf. the Buddhists' criticism, who nevertheless have their own *śrāddha* ceremonies, see the edition by Amoghabahra Bajrācārya, *Pinda Vidhānam. Śrāddha vidhiḥ soḍaśapiṇḍa sahitam*, Kāntipur (Kathmandu: Pūrva Seva Khalaḥ), NS 1024. Note also the term *divaṃgata* "deceased".

130. According to the interpretation of R. Herdick (Neue Kulte, in *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley*, and *Kirtipur*, p. 144 sqq., see above, n. 29), the various *tīrthas* involved are arranged in the shape of a body.

131. For the identification of the inner Tantric and the outer geography, see Sanjukta Gupta *et al., Hindu Tantrism*, Leiden 1979, p. 60.

132. Even the local people are aware of it. To some "*pūjā* is beautiful", but they may also say that the ritual is effective in driving away the influence of the bad planets; others stress the worship of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī; still others may take it for one of Śiva and Ūma, see M. Slusser, *Nepala Mandala*,p. 266 (incidentally, only M. Slusser and Aiśvaryadhar Śarma (on my instigation), see note 35, have writyten about the ritual at all); the priests still know some of the Tantric background. The ritual is meaningless in the sense of Staal only if we isolate small sections of it and regard them out of context, such as he does with bits and pieces of language. Of course, *a/an*, taken out of the context of a sentence and of the English language are meaningless (as even small children discover), but within a phrase or a sentence, the appearance or non-appearance of *-n* obviously is meaningful. On the so-called "meaninglessness of ritual", see now Scharfe, and note, A.W. MacDonald in *L'Ethnographie*, LXXXIII, numero special: *Rituel Himalayens*, p. 9.

ERRATUM

Page 795 *: Fire ritual as such is, of course, much older: cf. the Iranian (Yasna Haptanhāiti), and even the Indo-European evidence of fire worship, cf.: Skt. *hutam* = Greek *xuton* = Germanic **gudan* > Old High German [*daz waltand*] *got*, Engl. *god*, a notion that requires offering of ghee or another ritual libation; (this equation has been noticed independently by K. Hoffmann and C. Watkins in the Sixties). Note also that Ved. *agni-s* and Latin *ignis* have masculine gender, while Hittite *pehur*, Greek *pūr*, German *Feuer* are neuter; the same situation pertains to "water" which is fem. in Ved. *āpas,* Latin*acquā*, Germanic **akwā*, German *Aa*, *Ache* (in river names): : Greek *hūdōr*, Hittite *wadar/wed (a) naṣ*, German *Wasser*, Ved. *udan-/udr*. --Even beyond the IE. area, fire worship is found connected with a decidedly male character of fire. In Japanese Shinto fire rituals, which must be investigated and evaluated separately from the Buddhist *homas* introduced only in mid-first millenium A.D., the fire god (Ho-musubi, etc.)is male. He is born from a woman, the Goddess Izanami, just as in the Vedic texts, where he is called *mātariśvan*, "the one who grows in his mother". Interestingly, there are many more connections between old Jpn., Vedic and other Eurasian mythologies (for which see author, forthc.). The Jpn. version, indeed, "explains" a Vedic riddle. The fire god *Hi.no Yagi/haya/wo.no kami* (or *Hi.no Kaga/biko.no kami, Hi.no Kagu-tsuchi.no kami*), the last child of the fetus, but while being born, he burnt her so severely that she died of her wounds. He was consequently cursed by his father Izanagi and then beheaded (*Kokiki 1.8*). -- Fire worship takes many forms in Japan. For example, in a yearly New Year ritual "God Fire" (thus the local people) "is carried" from a Shinto shrine (*Kankura Jinja*) at Shingū, Wakayama Prefecture, "down to earth" only by specially assembled, white clad males (the present writer included in 1990) who are spiritually fortified with *sake*, an originally sacred drink; at the bottom of the hill Fire is received by a multitude of women and other spectators. --- It is known that there also existed a fire cult among the Mongols and other North Asian peoples (see Walter Heissig,*The religions of Mongolia*, Berkeley 1980, p. 69 sqq., on connections with the Indo-Iranians, p. 76, and N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2, 1925, p. 130-145; but note that the fire deity is female in Mongolian and Turkic texts). The relationship of these cults with the Indo-European ones, however, has not been described and determined so far. (For details, see author, in a forthcoming larger work on Eurasian mythology).-- Even more interesting for the early history of fire worship is the observation that proto-Indo-European pre-supposes the masculine viz. feminine gender only of the *gods* Fire and Water (this is attested, extra-linguistically, e.g. also in Jpn. mythology). Thus, the IE. word for "water" shows a clear suffix-h_2 which is a feminine gender marker when compared with its putative Nostratic form (I quote the forms of Illich-Svitych, as arranged by Mark Kaiser, in Vitaly Shevoroshkin, *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, Bochum 1989, p. 125 sqq):*akwā< IE. *akwe/h_2, added to Nostr. **akś; Alt. *āk (ś), Drav. *āk, Afr.-As. *'ku; and the masculine gender marker -s is added to Nostr. **_Henkś_ in IE. *_ṇgni-s_, cf. Ural. *eṇkś "burn". --However, the "elements fire and water are regarded as grammatically neuter and are marked as such in IE. by the very archaic neuter gender marker -r/-n, added to Nostr. **_piHnś_ in IE. *pehu-r fire",cf. Alt. pebś "hot, to dry" (>Jpn. _hi/ho_ "fire, light, sun"), Ural. *_pīwe_ "hot, warm", Kart. *_px(w)-_ "warm", Af.As. *_p'w_ "fire"; similarly, in the isolated word Nostr. **_hoṭś_: *_het-r/_ *_etH-r_ (>Avestan _atar/_, Ved. _athar-_), Alt. *_otś_. --Beyond Eurasia, one can compare further the fire rituals of other linguistic and cultural areas, such as that of the Central African Pygmies, see E.M. Zuesse, _Ritual Cosmos,_ Atlanta, Ohio 1979.

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1955 Soma sequence

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ILLUSTRATIONS

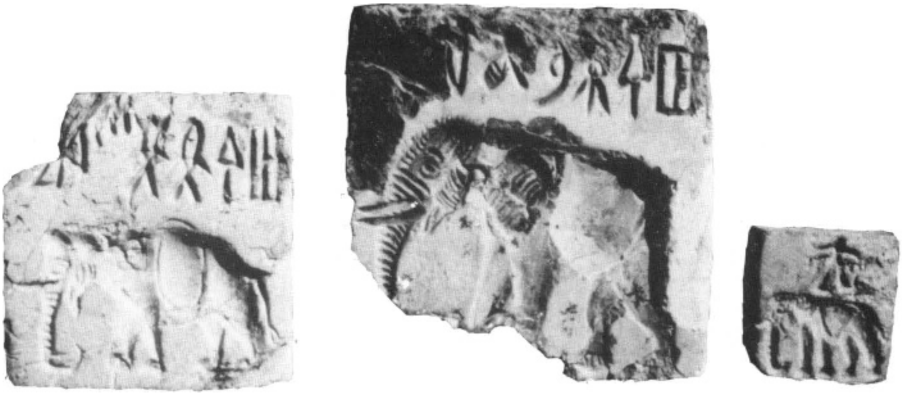
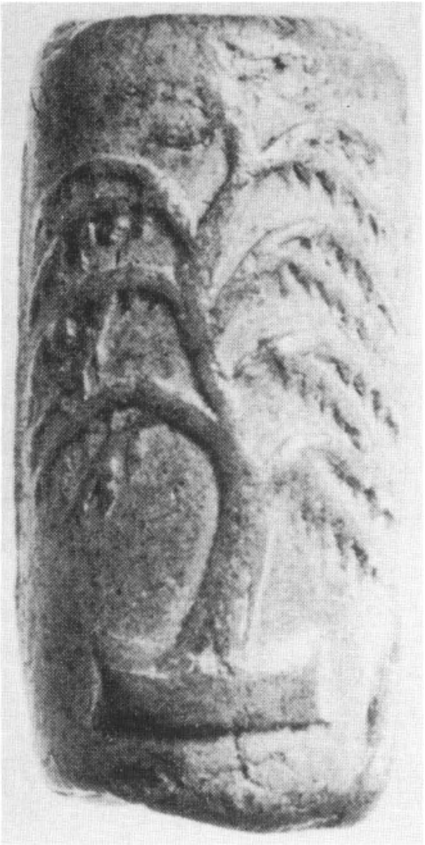
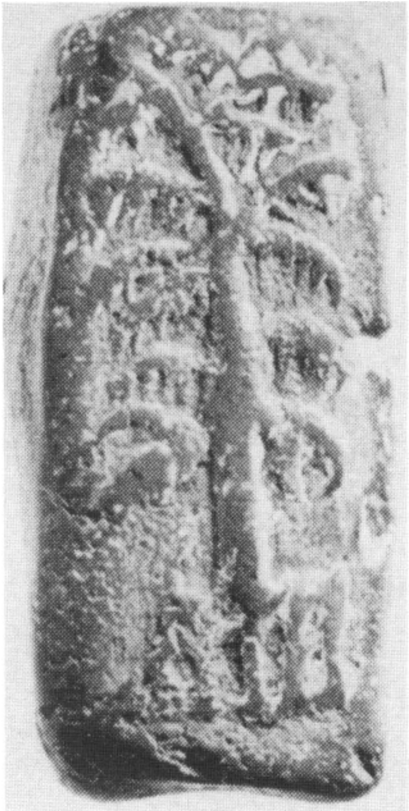


Fig. 1



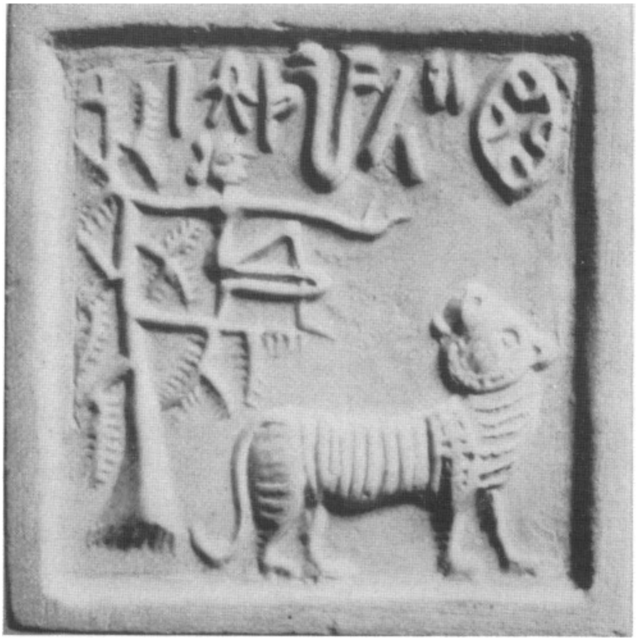
H-187 B

Fig. 3



H-188 B

Fig. 4



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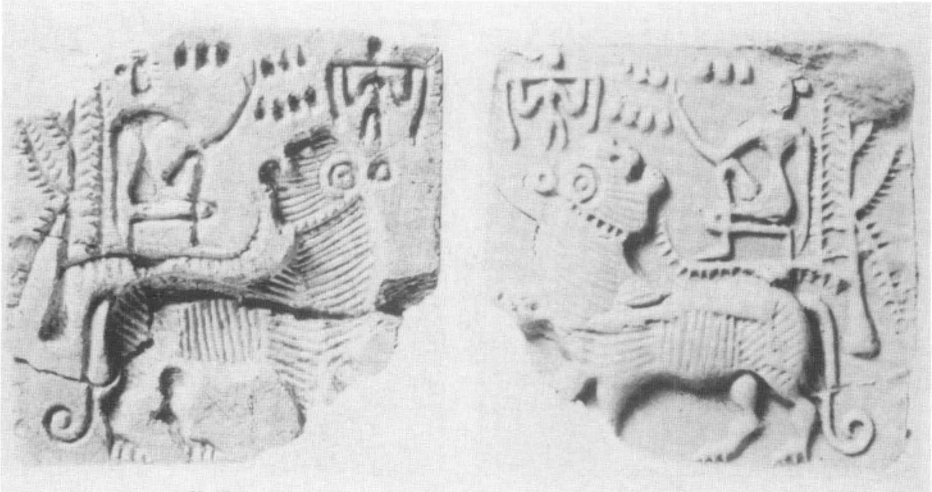

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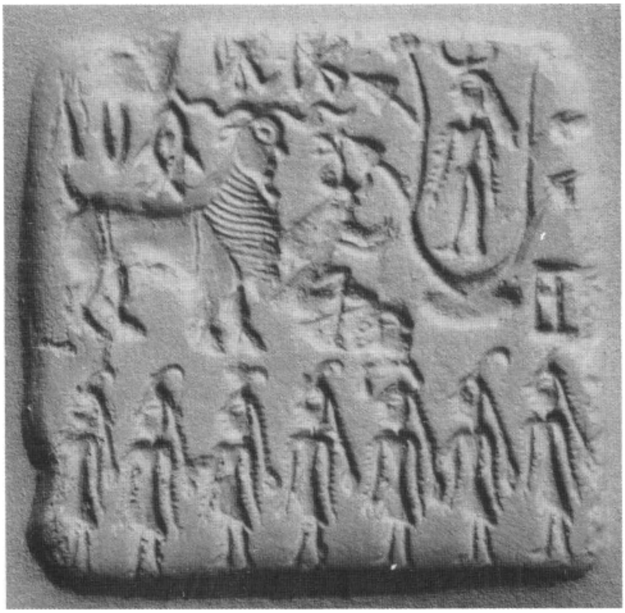

Fig. 7

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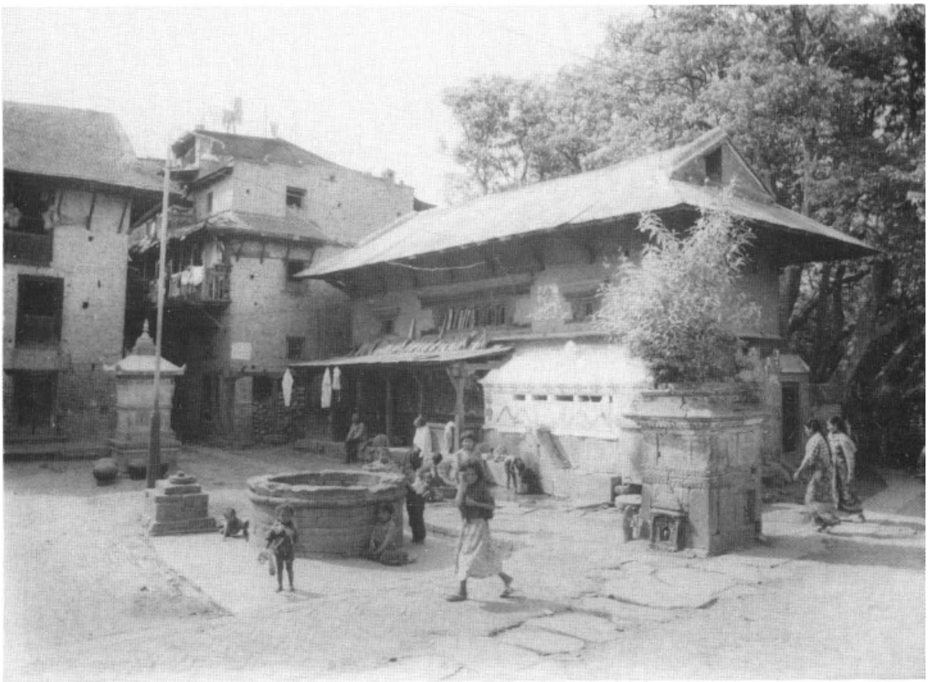

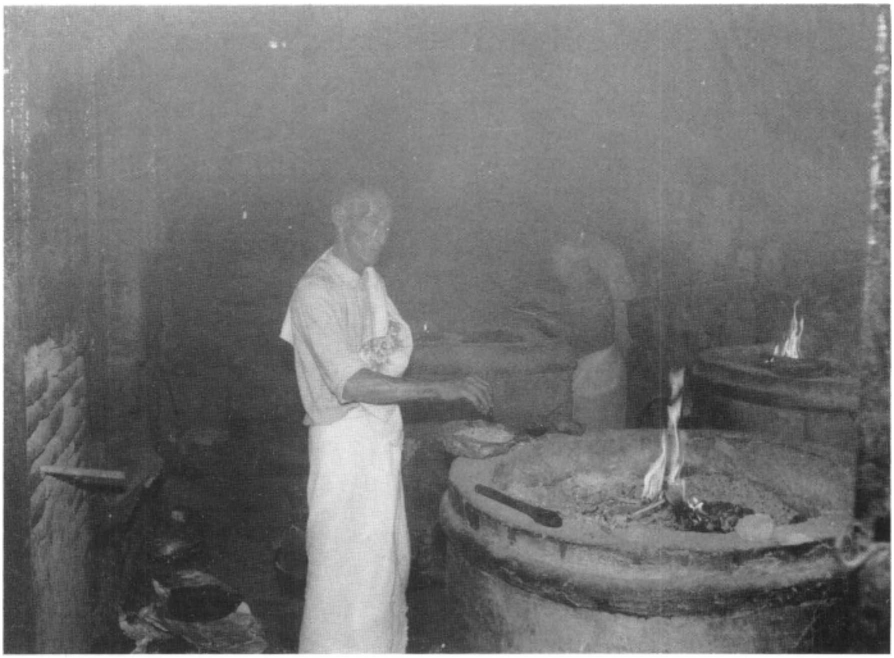

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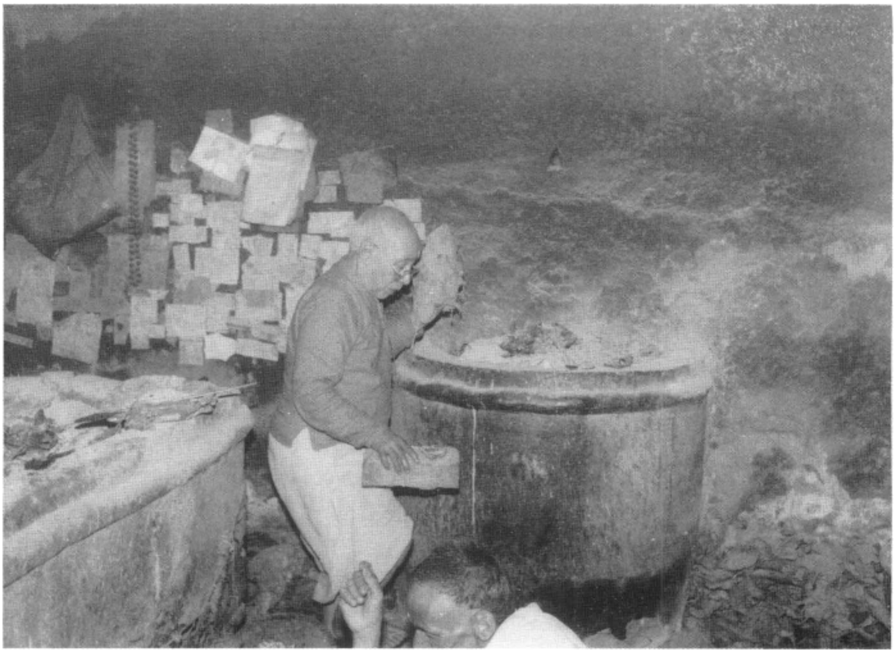

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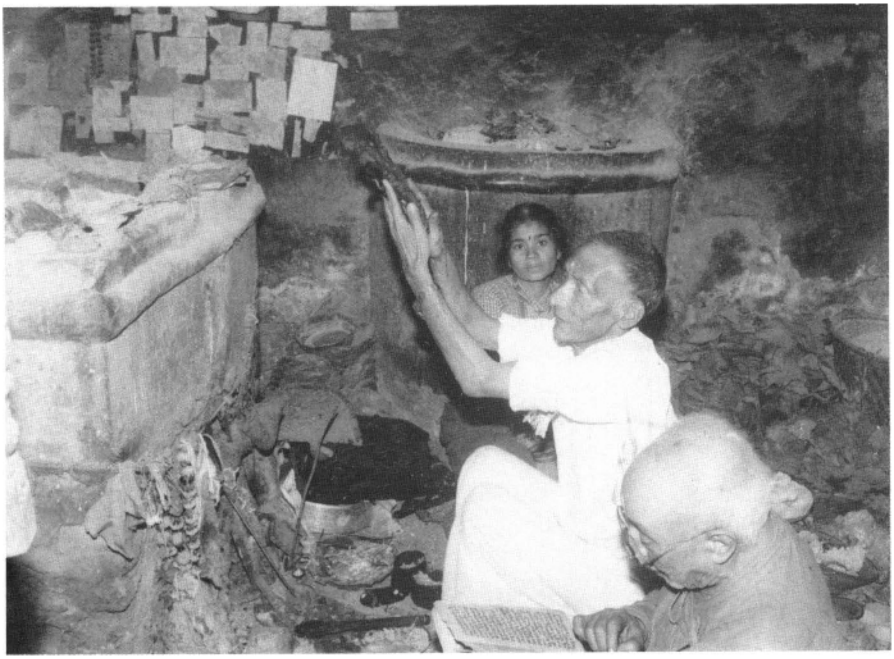

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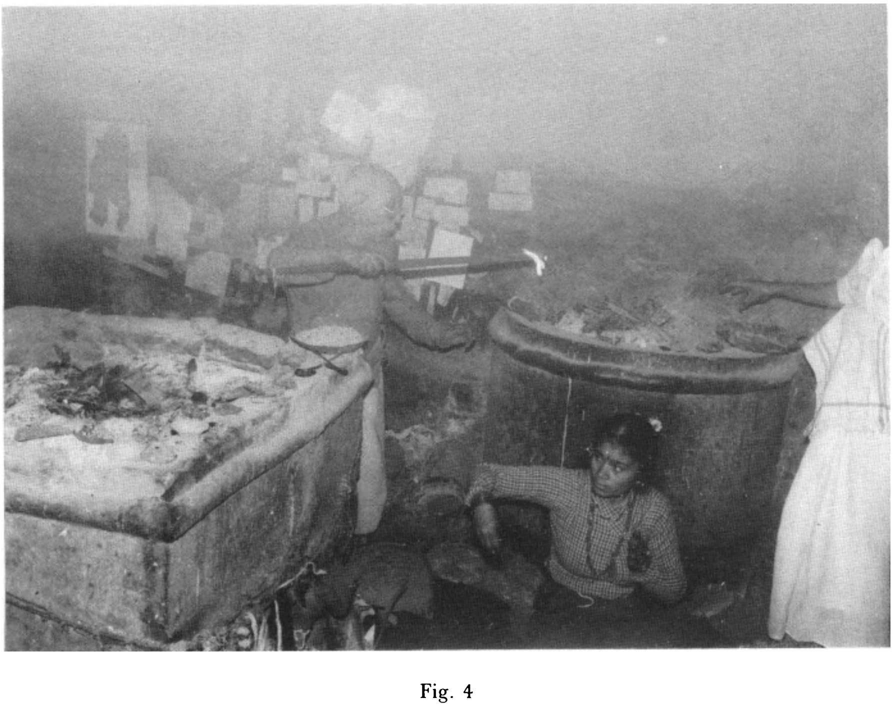

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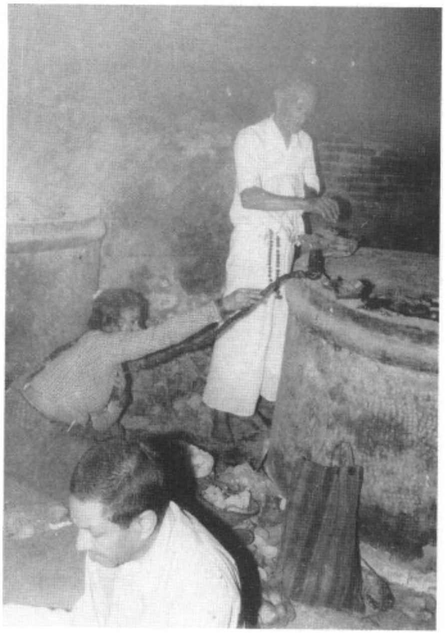

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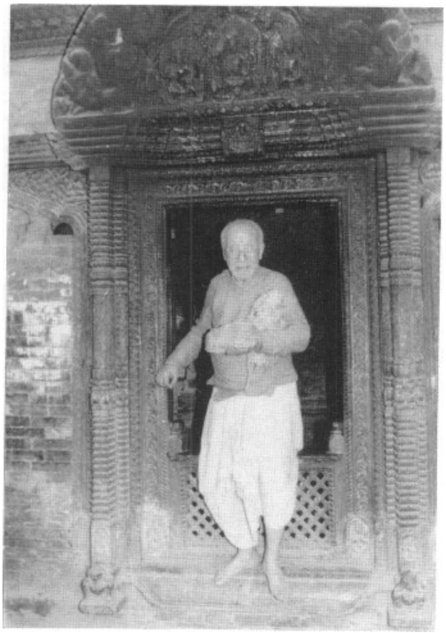

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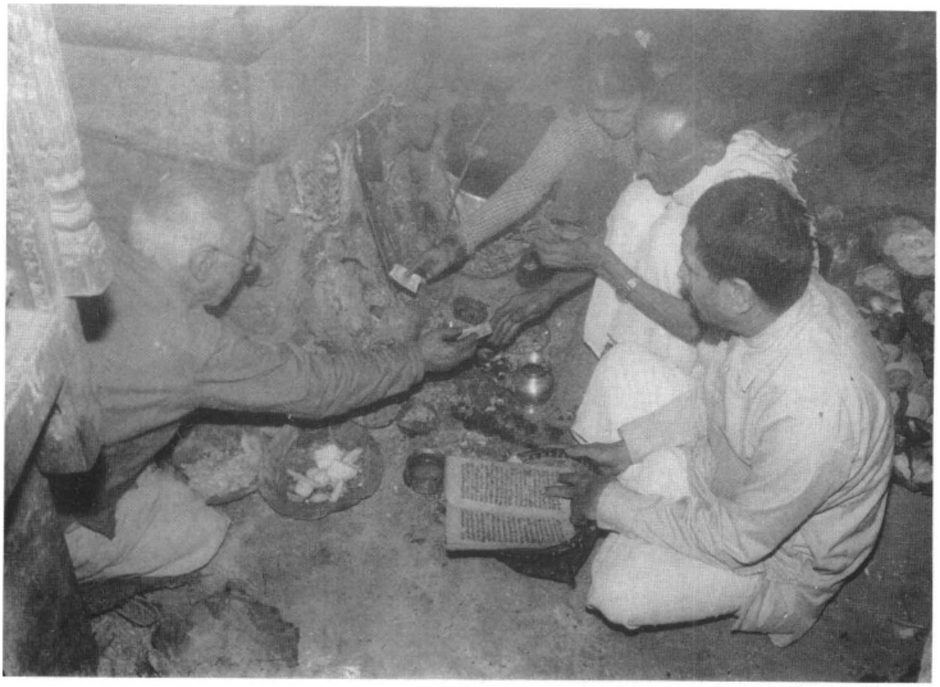

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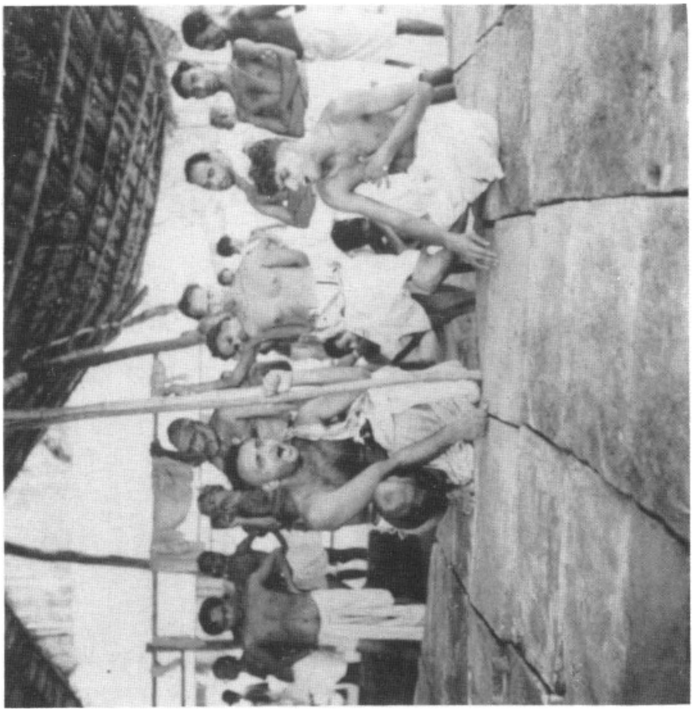
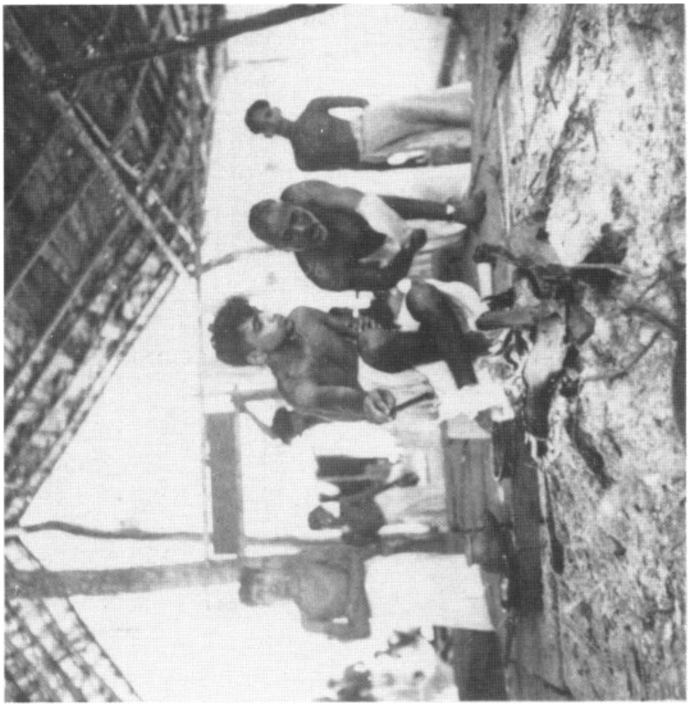


Fig. I



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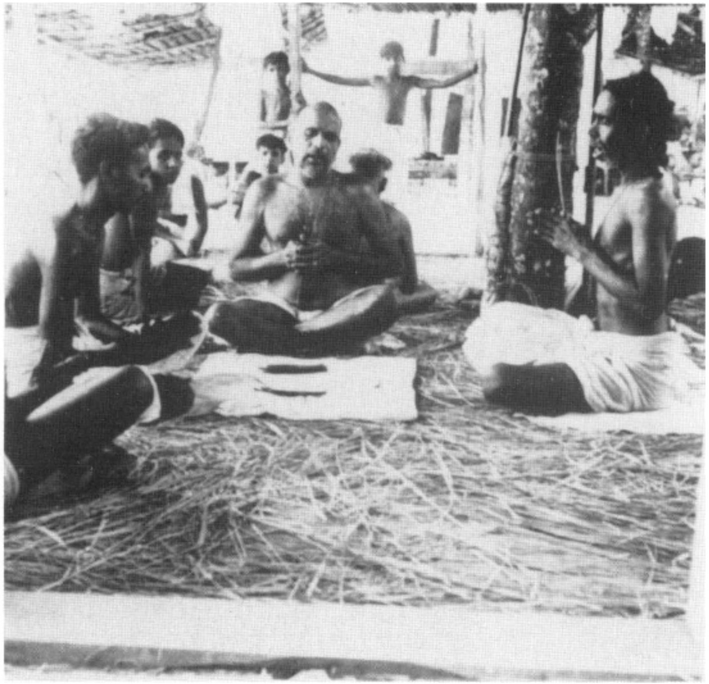

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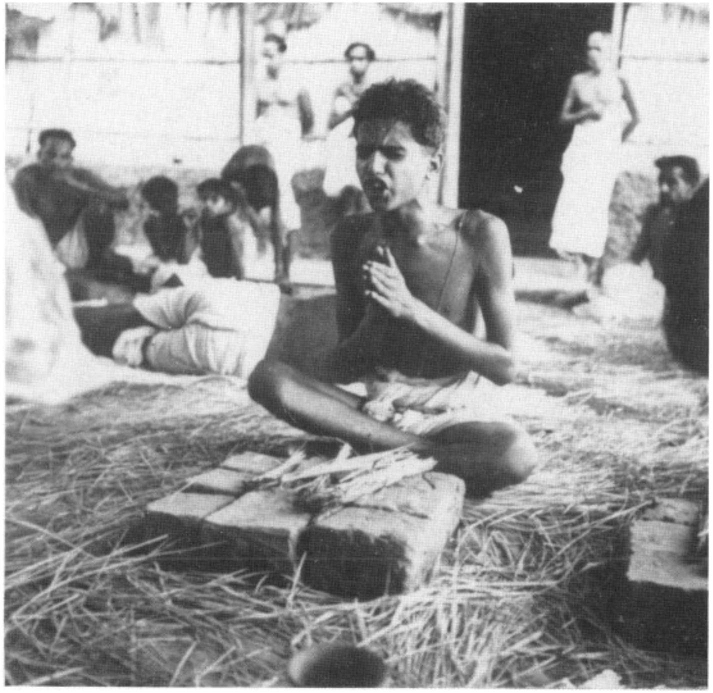

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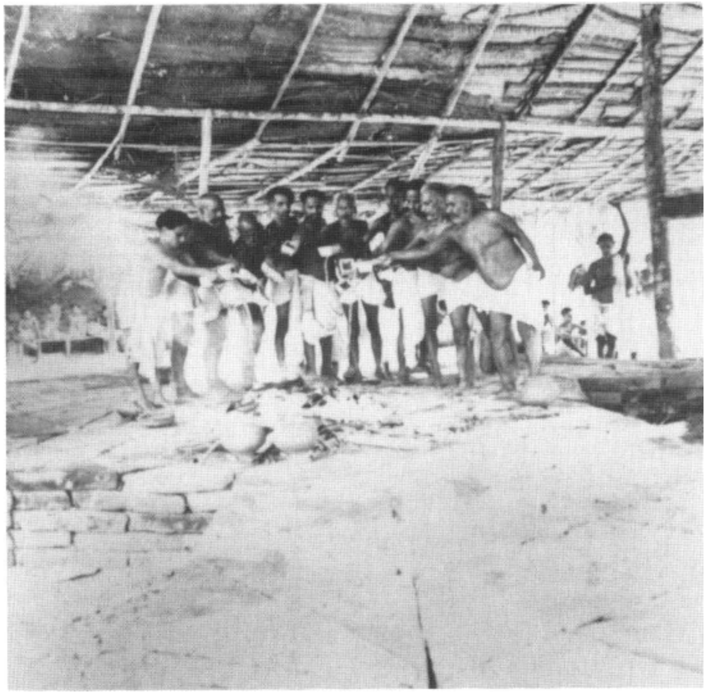

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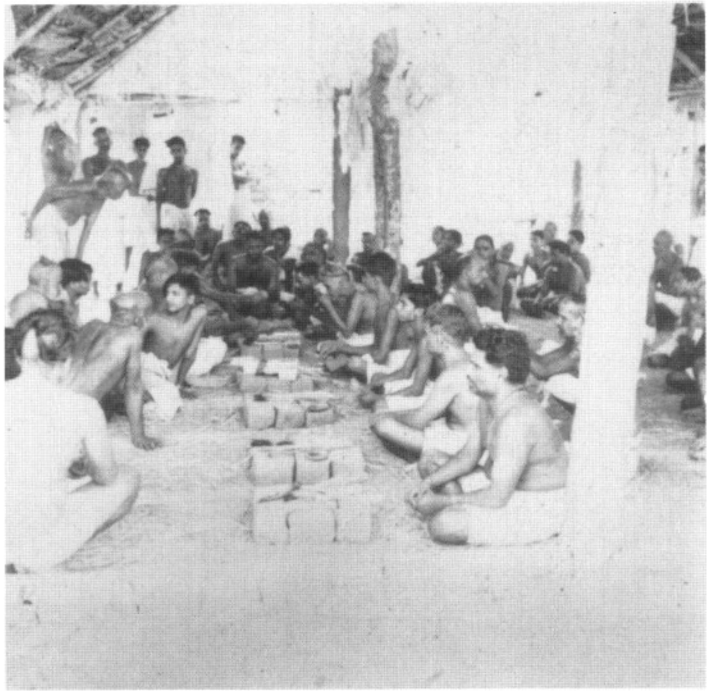

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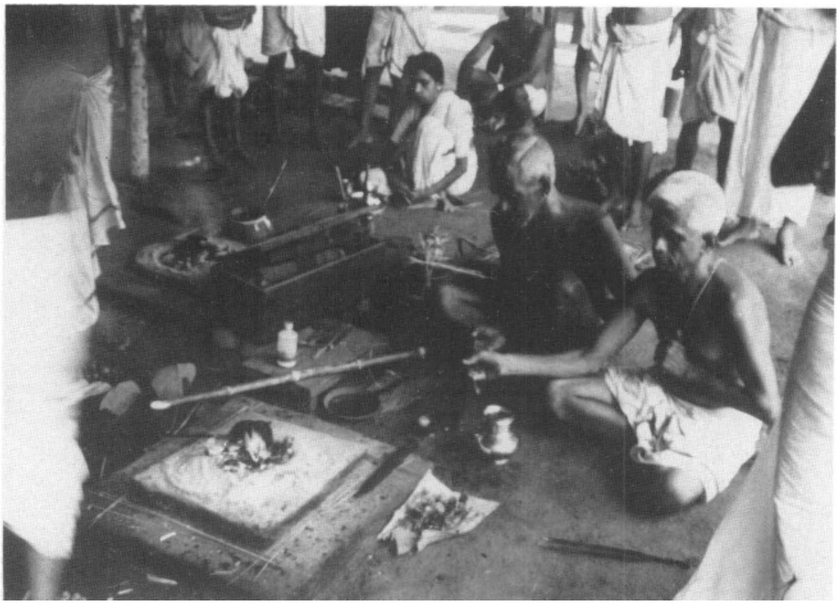

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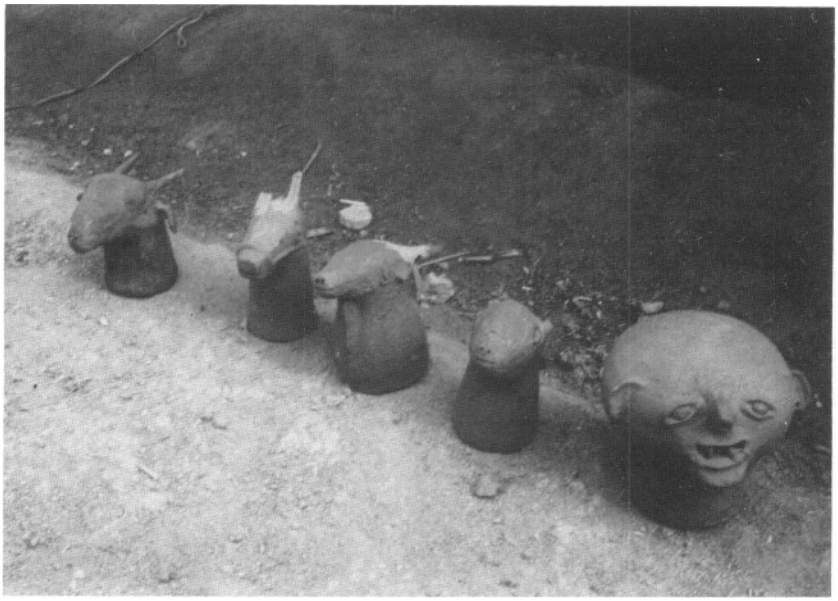

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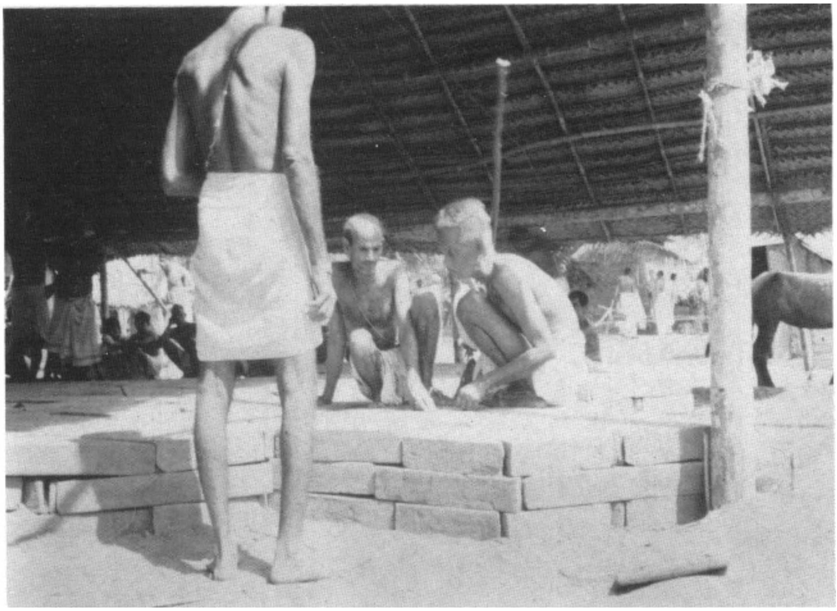

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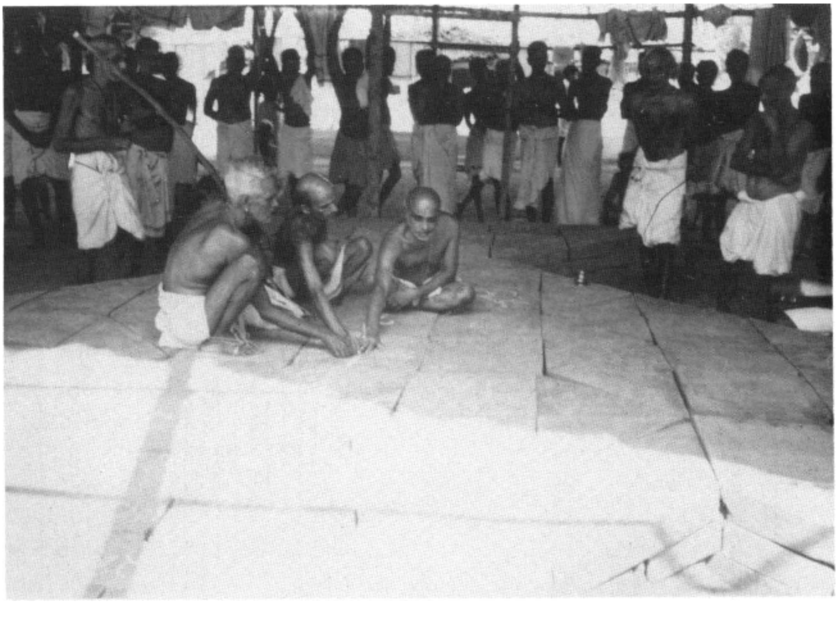

Fig. X

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